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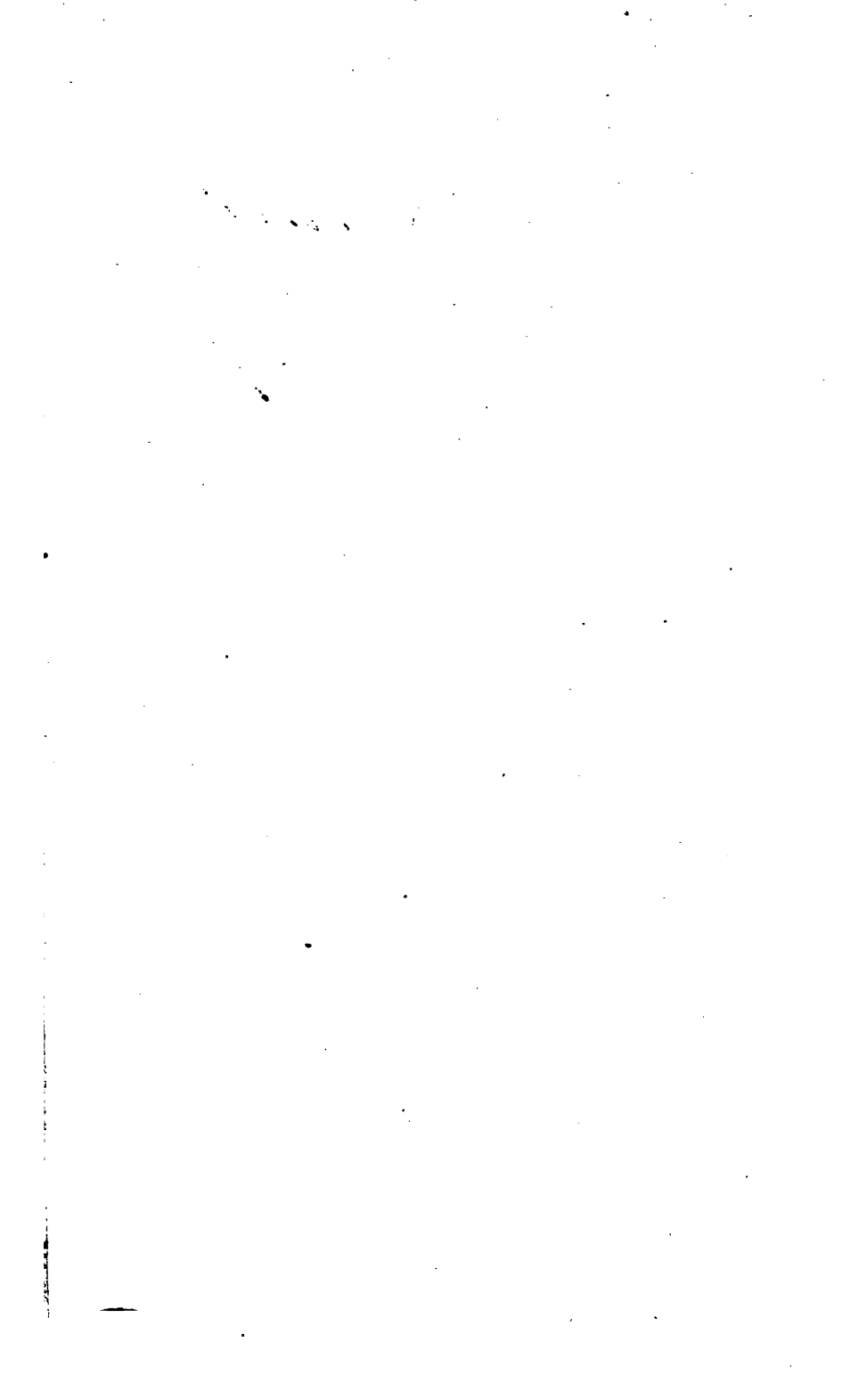
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Presented by

Sir George Alcock

2nd Mar 1870



THE

W. P. Wood

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOL. XIII.

JANUARY—JUNE 1850.

"No man, who hath tasted learning, but will confess the many ways of profiting by those, who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long, as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect, they were not utterly to be cast away."—MILTON.

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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

- ART. I.—1. *Sketch of the Established Church in India ; its recent growth, its present state and prospects ; by Edward Whitehead, M. A., Assistant Chaplain, H. E. I. C. Formerly Domestic and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Madras. London : 1848.*
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It was in that spring of 1813, when the sad tidings of the death of Henry Martyn were received and wept over by Simeon and his friends, that a great movement, which had long been gathering strength and consistency, seemed to have acquired an irresistible impetus, which would command for it speedy success. The harvest seemed to be ready for the sickle. The labours of those busy workmen, Grant, Teignmouth, Thornton, Wilberforce, Buchanan, and their companions, were now about to meet their reward. They had toiled and striven manfully for years. They had encountered public opposition and private ridicule. They had been shouted at by the timid, and sneered at by the profane. They had been described on the one hand as dangerous intermeddlers, and upon the other as imbecile fanatics. They had contended only against the open official suppression of Christianity in India ; they had asked only for toleration. They had demanded that, in the midst of opposing creeds, the faith of the Christian might be suffered to walk unveiled and unfettered. They had been seeking this liberty for many years ; and now at last the day of emancipation was beginning to dawn upon them.

The "Clapham Sect" were victorious. There was in truth everything to make them so. All the wit of Sydney Smith and all the ponderous orientalism of Scott Waring could not long prevail against the steady efforts of that little band of strong-headed and strong-hearted Christians. They were not inexperienced novices, or mere idle dreamers. Grant and Teignmouth had spent their lives, from very boyhood, in India. Wilberforce and Thornton had mixed largely with Anglo-Indians, had deeply studied their writings, and had neglected no practicable means

of arriving at just conclusions. They were all practical men—not mere benevolent recluses, or theological students, knowing nothing of the outer world. Three of them were busy members of Parliament; the fourth had been Governor-General of India. They had reason and experience on their side; and Christian England was with them. They had written much, and spoken much, on the subject so near their hearts; and now they were bracing themselves up for a final effort—secure of victory in the end.

The old Charter of the East India Company was expiring. The provisions of a new one were about to be considered and determined by the Parliament of Great Britain. Great changes of a commercial character were about to be introduced; but with these we have nothing here to do. Our concern is with other changes. A battle was to be fought for the establishment of an Anglo-Indian Episcopate, and for the liberty of Christian Missions. There was nothing very alarming in the provisions for the better maintenance of Christianity in India, which it was now proposed to substitute for a system of studied abnegation. But some weak-minded people had taken alarm, and others with stronger heads and worse hearts had pretended to feel it. For many years there had been an outcry against (what was called) “interference with the religious prejudices of the natives of India.” No interference with their religious prejudices had ever been designed; but it suited the purpose of the antagonists of Christian liberty to talk about coercion, as though the millions of Hindústan were about to be converted by a system of general iconoclasm, like that by which Cortes and his followers had made proselytes of the helpless idolators of the Western world. There was, however, supposed to be this difference; that, whereas the Spanish invader had filled with terror, and reduced to prostration, the Mexican heathen, the idol-worshippers of Hindústan would rise up against their Christian conquerors, burn their temples, sacrifice their priests, and involve every white man in the country in a great and indiscriminate slaughter. So was it said; so was it written. So was it said and written in ignorance; so was it said and written with design. Everlasting references to the massacre of Vellore stood instead of other facts, and of all argument. The downfall of the British Empire in India was confidently predicted; and vivid pictures were drawn of mighty multitudes of incensed Brahmin-led Hindús, mingling with fierce bands of insulted Muhammedans, making common cause against the followers of the Nazarene, and driving them into the sea.

Some years before the old Charter expired, there had been

a fierce paper war in England—a strife of pamphlets, prosecuted with some vigour on either side, perhaps with some acrimony—about this great matter of the propagation of Christianity in our British Indian possessions. Ever since Mr. Buchanan published in 1805 his memoir on an Indian Church establishment, the subject had been prominently before the public; and, in spite of the necessary obtrusion of more exciting topics throughout those stirring times of European war, there were circles, in which the progress of that great battle between truth and error was regarded with livelier interest than the contest between the Corsican adventurer and the allied sovereigns of Europe. Having exhumed a considerable number of these long-buried pamphlets, and very carefully and conscientiously examined their contents, we are bound to declare our conviction that they are very heavy affairs. One wonders in these days how so interesting a subject could have been treated in so uninteresting a manner. Marvellously little talent illumined these weighty discourses. If it had not been for the Reviewers the controversy would have been conducted in the dullest manner: but *they* threw a little life into it. A dread of the biting sarcasms of the *Edinburgh Review* extended even to the Northern Provinces of India; but we would rather have fallen under the hands of Sydney Smith, than have been consigned to the tender mercies of John Foster. The canon of St. Paul's cut sharply with a polished razor; the dissenting divine clove down with a hatchet. Foster was not a witty man; but there was a certain dry humour about him, which he turned to profitable account. His sneer was a mighty one. It came down upon its victim, very quietly but very crushingly, like the paw of an elephant. We never rise from the perusal of one of his reviews of Scott Waring, without being haunted by a vision of that unhappy gentleman, flattened and forlorn, like a hat that has been sat upon, gasping in a state of semi-animation, and feebly articulating "quarter!"

Yet this Scott Waring held the chief place in the little army of pamphleteers that fought, with such good will, in defence of genuine Hinduism. On the other side, there was Mr. Owen, Secretary of the Bible Society; and there was its President, Lord Teignmouth. The latter wrote with most knowledge upon the subject; but he was not a brilliant writer; he was in earnest after his kind, but he was not an earnest man. He was not an enthusiast; he was not a hero. "India House traditions," writes Sir James Stephen, "tell, that when a young aspirant for distinction there requested one of the Chairs to inform

‘ him, what was the proper style of writing political despatches,’
 ‘ the Chair made answer ‘ the style we prefer is the *hum-drum*.’
 ‘ This preference for the hum-drum, enjoined perhaps by the
 ‘ same high authority, clung to Lord Teignmouth, even after
 ‘ his return to Europe. He wrote as if to baffle the critics,
 ‘ and lived as though to perplex the biographers.—He was
 ‘ in fact rather a fatiguing man—of a narcotic influence in
 ‘ general society, with a pen that not rarely dropped truisms;
 ‘ sedate and satisfied under all the vicissitudes of life; the very
 ‘ antithesis and contradiction of a hero.”* But he was some-
 thing better than a hero; he was an eminently good and ho-
 nest man; and, at a time when lies were being tossed about so
 prodigally, the truisms, which dropped from his pen, were not
 without use and significance. It is something, doubtless, to
 make the printed page sparkle with wit, and glow with elo-
 quence; but we would rather have written the following passage,
 which we copy from a manuscript letter now before us, dated
Clapham, February 20, 1806, than all the brilliant essays of
 Smith, Macaulay, and Stephen;—“There is no other basis of
 ‘ temporal and eternal happiness than religion, and there is
 ‘ no other true religion than that which the Gospel teaches. I live
 ‘ in a society, where these principles are avowed and cultivated,
 ‘ and with the peculiar advantage of hearing them taught in a
 ‘ most masterly and impressive style; and the only source of
 ‘ discomfort, which I suffer, is from the recollection of the
 ‘ mode in which I passed my youthful years in India. In all
 ‘ other respects I enjoy all the good, which this life can afford,
 ‘ and have not a wish towards opulence and ambition. My
 ‘ religion has nothing of gloom; its tendency is to make me
 ‘ cheerful, contented and happy, grateful for what I have, and
 ‘ anxious to show and feel my gratitude to the Disposer of all
 ‘ Good. Religion, which does not produce these effects, is pro-
 ‘ fessional only.” But all this savours of digression.

We have no intention to detain the reader with a long recital
 of the narcotic details of this war of pamphlets. A few speci-
 mens will suffice. Among other pamphleteers was Mr. Thomas
 Twining, “late Senior Merchant of the Company’s Bengal Es-
 tablishment,” whose patronymic has since become familiar to

* The Ecclesiastical Biographer’s sketch of the career of Lord Teignmouth is not
 as correct as that of his character. For example, it is said that he was promoted by
 Warren Hastings to “a seat in his Supreme Council of four.” We need not tell any
 of our Indian readers that Mr. Shore was never a member of the Supreme Council,
 during Mr. Hastings’s administration, and that the Governor-General had no power to
 make any such appointment. Mr. Shore was a member of the Council of Revenue;
 and, it is probable, that by this fact Sir James Stephen has been misled.

the consumers of tea throughout the whole British World. His letter to the Chairman of the East India Company exploded like a shell in the enemy's camp. It consisted mainly of extracts from the Reports of the Bible Society and the publications of Claudius Buchanan. The original comments were brief, but pungent; and, it was remarked by a controversialist on the other side, not without some show of truth, that "no such letter was ever before written in a Christian country, under a Christian king, by a gentleman professing the Christian Religion."

It may be worth our while to exhume, and that of our readers to examine, a few passages of Mr. Twining's pamphlet. There is a fine antiquarian flavour about them. As relics of a by-gone age, as fossil remains, indicating a pre-existent condition of the moral world, they will be pored over with wondering curiosity. The establishment of the Bible Society called forth the following explosion of horror and alarm :

"I must observe, that my fears of attempts to disturb the religious systems of India have been especially excited by my hearing that a Society exists in this country, the '*chief*' object of which is the '*universal*' dissemination of the Christian faith; particularly among those nations of the East, to whom we possess a safe facility of access, and whose minds and doctrines are known to be most obscured by the darkness of infidelity. Upon this topic, so delicate and solemn, I shall for the present make but one observation. I shall only observe, that, if a Society having such objects in view does exist, and if the leading members of that Society are also leading members of the East India Company—and not only of the East India Company, but of the Court of Directors—nay, Sir, not only of the Court of Directors, but of the Board of Controul!—if I say, these alarming hypotheses are true, then, Sir, are our *possessions in the East already in a situation of most eminent and unprecedented peril; and no less a danger than the threatened extermination of our Eastern Sovereignty commands us to step forth, and arrest the progress of such rash and unwarrantable proceedings.*"

After twenty-two pages of extracts from the Bible Society's Reports and Mr. Buchanan's Memoir (the entire pamphlet consists only of thirty), Mr. Twining thus comments upon the latter :

"Here, Sir, ends the second chapter, which Mr. Buchanan has devoted to this subject, and here, Sir, my extracts from the work must terminate, for *I really cannot cut open the leaves, which contain the sequel sanguinary doctrine.* Again, and again, Sir, I must insist upon the extreme danger to our very existence in India, from the disclosure of such opinions and views to the native inhabitants of that country. Let Mr. Brown, and Mr. Buchanan, and their patrons at Clapham and Leadenhall street, seriously reflect upon the catastrophes of Buenos Ayres, Rosetta, and Vellore; and let them beware how they excite that rage and infatuation, which competent judges describe as without an example among any other people."

And then we have the following ominous notice relative to the Buchanan Prize Essay, which Mr. Twining describes as a "most improper and a most alarming fact :"—

"What must the natives of India think, when they shall know, as most assuredly they will, that Mr. Buchanan has been permitted to engage the national universities of this country, in discussing and determining the best means of diffusing the Christian religion throughout India? It is a fact, and I think, a most improper and a most alarming fact, that the Vice Provost of the Company's College at Fort William, has actually bestowed a Prize of £500, at each of the Universities, for the best disputation on the following question, viz. *"What are the best means of civilizing the subjects of British India, and of diffusing the light of the Christian Religion through the Eastern World?"*

The letter to the Chairman concludes with the following magniloquent peroration :

"As long as we continue to govern India in the mild and tolerant spirit of Christianity, we may govern it with ease ; but, if ever the fatal day should arrive, when religious innovation shall set her foot in that country, indignation will spread from one end of Hindūstan to the other, and the arms of fifty millions of people will drive us from that portion of the globe, with as much ease as the sand of the desert is scattered by the wind. But I still hope, Sir, that a perseverance in the indiscreet measures, I have described, will not be allowed to expose our countrymen in India to the horrors of that dreadful day : but that our native subjects in every part of the East will be permitted quietly to follow their own religious opinions, their own religious prejudices and absurdities, until it shall please the Omnipotent Power of Heaven to lead them into the paths of light and truth."

This pamphlet called into the field a small regiment of rejoinders. We have now before us, "Cursory remarks on Mr. Twining's letter"—"A letter in answer to Mr. Richard Twining, Tea-dealer"—"An address to the Chairman of the East India Company, occasioned by Mr. Twining's letter," &c. &c. The last named of these publications was the production of Mr. Owen, one of the Secretaries of the Bible Society, and is principally directed to the defence of that institution. In so far, it is a triumphant reply to Mr. Twining's tirade. Mr. Twining had especially commented on the fact, that Lord Teignmouth, Mr. Grant, and Mr. Thornton were on the Committee of the Society—the first being at its head ; Mr. Owen, with reference to this, replied that neither Mr. Grant nor Mr. Thornton had once attended a meeting of the Committee, during the period of three years and a half, for which the Society had existed ; and he successfully exploded a surmise, to which some weight was attached, that a certain letter from Mr. Brown was addressed to Mr. Grant, by declaring that it was written to himself. Bishop Porteus followed Mr. Owen ; and, Scott Waring having taken the field on

the other side, Lord Teignmouth sat down to write his "Considerations" on the duty and expediency of communicating a knowledge of Christianity to the natives of India. It was said at the time, and with undeniable truth, that if this pamphlet had appeared at the beginning of the controversy, no other need have been written. It was sensible, argumentative, and conclusive; and it showed that he had a more prophetic vision than the alarmists, with whom he contended.

The Charter of 1793 wore to its close; and now the great question was about to be formally decided. It had virtually been decided before. Public opinion, before the dawn of 1813, had pronounced the doom of the abnegation system. But still that was a great year. The institution of an episcopal establishment in India was about to be formally proposed in Parliament (somewhat unwillingly, for Lord Castlereagh was to be the proposer); but the people of England were declaring so emphatically in favour of a more open recognition of Christianity by a Christian Government, and the concession of greater liberty to Christian ministers in the East, that it was no longer possible to withstand the tide of popular feeling. Petitions began to pour in from all parts of the country; from all classes of men; from all denominations of Protestant Christians. "On the subject of facilitating the diffusion of Christianity in India," wrote Mr. Simeon to his "dear friend and brother" Thomson, "there are going to be petitions from all quarters. Vast opposition is made to it: Lord Castlereagh is adverse to it; examinations are making in relation to it at the bar of the House of Commons; Mr. Hastings, Lord Teignmouth, and others have given their evidence; Hastings is very adverse. Lord Castlereagh's plan is to send out a Bishop and three Archdeacons; but whether it will be approved by Parliament I cannot tell."* The war was now being waged in earnest. The resolutions had by this time been stated to the House; and,

* Lord Liverpool was at this time Prime Minister. Lord Castlereagh was Foreign Secretary, and leader of the House of Commons. The Earl of Buckinghamshire was President of the Board of Control. It is believed that the Premier was more liberally disposed than his colleagues towards the promotion of Christianity in India. "Be so good," wrote Buchanan, in July 1812, "as to tell — and — that I have received a letter from Colonel Macaulay this morning, informing me that a deputation of Messrs. Wilberforce, Grant, Babington, &c. had waited on Lord Liverpool, on the subject of evangelising India, and that his Lordship surprised them by offering almost more than they wished. He intimated his intention to carry the three following important measures: —1st. To establish a seminary at each presidency in India for instructing natives for the ministry; 2nd. To grant licenses to Missionaries, not from the Court of Directors, but from the Board of Control; 3d. To consecrate Bishops for India." It is probable that Lord Castlereagh's pruning knife was applied to this scheme; and thence the modified form, which it assumed in the resolutions.

a few days after Simeon's letter was written, the Protestant Dissenters of the country memorialised Parliament, setting forth that "to represent a system of idolatry and superstition as tending to produce moral virtue and human happiness, is no less contrary to the dictates of sound reason and philosophy, than irreconcilable with the first principles on which our faith is built; and that, entertaining a directly opposite sentiment, the petitioners are anxiously desirous that the light and blessings of Christianity should be gradually diffused over the immense Empire of Great Britain in the East, which, instead of being thereby endangered, would, as they believe on the ground of fact and experience, derive additional strength and stability from the spread of the Christian religion; and that the petitioners are fully aware of the mass of ignorance and prejudice to be encountered, and that the progress of knowledge must be proportionably slow; but whilst the means of persuasion only are employed (and all others they utterly deprecate), they are at a loss to discover from whence any such apprehensions of danger can arise, as to induce any wise and good government to discountenance the attempt." Local petitions poured in both from England and Scotland. Glasgow put forth an emphatic appeal, both in behalf of the general dissemination of Christianity throughout India, and, through its ministers and elders, of the claims of the Scottish Church to recognition in India. The Synod of Fife embodied both objects in one comprehensive petition. Mr. Whitbread presented a petition from "the Treasurer, Secretaries, and Directors of a certain voluntary Society, known by the name of the *Missionary Society*, instituted in 1795;" but, half ashamed of it, begged to be understood as giving no opinion on the subject. Warrington, Sunderland, Leeds, Weymouth, and other places in the north and south, too numerous to specify, poured in their petitions both to the Upper and the Lower House. And whilst the two Houses were receiving these indications of popular opinion out-of-doors, they were busily engaged in taking the evidence of experienced members of the civil and military services, and of the commercial community, regarding the different points embraced in the Charter of the great Company, which was now about to lose some of its dearest privileges, in spite of the most manful efforts to retain them.

Among the remarkable men, examined by the Parliamentary Committees, were Warren Hastings, Sir John Malcolm, Sir Thomas Munro, and Lord Teignmouth. When Hastings was asked by the Commons' Committee, whether he recol-

lected any Missionaries in India in his time, he said that he remembered Schwartz, "a very worthy gentleman" in the Carnatic; and another in Calcutta, Kiernander, who might not perhaps be properly described as a Missionary. He stated also, that he remembered one conversion in Calcutta, effected by Kiernander, because it was announced "with great pomp and parade;" and that he remembered a Catholic Priest at Dacca, who boasted that he had a number of Christian converts, but did not seem to understand Christianity himself. When he was asked, what would be the consequences, if persons were allowed to employ themselves, as Missionaries, "unlicensed and subject to no restraint;" he answered, that he could not suppose such a situation: but, when told that the Committee meant "unrestrained, as to the mode they may think proper to adopt for effecting their object," he said, that, if such people had demeaned themselves properly, he should have taken no notice of them; but that, if they had given out that Government encouraged their designs, he should have exercised his authority in controlling them, or, if necessary, have sent them out of the country. To the question, "What is your opinion as to the political effect of the measure proposed, respecting a Church Establishment for India?" he gave this answer:—

"The question is one of great intricacy, and of such delicacy, that I should almost fear to speak to it, but that my respect for this Honorable House enjoins it; because, though it specifically mentions only political effects, yet it intimates no allusion to the nature of the office itself. Of the religious uses, or present necessity, of such a creation I cannot be a judge, and therefore can say nothing to it; and, unless I knew both the circumstances and object of the creation, it would be impossible for me to conjecture in what way they could affect the peace of the country. May I say, without offence, that I wish any other time had been chosen for it? A surmise has gone forth of an intention in this Government to force our religion upon the consciences of the people in India, who are subjected to the authority of the Company. It has pervaded every one of the three Establishments of Bengal, Fort St. George, and Bombay, and has unhappily impressed itself with peculiar force upon the minds of our Native Infantry, the men on whom we must depend, in the last resort, for our protection against any disturbances, which might be the effect of such surmises. Much would depend upon the temper, conduct, and demeanour of the person devoted to that sacred office. I dare not say all that is in my mind on this subject; but it is one of great hazard.

And thus expressing his fears, the fine old man stood* there,

* We ought to write *sate*. The accommodation of a chair was offered to Mr. Hastings, then in his eighty-first year; and it is on record, that the motion to afford him a seat, whilst delivering his evidence, was received with one of the loudest bursts of acclamation ever heard in the House. His own account of his examination is to be found in a letter addressed to Sir (then Mr.) Charles D'Oyley.

the embodiment of public opinion, as it was in India some twenty years before. Another Governor-General followed him; he spoke also, according to the light that was in him—but how different that light! Lord Teignmouth came forward, as the representative of a more enlightened era, laughing to scorn all these vague fears and idle apprehensions. The Committee seemed to know the kind of man they had to deal with, and assailed him at starting by putting an extreme case: “Would it be consistent with the security of the British empire in India, that Missionaries should preach publicly, with a view to the conversion of the native Indians, that Mahomet is an impostor, or should speak in opprobrious terms of the Brahmins, or their religious rites?” To this, of course, Lord Teignmouth replied, that there might be danger in such indiscretion; but that no one contemplated the conversion of the natives of India by such means; and when, soon afterwards, the question was put, “Is your Lordship aware that an opinion prevails in India, that it is the intention of the British Government to take means to convert the natives of the country to the Christian religion?” he answered, without a moment’s hesitation, “*I never heard it, or suspected it.*” One would have thought that there was little need after this to put the case hypothetically; but the witness was presently asked whether, allowing such an opinion to exist among the natives, the appearance of a Bishop on the stage would not increase the danger. “I should think,” said Lord Teignmouth, “it would be viewed with perfect indifference.” Determined to work the hypothesis a little more, the Committee asked him whether, “were the Hindús possessed with an idea, that we had an intention of changing their religion and converting them into Christians, it would be attended with any bad consequences at all?” “I will expatiate a little in my answer to that question,” said Lord Teignmouth; and he then delivered himself of the following explanation, the admirable good sense of which is not to be surpassed by anything to be found in the entire mass of evidence, elicited, throughout the enquiry, upon all points of the Company’s Charter:—

“Both the Hindús and Muhammedans, subject to the British Government in India, have had the experience of some years, that, in all the public acts of that Government, every attention has been paid to their prejudices,

“By the Commons,” he said, “I was under examination between three and four hours; and when I was ordered to withdraw, and was retiring, all the members, by one simultaneous impulse, rose, with their heads uncovered, and stood in silence, till I passed the door of their chamber.”—The Duke of Gloucester took him, in his carriage, to the House of Lords, sate with him in the outer room till he was called in to be examined, conducted him to the chamber, and subsequently re-conveyed him home again.—*Gleig’s Life of Warren Hastings.*

civil and religious, and that the freest toleration is allowed to them; that there are many regulations of Government which prove the disposition of Government to leave them perfectly free and unmolested in their religious ordinances; and that any attempt at an infringement upon their religion or superstitions would be punished by the Government of India. With that conviction, which arises from experience, I do not apprehend that they would be brought to believe that the Government ever meant to impose upon them the religion of this country."

But the Committee had not yet done with their hypothesis, and were determined not to let the witness, whatever might be his opinion of its absurdity, escape without giving a direct answer; so they assailed him again, by asking, "*Should the state of things be altered, and we not observe the conduct we have hitherto observed, but introduce new modes and enact new laws, for the carrying into effect the conversion of the natives to Christianity,*" would not that be attended with disagreeable consequences?" To this, of course, but one answer could be given; and Lord Teignmouth gave that answer, leaving the Committee to make what use of it they could. "If a law were to be enacted," he said, "for converting the natives of India to Christianity, in such a manner, as to have the appearance of a compulsory law upon their consciences, I have no hesitation in saying that, in that case, it would be attended with very great danger." Who ever doubted it? Who ever contended for anything so preposterous—so insane? The Committee must have been *in extremis* indeed, to have fallen back upon such sciomachy as this. They suppose a case, which the warmest advocate of Church-extension and Missionary liberty in India would never have contemplated in their most enthusiastic moments; and which the leaders of the Christian party, men of eminently sound practical good sense, would, if suggested to them, have repudiated with scorn. Such hypothetical questioning—such fighting with shadows, was quite unworthy of a Committee, whose object ought to have been to direct men's minds to the truth, and not to bewilder and lead them astray. No one ever dreamt of forcing Christianity upon the people of India: but the tendency, if not the object, of such questions, as we have cited, was obviously to induce an impression abroad that such intentions had absolutely existed. The Lords' Committee, when they examined Lord Teignmouth, did not touch upon the subject of religion, or Church establishments, at all.*

* But, knowing the kind of answers that would be returned by the two men, they had not shrunk from questioning Hastings on these points, though Teignmouth was discreetly left to himself. Warren Hastings was asked "Would the introduction of a Church establishment into the British territories in the East Indies probably be attended with any consequences, that would be injurious to the stability of the Government of India?" and he replied, "I have understood that a great fermentation

These samples will suffice. We come now to shew in what manner these questions were discussed in Parliament. It may not be uninteresting thus to exhibit, within a small compass, the conflicting opinions of the pamphleteers, of the witnesses, and of the Senate of Great Britain.

On the 22nd of March, the House having resolved itself into a Committee, the Resolutions were stated by the Foreign Secretary, Lord Castlereagh. When he came to (what ten years before had been, and still were somewhat irreverently called) the "pious clauses," he seemed somewhat inclined to get over the ground, with as much rapidity as possible. "Another resolution," he said, "which he should propose to the House, would be on the subject of Religion. He was aware that it was unwise to encroach on the subject of religion generally, and that this, under the circumstances of our Government in India, was a most delicate question. But there was one regulation on the subject necessary, even for the sake of decency. The Company entrusted with the Supreme Government, in this as in other matters, had permitted the free exercise of religion at their settlements; but there was no sort of religious controul, and the members of the Church of England could not receive the benefits of those parts of their religion, to which the Episcopalian functions were necessary,—for example, the ceremony of Confirmation. He hoped that *the House did not think he was coming out with a great ecclesiastical establishment, for it would only amount to one Bishop and three Archdeacons, to superintend the Chaplains of the different settlements. The Company, he hoped, would not think it an encroachment on their rights, that while British subjects in India were governed by British laws, they should be permitted to exercise their national religion.*" Charles Grant and Mr. Wilberforce both spoke (but briefly) on that evening; the latter complaining—"that the resolution of the 14th of May 1793, relative to the religious and moral instruction of India, had

has arisen in the minds of the natives of India, who are subject to the authority of the British Government, and that not partial, but extending to all our possessions, arising from a belief, however propagated, that there was an intention in this Government to encroach upon the religious rights of the people. From the information of persons, who have recently come from the different establishments of India, your Lordships will easily know whether such apprehensions still subsisted, when they left it, or whether the report of them is groundless; but, if such apprehensions do exist, every thing, that the irritable minds of the people can connect with that, will make an impression upon them, which they will adopt as certain assurance of it. So far only, considering the question as a political one, I may venture to express my apprehension of the consequences of such an establishment, at this particular season; in no other light, am I permitted to view it. But I can conceive, that, in a proper time and season, it would be advantageous to the interests of religion, and highly creditable to the Company and to the nation, if the Ecclesiastical Establishment in India were rendered complete in all its branches."

“ not been attended to.” He was unwilling, he said, to leave the same power in the hands of the directors, for twenty years to come, who had set their face against the introduction of preachers into that country, for twenty years past.

On the 9th of April, moving for certain papers, the Marquis of Wellesley, in an able, and energetic speech, reviewed the whole question of Indian Government in the House of Lords. When he came to those especial points, which we are now considering, he gave his opinion, but not without some qualification, in favour of an extension of the Church establishment; and delivered himself of a well-deserved complimentary tribute to the Missionaries. But he spoke as a man with a hobby of his own, which he was resolutely bestriding; and, thoughtless of any great comprehensive system calculated to advance the real glory of a Christian nation, he looked only to the carrying out his favourite project of an extensive Collegiate establishment, to be presided over by the dignitaries of the Church. The old bugbear of alarming the natives had possession even of his mind:—

“ As to the last point,” he said, “ which regarded the Ecclesiastical establishment in India, he always had thought that our Ecclesiastical establishment there, did not rest on a footing sufficiently respectable. He was of opinion that a suitable Ecclesiastical establishment would tend to elevate the European character in the eyes of the natives. Whether the proper establishment would be a Bishop, or Archdeacons, was a matter of detail which could be better discussed out of that House. But if it were intended to place the Ecclesiastical establishment there on a more dignified footing, care should be taken to avoid all collision between the Government and the Church establishment, with respect to their authorities, by means similar to the connection between the Crown and the Church in this country and in Ireland. From recent events, which had taken place in India, it would, however, be certainly a matter of considerable delicacy; and, although no mischief might result from it, yet there was a possibility that the introduction of a very considerable novelty of this description in India *might occasion some alarm among the natives.*”

He lamented the absence from the scheme of the new Charter of any provision for the education of the civil and military servants of the Company. He expressed his conviction that there could be no better means of disseminating Christianity in India, than by placing the head of the Church establishment there at the head of the Collegiate establishment of Fort William; and he augured much from “ the gradual diffusion of knowledge, which would result from this intercourse between learned natives and the dignitaries of our Church in India.” He then went on to speak of the Missionaries:—

“ With regard to the Missionaries, he must say, that, while he was in India, he never knew of any danger arising from them; neither had he heard of any impression made by them, in the way of conversion. The greater number

of them were in the Danish settlements ; but he never heard of any convulsions, or any alarm being produced by them. Some of them, particularly Mr. Carey, were very learned men, and had been employed in the College of Bengal. He had always considered the Missionaries, who were in India during his time, as a quiet, orderly, discreet, and learned body ; and he had employed many of them in the education of youth, and in translating the Scriptures into the Eastern languages. He however had issued no order, nor given any authority for the dissemination of those translations among the natives. He had thought it his duty to have the Scriptures translated into the languages of the East, and to give the learned natives, employed in the translation, the advantages of access to the sacred fountains of divine truth. He thought that a Christian Governor could not have done less, and he believed that a British Governor ought not to do more.*

The President of the Board of Controul and the Prime Minister spoke upon that evening, and Lord Grenville made a very long and very able speech ; but the religious points of the question were left untouched.

In the meanwhile the Commons had proceeded in their consideration of the resolutions. On the 31st of March, they had resolved themselves into a Committee of the whole House, (Mr. Lushington in the Chair). A lengthy debate ensued, principally remarkable for a very dull speech by Mr. Bruce, and a

* The influence of Mr. Wilberforce, an intimate personal friend of Lord Wellesley, had been exerted, in this direction, with good success. With admirable tact and *savoir faire*, he assailed the weak side of his Lordship, appealing to his particular sympathies and predilections, and almost persuading him that the Anti-Christian party were attacking the Ex-Governor-General's own system. " I know not," he wrote, " whether your Lordship has heard of the unreasonable clamour, that has been raised by the Anglo-Indians in the House of Commons against all, even the most prudent, attempts to convert the natives of India ; and more especially against Missionaries. Now let me hope—a hope, which I share with, I am glad to say, a considerable number of men in the House of Commons, and with many more out of it—that your Lordship will to-morrow use your just authority in putting to flight these vain fears ;—the rather, because the alarmists are enemies of the system, which your Lordship certainly established, and which, I trust, you will confirm and revive, that, I mean, of diffusing useful knowledge of all sorts among the natives of India ; and I confess, for my own part, that I have always held, and still retain, the opinion, that education, the translation and diffusion of the Scriptures, and advancement in general knowledge, would be far the most powerful agents in the great work of Christianizing the natives of India. Your weight thrown into the right scale will make it preponderate." To this he adds a complaint, too applicable, we fear, to the Parliament of the present day, of the ignorance of both Houses—" I will only add, that your Lordship can scarcely conceive (if I may judge of the House of Lords from the general condition of the members of the House of Commons) how ignorant their Lordships in general are likely to be regarding India, and therefore how little they are qualified to ask questions in Committee." A wish was also expressed that the Marquis would attend that Committee, of which he was a member, but an ever-absent one. In replying to the speech, from which we have quoted in the text, the Earl of Buckingham, then President of the Board of Controul, taunted Lord Wellesley with his non-attendance. A select Committee had been formed, of which his noble friend was a member, but he never once had attended that Committee ; with all the knowledge and all the information he possessed on that subject, he had not condescended to cast one ray of light on their proceedings, &c. &c. Warren Hastings, Mr. Cowper, and Lord Teignmouth, had all been examined at this time.

very brilliant one by young Charles Grant.* Canning also spoke, characterising the free admission of Englishmen as traders in India, as a movement, to "allow a few pedlars to travel in the country with a pack of scissors, or other hardware, at their backs;" and declared his conviction that "no system could be radically bad, which had produced such able and enlightened statesmen, as had been examined on the part of the Company." But the "pious clauses" were not then touched upon. It was not, indeed, until the 17th of June, that the 12th resolution—"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is expedient that the Church establishment in the British territories should be placed under the superintendence of a Bishop and three Archdeacons, and that adequate provision should be made, from the territorial revenues of India, for their maintenance," came under discussion. It passed without a division; but, as that ordinarily minute reporter, Hansard, narrates, "after a long conversation." We confess, that, even at this distance of time, we should value some account of this "conversation." The Missionary clause came next. That was the field, on which the great battle was to be fought between the Christian and the Philo-Hindú parties. The resolution was thus worded:—"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that such measures ought to be adopted, as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement. That in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law, to persons desirous of going to, and remaining in, India, for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs." A special day was set apart for the discussion of this clause. It was cautiously worded, so as to contain no direct mention of Missionaries and Christianity. The 22nd of June was fixed for the discussion. Wilberforce had girded himself for the conflict; and went down to the House with quite an encyclopædia of authorities in support of his favourite opinions. His whole heart was in the encounter. He spoke long and well, tossing about the testimonies of the learned with a prodigality that was quite overwhelming. He quoted the opinions of all the Governors-General, one after the other, to show that the people of India were the most abandoned people on the face of the earth. He quoted the historians; he quoted the Missionaries; he quoted the civil servants of the Company.

* The present Lord Glenelg. It must have been a fine thing to have seen the two Charles Grants—father and son—fighting side by side on the floor of the House of Commons.

He quoted Orme, Verelst, Scrafton, Bolt, Malcolm, Grant, Mackintosh, Colebrooke, Kerr, Marshman, Carey, Ward, and an infinite number of official reports. He piled up authority upon authority to demonstrate the claims of this unhappy, and most benighted, people upon the Christian sympathies of the British nation. It was a noble piece of special pleading, not exempt from exaggeration—that exaggeration, which is perhaps seldom absent from the addresses of a man very full of his subject, very earnest and energetic, thoroughly convinced in his own mind, and intensely eager to bring conviction to the minds of others. The grandeur of its aims, the high character and pure sincerity of the speaker, impart a dignity and a purity to the address, which it is impossible not to venerate. It made an impression upon the House; it made an impression throughout the country. “The dogmas of some men,” writes Sir James Stephen, who, in fulfilment of the mandate, *Thine own friend and thy Father's friend forsake not*, has borne touching and eloquent tribute to the worth of Wilberforce and his chosen associates, “the dogmas of some men are of incomparably more value (in the House of Commons) than the logic of others; and no member, except the leaders of the great contending parties, addressed the House with an authority equal to that of Mr. Wilberforce.” Out of the House too, his name was a tower of strength. Carefully corrected by the speaker, the speech, to which we now refer, was published by Hatchard, and found its way into extensive circulation. Its course was successful, but not unopposed. The resolution was carried that night by a majority of 89 to 36; but, after a day or two, the question was re-opened in another stage of the business. On the 28th, the elder Grant made a long and able speech in defence of the Company. Mr. Lushington followed, with a reply to Mr. Wilberforce, and a defence of the Hindús, to be answered by stout William Smith,* who, with Mr. Stephen, the father of the ecclesiastical biographer, had fought the battle of Christianity nobly, as the lieutenants of Mr. Wilberforce. On the 1st of July, the discussion was again resumed, and a very remarkable speech delivered on the wrong side of the question.

The speaker was Mr. Charles Marsh. This gentleman had

* Mr. Tierney was the next speaker. Mr. Tierney often said very clever things in a very bad spirit. But it appears to us that the following is a very stupid thing in a very bad spirit. “He now came to the consideration of a clause for the appointment of an Archbishop, who was never to apply himself to trade. Why, what was he to employ himself about? An arduous task—the jurisdiction from the Cape of Good Hope to remote Cape Horn. It would have been well, had any explanation been given, concerning what the Archbishop was to busy himself about. He had no concern with morals and religion: these were confided in a separate clause to the Missionaries. It appeared to him a gross job, the object of which was Church patronage in India.” In such a spirit, and with such an amount of intelligence, was the episcopal question discussed by independent members of the House of Commons.

formerly been a member of the legal profession at Madras. He had taken a conspicuous part in the discussions which had arisen, a few years before, out of the unhappy dissensions at that presidency, during the administration of Sir George Barlow, distinguishing himself by the bitterness with which he assailed that mis-judged statesman. He was a writer and speaker of eminent ability; bold, earnest, and impetuous: but he wanted judgment, temper, and consistency. He used strong language, and he used it well. His declamation was forcible, vivid, picturesque. But the impression left upon the minds of his hearers was of a transitory character. They admired his eloquence, but were not convinced by his arguments. The address, which he delivered on the 1st of July, 1813—an elaborate protest against Christian liberty in India—even now that a second Charter has nearly expired since it was reported, cannot be read without the strongest feelings of regret, that such fine talents were turned to such bad account. With a more chastened fancy, a more calm and philosophic temperament, with a less dominant self-reliance, with less impatience, and with less intolerance, he might have taken a foremost place among the debaters of that epoch; but he wanted the steadiness and the more useful qualities, without which neither the Senate nor the Forum bestow their honors upon the competitor for distinction.

There was little or nothing in this address that had not been said before; but Mr. Marsh assuredly said it better than it had been said before. He said, indeed, every thing that could be said upon the subject; and he said it extremely well. A dexterous allusion to the murder at Blackheath of Mr. and Mrs. Bonar by their footman, Nicholson, which was to the year 1813, what the Manning murder was to 1849; and to the still mysterious affair of the alleged attack upon the Duke of Cumberland by his valet, Sellis—two incidents which were then exciting the public mind—told with something of novel effect on the House, and must be regarded as an original illustration of the superior virtue of the native servants, who sleep at our doors:—

“There is, however, one relation of life, on which all its comfort and most of its security depends, and in this the Hindús are punctiliously faithful—I mean that of servants. I cannot help demanding the testimony of those, who have resided in India, to this fact; a fact, which pleads for them, I should hope, with the more efficacy, from the dreadful occurrences, which have of late destroyed the confidence, and impaired the safety of that most important of the social connections in this country. You entrust your servants in India, without apprehension, with money, jewels, plate. You sleep amongst them with open doors. You travel through remote and unfrequented countries, and your life and property are safe under their

protection. Can all this be the fruit of a superstition, which morality and right reason require us to extirpate, as a nuisance and an abomination?"

We must give another sample or two of this speech. Here is a picture of the misery resulting from loss of caste:—

"The loss of caste is the immediate consequence of conversion; and it is the most dreadful ill with which a Hindú can be visited. It throws upon him every variety of wretchedness. It extinguishes all the wholesome charities and kindly affections. His very kindred desert him. It becomes an abomination to eat with him, even to speak to him. The hand is accursed that ministers to him. All mankind fly from him as from an infection. His only refuge from this overwhelming force of misery is death; a solitary, friendless, uncomfortable death, amidst the scoffs and scorn, and revilings of his species."

It was of course the object of this party to exalt the Hindú character. It must, in all candour, be acknowledged, that Wilberforce and his associates had unduly depreciated it. There was considerable exaggeration on both sides; but it may be doubted whether the following eloquent picture of Hindúism is not more poetically untrue than anything that emanated from Mr. Marsh's antagonists:—

"Indeed, when I turn my eyes either to the present condition, or ancient grandeur, of that country; when I contemplate the magnificence of her structures; her spacious reservoirs, constructed at an immense expense, pouring fertility and plenty over the land, the monuments of a benevolence, expanding its cares over remote ages; when I survey the solid and embellished architecture of her temples; the elaborate and exquisite skill of her manufactures and fabrics; her literature, sacred and profane; her gaudy and enamelled poetry, on which a wild and prodigal fancy has lavished all its opulence; when I turn to the philosophers, lawyers, and moralists, who have left the oracles of political and ethical wisdom, to restrain the passions, and to awe the vices, which disturb the commonwealth; when I look at the peaceful and harmonious alliances of families, guarded and secured by the household virtues; when I see, amongst a cheerful and well-ordered society, the benignant and softening influences of religion and morality, a system of manners founded on a mild and polished obeisance, and preserving the surface of social life smooth and unruffled—I cannot hear without surprise, mingled with horror, of sending out Baptists and Anabaptists to civilize, or convert, such a people, at the hazard of disturbing or deforming institutions, which appear to have hitherto been the means ordained by Providence of making them virtuous and happy."

This speech called forth a rejoinder from Wilberforce, distinguished by no common ability. Southey had ransacked his marvellous common-place book to supply illustrations, drawn from Portuguese history, of the little danger, that attends interference with the customs of the people of India. And now the speaker, thus fortified by the erudition of the newly-appointed laureate, cited Albuquerque with good effect; entered into an elaborate explanation of the causes of the massacre of Vellore (an event which Mr. Marsh had of course emphatically dwelt upon, for it was the stock in trade of his party); spoke of the

suppression of female infanticide by Jonathan Duncan and Colonel Walker, and of the Sagor sacrifices by Lord Wellesley; rebuked Mr. Marsh for speaking of the Missionaries as Ana-baptists and fanatics; and compared the present contest with the great struggle, in which he and his friends had so long been engaged, for the suppression of the slave trade. He was followed by Mr. Forbes, Mr. William Smith, and other speakers, among whom was Whitbread, who spoke out manfully in favour of the resolution. "I am charmed with Whitbread," wrote Buchanan to a friend, a few days afterwards, "when he sounds the right note." The House divided; and there were fifty-four votes for the clause, and thirty-two against it. A hundred members could not be induced to sit out this important debate. Five hundred had divided a few weeks before on the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. The most important Indian questions were debated in thin Houses. The clause, however, was not carried less surely for that in the Commons. In the House of Lords it passed without a division.

And so the victory was gained. A Charter, embracing the establishment of an Indian Bishopric and the concession of greater liberty to Christian Missions, passed into law; and those good men, who had fought so valiantly in the libraries of their suburban villas, and on the floor of the Commons' House at Westminster, rejoiced with an exceeding great joy over their success. "In the roll of names," writes Sir James Stephen, "most distinguished in that conflict, scarcely one can be found, which does not also grace the calendar of Clapham. It was a cause emphatically Claphamic." They all lived to see the end of the struggle; but, the contest over, some soon descended to their graves. "John Venn," says the ecclesiastical biographer, "to whom the whole sect looked up as their pastor and spiritual guide, was at that time on his death-bed. He had been the projector, and one of the original founders, of the Society for sending Missionaries of the Anglican communion to Africa and the East—a body, which, under the name of the 'Church Missionary Society,' now commands a wider field of action, and a more princely revenue, than any Protestant association of the same character."* Nor was he the only one of that band

* The Church Missionary Society exerted itself to the utmost in this conjuncture. On the 21st April, 1812, a special general meeting of the Society was held, at which 400 gentlemen were present, including several members of Parliament. Lord Gambier was in the Chair. By this meeting a Committee, or Deputation, was appointed to seek for interviews with his Majesty's Ministers, and to use all available means of obtaining a favourable reply to their petition. This deputation held various conferences with the Prime Minister and other leading members of the administration: but their success was mainly owing to the indefatigable labours of the secretary of the Society, the Rev. Josiah Pratt.

He made arrangements for large and influential meetings throughout the country,

of Christian athletes, whose days were well nigh numbered. Henry Thornton did not long survive his honoured friend and pastor; and Claudius Buchanan soon followed his early benefactor to the grave. Neither lived to receive the tidings of the arrival of the first Indian Bishop at the seat of his future labours. In January 1815, Henry Thornton entered into his rest. Claudius Buchanan, whose strength had been for some time visibly declining, came up from the country to attend the funeral of his revered patron and friend. The effort was too much for him. The inclement January weather told with deadly effect upon his decaying constitution, and he returned home only to die.

He was not an old man. He had not, indeed, entered his fiftieth year. But he had brought with him a debilitated constitution from India, and had encountered many severe trials, since his return to his native land. The disappointments of worldly ambition were not, however, among them. He was not a disappointed man. If he had ever been ambitious, he had long outgrown his ambition. It was of course imputed to him that his zeal in behalf of the establishment of episcopal jurisdiction in India was fostered, if it was not actually generated, by a selfish desire to place the mitre upon his own brows. It would have been marvellous, if this charge had not been brought against him; for in polemics forbearance is a rare quality; but, we believe, that there was no more truth in the accusation than in the ordinary shifts of defeated controversialists, who, when argument is lacking, betake themselves to abuse. Before leaving India, he had written to Mr. Grant,—“As to returning ‘in order to receive episcopal dignity, my soul sinks at the thought of it. I trust my lines will rather be cast in a curacy. Place the mitre on any head. Never fear; it will do good among the Hindus. A spiritual Bishop will appear in good time.” True, this same *Nolo episcopari* has often been uttered before, and with no great amount of sincerity. But we believe that Buchanan was sincere. He had very large views of Episcopal Church government; but we do not believe that they

framed petitions, drew up resolutions, and himself appealed most effectively to the public, both from the platform, and through the press; and, with the most marked and happy effect, in January, 1813, he published the first number of “The Missionary Register.” The admirable and judicious manner in which he brought the claims of the heathen before the public, his own high character, personal influence, and holy zeal in the cause, and the (already) high and well won reputation of the Serampore Missionaries, did much to win the battle. Nor was he, even in this life, without his reward. In one year, after the publication of the Register, the income of the Society rose from £3000 to £14,000; and, what its subsequent course has been, all Christians know. He lived to see “a spiritual” bishop: he lived to see his own pupil and friend at the head of the Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment; he lived to see his own son (the present Archdeacon of Calcutta) like minded with himself, labouring in the same great field; and he died, lamented by good men of every persuasion, full of years and honour.

embraced his own promotion. He was not the first to cry aloud for the appointment of an Anglo-Indian Bishop. More than a century before, Dean Prideaux had contended for the expediency of such a measure. Long before Buchanan lifted up his voice in behalf of the East, some of our Western settlements had been endowed with Episcopal establishments. The first Bishop of Nova Scotia was appointed in 1787; and, in 1793, Quebec was erected into an Episcopal See. Buchanan's grand ideas of a fitting Church establishment for India were regarded forty years ago as the exaggerations of an enthusiast; but we are not now very far from the realisation of his splendid dreams. "One observation I would make," he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "on the proposed Ecclesiastical establishment. A partial or half measure will have no useful effect. An Archbishop is wanted for India; a sacred and exalted character, surrounded by his Bishops, of ample revenue and extensive sway; a venerable personage whose name shall be greater than the transitory governors of the land; and whose fame, for piety, and for the will and power to do good, may pass throughout every region." It is not wholly impossible that the next Charter may contain provisions for "an Archbishop, surrounded by his Bishops." We are not very far removed from such a consummation.

What was thought by Claudius Buchanan of the selection, that was made from among the clergy of Great Britain to fill the Episcopal chair, now first planted on Indian soil, his biographer has not informed us. The state of Buchanan's health was a sufficient bar to his promotion, had no other impediments existed. But there is no reason to believe otherwise than that, had his constitution been unimpaired, his claims would equally have been passed over. He was not in good odour in high places. His zeal and ability were admitted; but, rightly or wrongly, he was supposed to be wanting in judgment and discretion. He was not a safe man. A safe man was wanted; and one was found in the parish of St. Pancras.

Thomas Fanshawe Middleton, the only son of a country clergyman, was born in January 1769, at his father's Rectory, in the village of Kedleston, Derbyshire. At the age of ten, he was sent to Christ's Hospital (the "Blue Coat School"), whence he emerged in due course to commence, at Pembroke College, Cambridge, his university career. In January 1792, he took his bachelor's degree—standing forth in the list of senior optimes. In the following March, he was ordained Deacon by Dr. Pretymann, Bishop of Lincoln, and entered upon his duties, as a minister of the Gospel, in the quiet curacy of Gainsborough.

Bishop Middleton was one of many eminent men, who have owed their elevation in life merely to their connexion with the Press. At Gainsborough, having sufficient leisure for literary pursuits, he edited a small periodical, entitled the "Country Spectator," which, short-lived as it was, endured sufficiently long to recommend the writer of the principal papers to the good offices of Dr. Pretyman, brother of the Bishop, who took the trouble to lift the anonymous veil, and, having lifted it, was sufficiently well pleased with the result to secure Mr. Middleton's services for the domestic education of his sons. The Pretyman interest seems to have been the making of the young clergyman. It introduced him not merely to ordinary church preferment, but to such scholarly society, as, under other circumstances, would not have been within his reach; and, from this attrition of erudite classical minds emanated that work on the Greek article, which laid the broad foundation-stone of his reputation and his success. In those days, a treatise on the Greek article was the surest stepping stone to a Bishopric. Such at least was the received opinion. How far it may have assisted in the elevation of Middleton, we do not undertake to determine; but his advancement, after that great feat of scholarship, was sufficiently rapid to warrant a conjecture that the Greek article was, to some extent, a motive power. The Pretymans, as we have said, were his great patrons. Through them he obtained the livings of Tansor and Bythams, a prebendal stall at Lincoln, the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon, the Rectory of Puttenham, in Hertfordshire, and the great parish of St. Pancras, London. In the last of these, Dr. Middleton exerted himself to compass the erection of a new parish church. It was deplorably wanted;—but, some how or other, he failed. The good work, which he could not achieve, was left to his successor to accomplish;* and St. Pancras now rejoices in one of the most capacious religious edifices in the metropolis of England.

His removal to London, which took place in 1811, enabled him to take an active part in the proceedings of the Christian Knowledge Society, to form many valuable clerical acquaintances, and to undertake the editorship of the *British Critic*—at that time a periodical of some repute in the literary and religious worlds. He was in a fair way now to the highest honours of the Church, and would, not improbably, have risen to the episcopal dignity in his own country, if the establishment of the Indian Bishopric had not opened the road to more speedy preferment. The nomination of the new Bishop was entrusted to the President

* Dr. Moore succeeded Dr. Middleton, and held the living for nearly five and thirty years. It is now held by Mr. Dale.

of the Board of Controul—then the Earl of Buckinghamshire; and the choice, upon the recommendation (it would seem) of Dr. Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln, fell upon Dr. Middleton, who held a prebendal stall in that diocese. “Overpowered by the vast magnitude and appalling novelty of such a charge, he was at first tempted to decline the offer. His maturer thoughts, however, condemned this determination as unworthy of a Christian Minister; and he found no peace of mind, until he had recalled his first decision, and had formed a resolution to brave the difficulties of the office, and the dangers of a tropical climate, in the service of his Saviour.”

On the 8th of May, 1814, in the Chapel attached to that venerable pile of buildings, which imparts something of interest to the dreary tract of river-bank, that lies between Westminster and Vauxhall—the archi-episcopal palace of Lambeth—the first Indian Bishop was formally consecrated. The Consecration Sermon was preached by Dr. Rennell, Dean of Winchester. The subject was a suggestive one; but what it suggested it is not permitted us to write. There is no exhumation of the discourse practicable, search, as we may, in public libraries or old book-shops. It is customary to publish these things; but good Dr. Rennell's Consecration Sermon was *not* published. Christianity had triumphed; but still, in spite of its triumph, Christianity was compelled to walk with discretion. There were thorns and briars, and broken glass and sharp flint-stones, to be avoided with cautious tread. The Bishopric had been wrung from Parliament; but it was dangerous to make a noise about it. The least said, the soonest mended. The enemy had been beaten, but not annihilated; and it was deemed prudent not to invite any new attacks. So the Sermon was left to languish in the obscurity of manuscript, secure from the stolid assaults of the Warings, the Twinings, and other ingenious members of the same college of alarmists, who saw a massacre in every thread of the lawn-sleeves, which were now about, for the first time, to form an item of an Indian outfit.

Having been elected a fellow of the Royal Society—having been complimented by the Christian Knowledge Society, who placed £1,000 at his disposal for the promotion of their views in India—and having received from his friends a parting memorial in the shape of a superb silver inkstand, Bishop Middleton embarked for Calcutta. Among the passengers in the *Warren Hastings* were two of the new Archdeacons. It might be thought, and not unreasonably, that a selection for these subordinate offices might have been made from among those ministers, who had long been bearing, in India, “the burden and

heat of the day : " but, except in the case of the Madras Arch-deaconry, which was bestowed upon Mr. Mousley, a resident chaplain, the appointments fell to the lot of new men—fellows of Oxford. The Simeonites were not much in favor in those days. Among the passengers, too, was Dr. Bryce, who had been appointed, under the new charter, Scotch Chaplain, and who was destined afterwards to fill no inconsiderable part in the annals of Indian controversial literature.

During the voyage, Bishop Middleton devoted himself to the study of the Persian and Hebrew languages ; and drew up a table of rules for his future observance, which are so characteristic of the man, that we cannot refrain from quoting them :—

" Invoke divine aid. Preach frequently, and as ' one having authority.' Promote schools, charities, literature, and good taste : nothing great can be accomplished without policy. Persevere against discouragement. Keep your temper. Employ leisure in study, and always have some work in hand. Be punctual and methodical in business, and never procrastinate. Keep up a close connection with friends at home. Attend to forms. Never be in a hurry. Preserve self-possession, and do not be talked out of conviction. Rise early, and be an economist of time. Maintain dignity without the appearance of pride : manner is something with every body, and every thing with some. Be guarded in discourse, attentive, and slow to speak. Never acquiesce in immoral or pernicious opinions. Beware of concessions and pledges. Be not forward to assign reasons to those who have no right to demand them. Be not subservient nor timid in manner, but manly and independent, firm and decided. Think nothing in conduct unimportant and indifferent. Be of no party. Be popular, if possible ; but, at any rate, be respected. Remonstrate against abuses, where there is any chance of correcting them. Advise and encourage youth. Rather set than follow example. Observe a grave economy in domestic affairs. Practise strict temperance. Remember what is expected in England : and, lastly, remember the *final account*."

Middleton's Biographer speaks of these, as "*golden maxims*," and it appears to us that they are so, in one sense,

For gold and grace did never yet agree,

as good old George Herbert phrases it. They are rather worldly, and very like the man. It is something that the rules, such as they were, were not lightly departed from ; but there is the formalist in every line of them. They might have been written by a respectable Pagan.

The voyage out was a prosperous and a pleasant one. Middleton fitted up a library in his cabin, " furnished with more than a hundred volumes, Hebrew, Greek, Persian, Latin, French and English—theological, classical, mathematical, historical and poetical ;" he preached, on Sundays, to an orderly and attentive congregation, and was well-pleased with his fellow-passengers and the Captain. Stopping at Madeira, he was induced to preach to the Factory there ; but, as there was no regularly con-

secrated Church, the mind of the formalist misgave him. "I rather hesitated at first about preaching in such a place; but I recollected that the Bishops in England preach in proprietary chapels, which are not a whit better, and have less excuse; for the Portuguese Government will not allow anything, having the interior of a church, to be built by Protestants." Why, under such circumstances, he should have hesitated to preach "in a room, with seats for the ladies, and a sort of desk for the clergyman," more than in the cuddy, or on the quarter deck, of the *Warren Hastings*, with the dinner table, or the capstan, for a pulpit, it is not very easy to discern. And it is still less easy to understand how one, claiming to be a successor of the apostles, can have hesitated at all, about doing what the apostles did of old, and a greater than the apostles did before them.

On the 28th of November, 1814, the first Indian Bishop ascended the steps of one of the ghâts of Calcutta. His landing, in his own words, "was without any éclat, for fear of alarming the prejudices of the natives." On Christmas day, he preached his first sermon, before a congregation of 1,300 persons, and administered the sacrament to 160 communicants, including the judges and the members of council. "The day," he wrote to his friends in England, "will long be remembered in Calcutta."

And so commenced the episcopal period of Christianity in India. There was no commotion—no excitement at its dawn. Offended Hinduism did not start up in arms; nor indignant Muhammedanism raise a war-cry of death to the infidel. English gentlemen asked each other, on the course, or at the dinner table, if they had seen the Bishop; and officious native sircars pressed their services upon the "Lord Padre Sahib." But the heart of Hindu Society beat calmly as was its wont. Brahmanism stood not aghast at the sight of the lawn sleeves of the Bishop; he preached in the Christian temple on the Christian's *bara din*; and that night the Europeans in Calcutta slept securely in their beds: securely next morning they went forth to their accustomed work. There was not a massacre; there was not a rebellion. Chowringhee was not in a blaze; the waters of the *Lall Diggy* did not run crimson with Christian blood. The merchant took his place at his desk; the public servant entered his office; and the native underlings salamed meekly and reverentially as ever. In the Fort, the English captain faced his native company; and the sepoy, whatever his caste, responded to the well-known word of command,

with the ready discipline he had learned under the old charter. Everything went on according to wonted custom, in spite of the Bishop, and his lawn sleeves, and his sermon on Christmas day. No one looked differently; no one felt differently; and it really seemed probable, after all, that British dominion in the east would survive the episcopal blow.

The truth is, that those of the natives—the better educated and more intelligent few—who really thought anything about the matter, thought the better of us for evincing this outward respect for our religion, and have thought the better of us and our faith ever since. All the trash, that was written and spoken about alarming the Hindus, and weakening our hold of India; all the ominous allusions to the Vellore massacre, and anticipations of new catastrophes of the same class, now appeared in their true light, and were valued at their proper worth. Mr. Buchanan's "sanguinary doctrines," as Mr. Twining ludicrously called them, in one of his pamphlets, had now been fully reduced to practice; and yet not a drop of blood had been shed—not a blow struck—not a menace uttered—not a symptom of disquiet had evinced itself. Our empire in India was then "not worth a year's purchase;" and yet now for thirty-five years has it survived that first awful episcopal sermon on Christmas day.

Of the condition of the Church, on the arrival of Bishop Middleton, some idea may be gathered from the article on the "Ante-episcopal period" in a former number of this Review. "The total number of clergy," says Mr. LeBas, "both Civil and Military, did not, there is reason to believe, in 1814 exceed thirty-two; in the proportion of fifteen for Bengal, twelve for Madras, and five for Bombay. This number, small as it was, was subject to continual reduction, by illness, death, necessary absence, or return to England. Such, for instance, was the amount of these casualties at Bombay on the arrival of Archdeacon Barnes, in 1814, that he found at that presidency only one efficient clergyman on the establishment; and was compelled himself for some time to undertake the ordinary duties of a Chaplain. Mr. Whitehead says that this computation is too high; and makes the following statement on the authority of Mr. Abbott, the Ecclesiastical Registrar—"On the arrival of Bishop Middleton in 1814, he found effective resident chaplains in Bengal, eight; in Madras, five or six; and in Bombay, one. Missionaries, under Episcopal jurisdiction, or licensed by the Bishop, there were none. India then possessed fifteen parochial clergy." We have now in the three presidencies more than two hundred clergymen of the Church of England.

“The grand evil,” writes Mr. LeBas, “next to the want of the regular episcopal superintendence, was the insufficiency of the number of the clergy; it is painful to add that, few as they were, the Churches, or places set apart for divine worship, were still fewer. At each presidency, or seat of the local Governments, there was one Church, and one only: for the second Church at Calcutta, was private property, and the Chaplain, who officiated there, was especially appointed to that service by the Court.” (It was not less a church for all that). “In the country, there were one or two more churches at certain of the more important stations; but, in most of the places, where the clergy were called upon to officiate, no such provision was made. A mess-room, a barrack, or, in some instances, the official court of the magistrate, was the only convenience that could be obtained for the assembling of a Christian congregation, and the public exercise of prayer and praise to the Almighty.” Marriages were generally performed by commanding officers, or civil authorities, and the sacrament of baptism was often administered by laymen. But there were worse things still in the opinion of the orthodox biographer; for a minister of the Church of England—on one occasion certainly, perhaps on others—had “ventured on the performance of religious functions in a character, higher than that to which he had been ordained!”

The Bishop soon began to busy himself about forms, and to exhibit much orthodox zeal in the matter of church-building, “You will be glad,” he wrote to Archdeacon Barnes, “to hear that, including a chapel at the Gaol here, Surat chapel will be one of four now building in India. *Pray, direct that it be placed with the altar to the East;*” and again, “*pray request Mr. Carr, to take care that it be built in the proper direction, east and west; so that the altar be eastward.*” The architects in India seem rather to affect variety than uniformity in this particular. *“There has been sad irregularity!”* Sad, indeed!—But Brown and Buchanan, Martyn and Thomason, had not been much distressed by it; or, at all events, had borne the affliction patiently and uncomplainingly. Perhaps, they had learnt no lessons in Church architecture at Mr. Simeon’s college rooms, The Simeon and Pretzman schools seem to have somewhat differed.

The Bishop was a martyr to the prickly heat. He complained piteously of it, in his letters. “It has ignited,” he said, “my whole frame; and what with the sensations of pricking, and burning, and itching, and soreness, and lassitude, and irritability, I am little qualified for anything that requires

'attention." But there was something that irritated even more than the prickly heat; and that was—Dr. Bryce. The same charter, which tolerated a Bishop, tolerated also two Scotch clergymen; and the same ship, which conveyed the Bishop to Calcutta, carried also the Senior Scotch Chaplain. The ship-mates had not been long landed, before, as it is said, Dr. Bryce applied to the Bishop for the alternate use of the Cathedral! The application, as might be expected, not proving successful, he obtained the use of the college hall, and there preached a sermon, in which little quarter was given to the predominance of Episcopalianism; and he published it as a "Sermon preached at the opening of the Church of Calcutta." And to crown the whole, when the first stone of St. Andrew's Church was laid, with great national demonstration, and Masonic ceremonials, Bishop Middleton was invited to attend.*

All this was gall and wormwood to the Bishop. It irritated him more than the prickly heat; and the visitation was kept alive by the astounding presumption of the Presbyterian community of Calcutta, who petitioned Parliament for the privilege of being married by their own ministers, and according to the rites of their own Church. They gained their point too. The Scottish ministers at the presidencies were permitted to perform the ceremony of marriage for members of the Scottish Church; and "it will easily be imagined," writes Mr. LeBas, "that occurrences of this description were not peculiarly animating or consolatory to Bishop Middleton."† Calcutta, indeed, was found to be a very hot-bed of schism; and the Bishop thought, as does his biographer, it was very hard that the state should have conspired to disturb the even tenor of the Church's existence at so critical a time.

A new source of inquietude arose from the defective provi-

* Speaking of the appointment of the Scotch Chaplains, and the erection of the Scotch Churches in the three presidencies, Mr. LeBas observes that "it was shown incontestably, that there was no occasion for such a movement, by the fact, that, when the new congregation was formed in Calcutta, it withdrew no more than 100 members from our communion, and that in the other presidencies the defection was still more insignificant." This is very inconclusive. There may have been many others, not withdrawn from Episcopal communion, because never in it. Mr. LeBas should estimate the want by the number, who joined the Scotch congregation, when the Church was erected.

† In the celebrated "steeple" controversy also, the pugnacious Dr. Bryce was again victorious. The vexation of Mr. Lebas, in relating this fresh instance of Presbyterian presumption, is not a little amusing. "St. Andrew's Church in Calcutta," writes he, "is a much more stately fabric than St. John's Cathedral, while the Scotch Church at Madras is, perhaps, the noblest Christian edifice in Hindustan. It was built after the model of a Church in Italy, with two fine domes, and to these, was added a spire, which, like that at Calcutta, towers very considerably above the steeple of every English place of worship!" The Bishop's biographer however consoles himself with the reflection, that the Court of Directors agreed to erect the Bombay spire as a matter of indifference, not as a matter of right! p 247.

sions of the letters patent. He was a Bishop without a clergy. There were clergymen in India—but there was no parochial clergy. There was no clergy, over which he had supreme authority. The chaplains were Government chaplains, amenable to the orders of the secular authorities—sent hither and thither, in general orders, like a Deputy Collector, or a Captain of Engineers. The Bishop had really no power over them; and of this complaint was not unreasonably made. The Governor-General—Lord Moira—decided in favour of the authority of the Bishop; but the Court of Directors repealed the decision; and the Bishop was no longer suffered to be commandant of the regiment of chaplains.*

In July 1815, the office of confirmation was performed for the first time in Calcutta; and December of the same year witnessed the Bishop's first visitation. On the 18th of that month, he left Calcutta for Madras. In the latter presidency, he found church affairs even in a less encouraging condition, than in that which he had just left. In his own words, "within two years, a clergyman of good character was put under arrest by his commanding officer. In another instance, a military officer chose to have notice of the sacrament inserted in regimental orders; and, in a third, an officer ordered a chaplain to do the duty in a place so offensive, that no body could attend." The secular authorities were getting the upper hand sadly. But there was consolation and encouragement for him, at all events in one circumstance, that greeted his arrival at Madras. There was a splendid new church (St. George's) to consecrate. "Yesterday," he wrote, "I consecrated a handsomer Church than any, which I recollect in London, supported on eighteen Ionic columns, which no English eye would distinguish from marble; with a lofty and elegant spire, and standing in a field (also to be consecrated) of five or six acres, surrounded with rows of palm trees. The whole conveys a magnificent idea of Christianity in the East. I was assisted, on this occasion, by seven of my clergy, a great number to bring together in this country; and the solemnity seems to have been very gratifying to the inhabitants. This morning I confirmed nearly 300, of whom I rejoiced to find a large portion were adults.....A respect for the ordinances of our religion is gaining ground. To-morrow morning, I am to receive, at ten o'clock, a deputation from the Armenian

* A later order of the Court, however, directs the Government to attend to the Bishop's recommendations; and we believe, that, in Bengal and the N. W. Provinces at least, this is invariably done.

' nation, who are numerous at Madras ; and at eleven, no less a person than his highness the Nabob of the Carnatic, who returns my visit ; *and, on which occasion, the guns will be fired from the fort.*" At these interviews the Nabob embraced him very affectionately, without, after the manner of Sivaji, sticking a knife into his bowels ; and it does not appear that his highness, or any other potentate of Heathendom, felt the least alarm for their hereditary faith, from the appearance of the Lord Padre Sahib of the Feringhis at their gates.

But the secular authorities of Madras were not equally confident. They had not forgotten the Vellore affair. Visions of blood were still floating before their eyes. They thought a Bishop a most dangerous, revolutionary personage—the representative of a pestilential heresy ; and they anticipated that his visit to the southward would be the signal for another massacre. But the Bishop started, with his family, and his suite ; visited the Seven Pagodas, inspected the Capuchin Church and Jesuit's College at Pondicherry, where the Romanists, with courteous toleration, made him a present of books ; halted at Cuddalore, the seat of some of our earliest Protestant labours ; proceeded thence to the great Pagodas of Chillumbrum, where the Brahmans pressed forward to look at him, showed him the lions of their temple, and, instead of anticipating that he would demolish it, asked for a little money for its repair. It is not recorded in history, that the episcopal tour produced either a rebellion, or an earthquake.

At Tranquebar, he was received with open arms. The population went out to meet him in the streets, or greeted him from the windows and the house-tops. "The place," he wrote, "is in great distress ; and the people are living on incomes, which, in this country, appear still smaller by comparison ; but I never saw poverty more respectable. The mission there is everything, and the missionaries are the regular clergy of the place." Here he lived with the Governor, entertained him and the municipal officers in turn, contributed, at the expense of the Christian Knowledge Society, two hundred pounds to the Mission ; and then pursued his journey towards Tanjore, the seat of the illustrious labours of the apostolic Schwartz. The Rajah, who had been educated by the Missionary, and who still called himself the good man's son, sent his minister to the Christian Bishop, invited him to the palace, where, descending from the musnud, he "received him at the steps of the durbar, embraced him ' with the warmest cordiality and courtesy, and, after the customary enquiries respecting his health, expressed the grati-

' fication, with which he saw the chief of our religious establishment in his country and his Court." "He subsequently," says Mr. LeBas, "assured an English officer, that no occurrence, since he had occupied the throne, had given him more lively gratification than this visit of the English prelate; and that, since he must so soon lose his society, he hoped to indemnify him by the pleasure of his correspondence."

At Trichinopoly, the Bishop consecrated a church, licensed the clergyman, confirmed about a hundred persons, including several officers, and preached twice on the Sunday. At Palamcottah, he was visited by a deputation of Brahmans from the Tinnevely Pagodas, who came to pay their respects to the Lord Padre Sahib, and to represent, that their church lands yielded so little, after payment of Government demands, that the priests were in danger of starving:—such being their lamentable position, they hailed with delight the arrival of the English Bishop, feeling sure that he would interfere, as a brother, in their behalf. Having dismissed this deputation, he received another of native Christians, who sung a hymn in Tamil; and the two parties then quitted the camp together.

From Cochin, where the Bishop found "the Dutch church shut up for want of a minister—the school in the fort destroyed—the children left unbaptized—and the sick unassisted;" and where the Syrian church was in an equally depressed state, he proceeded to Cannanore, and thence to Bombay and Ceylon. There we cannot follow him in detail. In spite of the ominous predictions of people, who ought to have known better, the first Episcopal visitation produced no sort of alarm or irritation throughout India, except in the puckah, well-verandahed houses of a few professing Christians. Native princes received the Christian Bishop with reverence, and embraced him with affection. Native priests came out from their temples to welcome him, and implored his assistance in their behalf. He came back to Calcutta again, as sound as he had quitted it. Not a hand had been lifted up against him; not a stone had been cast at him; not an affront had been put upon him. The natives of India thought the better of us and our religion—and the great question, which had been discussed in scores of pamphlets and speeches, was now set at rest for ever.

But the Bishop's troubles, which were of a different class, were not yet quieted. There was much—in Calcutta above all other places—to vex and to irritate one of his peculiar frame of mind. Schism and informality were the banes of his existence. It is melancholy to read his complaints, and to think how much cause of rejoicing there was, in at least some of the

circumstances, which caused him so much annoyance. Unhappily, in the affections of Bishop Middleton, the Church was before the Gospel. Nay, even the Church itself was a source of vexation to him, where there was not proper episcopal controul. The church missionaries were thorns in his flesh; he talked of either licensing or silencing them, but he found it was beyond him to do either. He tolerated the missionaries in remote regions; he could even rejoice in their appearances upon the outskirts of civilization; but it was a different thing, when they toiled at the very seat of the Supreme Government, and preached the gospel, without a license from any one but Christ, under the shadow of the episcopal residence itself. He did not recognize the value of the work done by Protestant ministers out of the pale of his own ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It was not Establishment work. It had not the stamp of the mitre upon it. It was not made legitimate by letters patent, or rendered lovely by lawn.

It was not likely that such men as Corrie and Thomason should regard these episcopal peculiarities without feelings of lively concern. That they differed from him, on many points, is well known; but, situated as they were, it was only decorous that they should express themselves with moderation. "I was led," wrote the former, in a letter to his brother, "last Thursday into a long conversation with the Bishop, respecting missionary proceedings, in which the Church Missionary Society, and its views were brought forward and discussed. The Bishop's chief objection was, that the sending out of English clergymen, as missionaries, would prevent the East India Company from making such a provision of chaplains as they ought to make. As far as it goes, the argument is just; but I think he ought rather to adopt such missionaries, and, by pointing out to Government the benefits produced by them, to draw forth Government support, which otherwise may not be afforded in any way."*

* See also the Bishop's own letters *passim*. "But the missionaries in orders of the Church Missionary Society," he complains in one case, "are coming out continually. Three arrived very lately; and they will become in a few years the parochial clergy. In one place the society have lately built a neat church, and appointed their minister; and who can say anything against it? Other cases of the same sort may be expected every day, and if the Church Missionary Society will supply ordained clergymen, wherever they are wanted, the Company may be relieved, indeed, of a heavy expense; but then what becomes of the Bishop's jurisdiction?" Again; "As to my recognizing the missionaries, what can I do? They will soon have in India a body of ordained clergymen, nearly half as numerous as the Company's chaplains; and I must either license them, or silence them—there is no alternative. (The Italics are the Bishop's own). But how can I silence men, who come to India under the authority of a clause in the charter?" It does not seem to have occurred to Bishop Middleton, that they came to India, not merely under the authority of a clause in the Company's charter, but under the authority of a clause in the great Gospel charter of Christianity.

Mr. Corrie had returned to England, for the benefit of his health, a few weeks after the arrival of Bishop Middleton. Towards the close of the rainy season of 1817, he was again at his post. The Bishop had returned in the preceding cold weather. There being no vacancy at the Presidency, on Corrie's arrival, he was ordered to proceed to Benares.* At that time Brown and Martyn were dead; Buchanan was in England; Thomason was at Calcutta. At Benares, as at Chunar, he employed himself diligently; founding schools; correcting translations of the Scriptures; and doing incidentally as much missionary work, as could be done, without impairing his efficiency as a chaplain. Nothing could be more correct than Corrie's views of the relative claims to his services of the chaplaincy and of the mission. "If I were professedly a missionary," he wrote to Mr. Simeon, "and had the same prospect of entrance into 'this very citadel of idolatry, I should consider it a call to live ' and die in this place; but, as a chaplain of the Government, ' am I not to consider the disposal of Government, as the voice ' of Providence to me? I can truly say, that, in the prospect ' of leaving this place, I am oppressed; O Lord undertake ' for me."

In the cold weather of 1818-19, Mr. Corrie was summoned to Calcutta, to take his place there as a Presidency Chaplain. There the characteristic kindliness and hospitality of his nature found such vent, as was denied to them in the Mofussil. The social charities were largely cultivated by him. His doors were ever open to the stranger. He was continually surrounded by his friends. To the young he was especially acceptable; and it was said of him "as long as he lives, and wherever he ' lives, he will have as many people about him, as fall in his way, ' until every corner is occupied, and he himself left without a ' corner."

It was about this time, that the Missionary zeal of Bishop

* On his way to Benares, he kept a journal, in which we find an entry, illustrative of the barbarity of those Ghât murders, to which we devoted a recent article;—"During the 19th and 20th, we had an opportunity of witnessing two distressing instances of the unfeeling conduct of the Hindus towards the sick and dying. On one occasion, two women were employed at the river side, filling the mouth of a child with mud. Miss B. asked them, if the child were ill? One of them answered 'Yes; ' Miss B.—'You are going to kill it outright.' On which they began to laugh, and talk with each other; and prosecuted their work of death. Farther on, a sick man was laid, with several people sitting round. A young and handsome Brahmin was attempting to bind a weight round his neck, in order to sink him in the river, which the sick man was resisting, with marks of much remaining strength. Abdullah called out—'Take him into some warm place, and he will recover; ' to which the Brahmin answered with a significant nod: 'Aye, aye; we will put him into a warm place; ' on which the persons around laughed aloud."

Middleton began astonishingly to develop itself. The Archbishop of Canterbury had, in that year, 1818, as President of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, made a vigorous movement in favor of Indian Missions, by proposing to place £5,000 at the disposal of the Bishop of Calcutta, to enable him to carry out the objects of the Institution—good hope being entertained of the result, now that the affairs of the Society were to be placed under “proper Diocesan controul.” A Royal letter had been obtained on application to the Prince Regent, and large collections made on the strength of it. The biographer of Bishop Middleton says, that “this intelligence ‘ was as the breath of life to him, as it showed that his urgent ‘ representations had at last succeeded in communicating a powerful impulse to the public feeling in England.” It appears to us, that it would have been more correct, if it had been stated that public feeling in England communicated a powerful impulse to Bishop Middleton.

These “splendid manifestations,” says Mr. Le Bas, “confirmed him in the resolution to attempt the foundation of a Mission College at Calcutta.” Here was a noble commencement of the Fund, which he had long wished to accumulate, for the establishment of a Collegiate Institution under Episcopal superintendence. The project was soon sketched out, and sent Home to the Propagation Society, the objects of the proposed college being thus represented :—

1. For instructing native, and other, Christian youths in the doctrines and discipline of the Church, in order to their becoming Preachers, Catechists, and School-masters.
2. For teaching the elements of useful knowledge, and the English language, to Mussulmans or Hindus, having no object in such attainments beyond secular advantage.
3. For translating the Scriptures, the Liturgy, and moral and religious tracts.
4. For the reception of English Missionaries, to be sent out by the Society, on their first arrival in India.

The proposal was readily accepted by the Propagation Society, and the promised £5,000 were placed at the Bishop's disposal. The Christian Knowledge Society also contributed £5,000 towards the undertaking. Other large sums flowed in from other quarters. Government granted a plot of ground for the erection of the building—as noble a site as could have been found in the whole country—and the work of construction was speedily commenced. It has now been completed for more than a quarter of a century, during which time it has

been, in its comely "Collegiate Gothic," an ornament to the river-bank, upon which it stands. There is not perhaps a nobler monument of an unaccomplished purpose in any part of the world.

Having devoted a special article, in a former number, to the consideration of this costly and most mortifying failure, we need but briefly allude to it in this place. On the 15th of October, 1820, the first stone of Bishop's College was laid, "with all due and impressive solemnity." It appears that the nature of the undertaking was not very clearly understood. One party "a sensible man, and a Churchman too," much scandalized the Bishop, by asking him if his new college was a branch of the Baptist establishment at Serampore! Mr. Jones, the contractor, died suddenly, whilst the edifice was in course of erection; but, after a brief pause, it sprung up, none the less rapidly for this, under the superintendence of Captain (now Colonel) Hutchinson of the Engineers. But they were getting on still further at Serampore, and this made the Bishop a little anxious and impatient.

In 1821, Bishop Middleton went forth on a visitation-tour to Bombay and Ceylon. He arrived at the former place, towards the end of February, and remained there about five weeks—during which he held his visitation, consecrated two or three burial grounds, visited the caves of Elephanta, and received a vast number of visits of ceremony and invitations to dinner. Here he began to feel, more sensibly than before, that the climate was "telling" upon his constitution, and, in more than one letter, he complained of the lassitude, which beset him, and of other distressing sensations, "symptomatic of decay." It was whilst at Bombay, that he received intelligence of the attempt, made at Queen Caroline's trial, to make light of the imputation, that she had been present during an indecorous exhibition of dancing by a mountebank named Mahomet, on the plea that Bishop Middleton and his family had attended a natch at the Governor-General's:—the witness being a gentleman, who was a guest of the Bishop's at the time. The Bishop wrote to a friend, requesting him to deny the assertion in a London paper. "As his (the witness's) topic," he wrote, "was no better, than that Mahomet must have danced decently before the Queen, because a Hindoo woman had danced decently at Calcutta, his evidence might have been spared. *The fact*, however, of my being there is utterly untrue. He did me the favour of taking charge of the ladies of my family, while I remained with my books and business at

' home. I am not quite sure that I was asked ; but I could ' safely swear that I was not there." The Governor-General, also, it would appear, thought it worth his while to deny the imputation—in a very curious manner, too, according to a statement in another letter from the Bishop :—" Lord Hastings ' was very indignant at the dragging in of the subject of Government house ; and immediately wrote to the Lord Chancellor, explaining, as was the truth, that there was no *dance* at ' his house—the mere movement of the woman's feet, whilst she ' was singing, not deserving the name." It may be a question whether the singing, in such performances, accompanies the dancing, or the dancing the singing ; but there are both singing and dancing ; and it is generally supposed that the latter, which gives the name to the exhibition, is, as grammarians say, " the worthier" of the two. There are different styles of dancing ; a native *natch-girl* does not dance like Carlotta Grisi ; but if " movement of woman's feet" to music, under such circumstances, does not constitute dancing, we do not know what does.

Touching on his way at Cochin, to glance at the Syrian Churches there, the Bishop proceeded from Bombay to Ceylon, where he was hospitably entertained by Sir Edward Barnes, whose sublime intentions were, however, somewhat frustrated by the eccentricities of the weather. A magnificent fête had been prepared, some miles out of Colombo, and a gorgeous edifice, in the style of a large gothic Cathedral, had been erected, " after the Cingalese fashion of embellishment," in honour of the Bishop. Divers other preparations were made, on an equally grand scale, for the occasion ; but, on the evening before the fête, when the Bishop was dining at Government house, a tremendous storm arose, and entirely demolished the noble structure. Foreshadowing the destiny of Bishop's College, the gorgeous gothic edifice, erected at so much expense, proved nothing but a magnificent failure. The Governor did the best he could under such circumstances ; he substituted another kind of entertainment—but the disappointment was great and general. Better things, however, were done. " During my stay," wrote the Bishop, after his departure, " I ' had a visitation—two confirmations—three consecrations of Churches, or burying-grounds ; I preached four times, and resuscitated the Promoting of Christian Knowledge District Committee, and looked into the state of the schools ; and, what is of ' most consequence, I got together a body of information respecting ecclesiastical affairs, which will furnish matter for a

paper to be addressed to His Majesty's Government."* In June he sailed again for Calcutta.

On his arrival there, he found that Mr. Mill, Principal of the new College, and Mr. Alt, one of the professors, had already made their appearance on the scene of their future labors. The walls of the college had risen to an assuming height during his absence; and so far there was much to cheer him. But there were sources of inquietude too. Rammohun Roy was entering boldly the field of controversy: the Press—"that monstrous despotism, and tremendous instrument of corruption, which some call the liberty of the Press"—was growing audacious; and he was troubled about the question of precedence, the authorities having given to the Chief Justices of the three presidencies a place, on the social ladder, higher up than that assigned to the Bishop of Calcutta. Serampore, moreover, was flourishing in its rank soil of heterodoxy; and a body of Christians had actually built a chapel at Howrah, open to the ministration of Protestant divines of all persuasions. His correspondents, too, in England were very lax: Anxiously expected communications, public and private, did not arrive. All these evils—real and imaginary—preyed upon his spirits, and affected his health. The hot weather of 1822 found him in an irritable state, both of body and of mind. On the 2nd of July, he visited the College at an early hour of the afternoon; and, on the following day, went out with Mrs. Middleton, before the sun was down, for an evening drive. The slant rays of the sun shone full upon him, dazzled his eyes, and sickened him. He said, that he was struck; and returned home. He passed that night, and the following, in a state of extreme anxiety and irritability: but it was not until the 4th, that, the fever having increased to an alarming height, Dr. Nicolson was called in. It was then too late. All the skill of that eminent practitioner could not save him. At one time certain favourable symptoms developed themselves; but they were only those delusive signs which so often are the precursors of immediate death. And so it was. On the evening of the 8th of July, those favourable symptoms were

* Besides this he ordained Mr. Armour, of whom an interesting account is to be found in Mr. Le Bas's book. "This extraordinary man," he says, "originally came out to Ceylon, as a private soldier; but subsequently he took upon himself almost the work of an evangelist among the natives, who maintained a mere nominal profession of Christianity, always conducting his ministrations in strict conformity with the services and doctrines of the established Church. . . . His heart's desire was that at some time he might be thought worthy to be received as an ordained missionary. . . . His whole soul was devoted to the service of God, and his truly Christian demeanour had won for him the cordial esteem of all ranks of men."

followed by an alarming paroxysm of fever, attended with the most appalling agitation of mind. About nine o'clock, he was in a state of violent delirium; "his thoughts wandering, his articulation gone; his faculties, in short, a melancholy wreck, at the mercy of the tempest, that had shattered them." To this succeeded a state of perfect serenity; and, a little before midnight, he died.

Such, briefly narrated, was the career of the first Indian Bishop. It will be gathered, perhaps, from the manner of our narration, that we are not among the most ardent admirers of the prelate, whom Mr. Le Bas, with no great felicity of expression, describes as "the father and the founder of the Protestant Episcopal Church of our Asiatic Empire." He was the father of Protestant Episcopacy in India, but he was not the father, and most assuredly he was not the founder, of the Episcopal Church. We do not know that he was the founder of anything, but Bishop's College.

With every disposition to speak charitably of the prelatical character of Bishop Middleton, we are constrained to express our opinion that he was a cold and stately formalist. There may have been something in this very fact, especially to recommend him for employment, at a time, when it was apprehended, that Christian zeal would bring down upon us a sanguinary revolution, involving the forfeiture of our Indian Empire. The alarmed party may have been somewhat appeased by the appointment of so safe a man as Bishop Middleton; and his subsequent episcopal proceedings must have greatly confirmed the sense of security, which his nomination induced. Nothing was to be apprehended from the burning zeal of the first Bishop of Calcutta. He was the man of all others to uphold the dignity of our ecclesiastical establishment, without exciting the fears, or offending the prejudices, of the natives of India. He took little interest in conversion-work; and would have silenced the whole Missionary body, if he could. Brahmanism was scarcely more offensive to him than Protestant sectarianism; and even a minister of the Church of England, not on the Company's establishment, was a thorn in his episcopal flesh. Puseyism and Tractarianism were not known by those names, when Bishop Middleton went out to India; but he was of the number of those, who esteem the Church before the Gospel, who have an overflowing faith in the efficacy of certain forms of brick-and-mortar, and who believe that a peculiar odour of sanctity ascends from prayers, offered up in an edifice, constructed with due regard to the points of the compass. No

man could have had a higher sense of the external importance of his office, or stickled more rigidly for the due observance of the ceremonials, which he conceived to belong to it. He had a decided taste for salutes, and struggled manfully for precedence. In all this he was sincere. It was not personal vanity that inflated him. Self was not dominant over all. But he had an overweening sense of the dignity and importance of his office. He believed that it was his first duty to suffer nothing to lower the standard of episcopal authority, or to obscure its exterior glories. His zeal as a Bishop shot ever in advance of his fervour as a Christian. This peculiarity was not without its uses. The externals of religion had been too much neglected in India. It was desirable that something more of dignity should be imparted to the priestly character. Lord Wellesley was described by Sir James Mackintosh as a *Sultanised* Anglo-Indian ; Bishop Middleton would have *Sultanised* the episcopal office. He was not without a motive—and a good one—in this. But we would fain have seen in his career a little less of the Bishop, and a little more of Catholic Christianity. He was an able and an active labourer in his way, blameless in the relations of private life, and, as a man, to be greatly respected. In Mr. Whitehead's book he stands labelled as "India's first and greatest Bishop." India's greatest Bishop is her *last* ; and we thank God that he yet remains to labour amongst us.

ART. II.—*The Ramayana of Valmiki, translated from the original Sanscrit, by Kirtibas, Pandit. 7 Vols., 8vo. Serampore.*

AMONG the many fallacies, which were at one period received and repeated concerning Hinduism, we know of none more universal than the idea, that the Brahminical theogony is inseparably connected with that of Greece and Rome. This hypothesis forms the basis of all the elder mythologies: it is the key-stone of Faber's* rambling theories, and even pervades the system adopted by Maurice, though the latter had before his eyes daily evidence of its incorrectness. Mr. Ward, in his great work on the Hindús, appears to have doubted whether the connection was so intimate as he had supposed; but the force of early impressions was still too strong for him, and he has left on record at least one ludicrous instance of the mistakes, into which he was beguiled by his adherence to the popular theory.† In truth, the error is at first sight so natural, that we should rather wonder, that the earlier writers escaped it in any degree, than that they should construct and publish their theories, built upon no better foundation than external objects and mistaken customs. Saturated as their minds had been with the Greek and Roman mythological systems, and unable to catch at first the true spirit of oriental worship, they grasped at any accidental resemblance to their preconceived ideas, and by unconsciously suppressing some facts, bringing out others into bold relief, and throwing over all the veil of their deep learning, they produced a very consistent theory, or complication of theories, and one, which, after all, is probably as accurate and logical, as any which can be inserted in its place. All such plain and palpable differences, as the bloody character of the Hindu female deities, the worship of a female destroying principle, and the presence of a Supreme Being, were set down to the accidental variations of circumstance, climate, and the original

* Faber's work on Pagan idolatry, is an attempt to carry out, more fully than usual, a popular theory, that all mythologies have some connection with the deluge, and that the mysterious Ox, the ship of Vishnu, the Lingayut worship, &c. &c., are all representations of the ark, and the scenes connected with it. An immense amount of learning is wasted on the theory; and the reader, who arrives at the end of the three big volumes, generally finds, that the partial belief, he may have accorded to the doctrine, has been for ever dispelled.

† Mr. Ward remarked the custom of crowning, at certain festivals, the temples of the officiating Brahmin with flowers, and gravely refers to the garlands, which were brought out, at the gates of Lystra, to crown Barnabas and Paul. Under the influence of his Hellenistic theory, he quite overlooked the fact, that the garlands were for the oxen, not the gods.

difference of race. Many plausible facts, too, might be brought forward in support of the Hellenistic connection, and consequent (?) Egyptian origin;—and none of them were neglected. Thus there was a Greek Trinity of Zeus, Poseidon, and Dis, and there is a Hindu Trinity of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva; and, that great fact being proved, it mattered little, that the functions, attributes, and powers of the Hindu divinities differed in every essential particular from those of their Grecian prototypes. The supposed resemblance was still further carried out, and generally with the same inapplicability:—both coins were of the same metal, and the learned instantly arrived at the conclusion, that they were both struck from the same mint, and scarcely troubled themselves to notice the difference of image, character, and superscription. In reality, we believe, esoteric Hinduism differs greatly, both from the popular Hellenistic worship, and the philosophical deductions, which were subsequently drawn from the original forms of belief. The Greek, with all his finely wrought theories on the immortality of the soul, and although able to prove almost to a demonstration, that there was within him an essence, distinct alike from the body and the life, never firmly believed in his own reasoning. He thought of the whole discourse, particularly if it was his own, as a piece of graceful rhetoric and convincing argument: but the idea of carrying his theory beyond the Academia never entered his imagination. He had allowed the assertion, that he himself possessed a soul; had proved the proposition, that the soul was immortal; but neglected the corollary, that his own soul must be immortal also. The lowest Coolie in Bengal, on the other hand, firmly believes in a state of reward and punishment, though his ideas on the subject are perhaps not so clearly cut, and sharply defined as those of the Muhammedan. It is possible to make a Bengali talk like a Deist, a Theist, an Atheist, or any thing else; for his mind is plastic enough; but he never really loses his fear of a hereafter reckoning, and never abandons the hope, that his good actions will ultimately be rewarded. The Greek never *believed*, either the one, or the other. His shadowy “Shade-land” was a place, about which he had heard much in very magnificent poetry; and he had an undefined idea that he might possibly find himself there at some future period: but all was as vague as a half forgotten nightmare. With the Bengali of the lowest grade, the future life is all in all. It regulates his downsitting and his uprising; it burdens him with an endless succession of trifling observances; and its accredited ministers,—those who sprang from the mouth of the Creator—must be held in reverential awe,

as the slightest disobedience to their commands would plunge his soul into eternal misery. It is almost impossible for a Western imagination to picture the degree, to which the movements of the Bengali are influenced by his creed. He cannot bathe in the morning without remembering, that he is washing in (what he believes to be) the stream of redemption; he cannot sit down to his meal of rice and salt, without looking carefully round, lest one impure should touch his food, and he should thereby be injured in his caste, and consequently in his hope of ultimate absorption. Mixed up with this, and, as it were, a part of this belief, comes the second point in which the Hindú differs from the Hellene. They possess the idea of that mysterious sacrifice, of that punishment of another for things committed by themselves, which constitutes the great theory of EXPIATION. Of this doctrine, the Greek knew absolutely nothing. He sacrificed, it is true, but it was to avert the further wrath of an angry deity, not to cleanse his soul from the stains already contracted. It was the smoke of the victims, the savour of the sacrifice, which ascended to the well-pleased nostrils of Zeus, Hera, and Athene; while the theory of Hinduism declared, that the Ganges redeemeth not all, but only those who enter her of right, and in faith. The expiation granted by this river, according to Hindu writers, is so complete, that it amounts almost to the Christian idea of justification. The powers ascribed to her are nearly omnipotent, with respect to sin: and perhaps the best summary of them, and the best proof of the assertions we are making, is to be found in the poem, the title of which we have placed at the head of this article.

Gunga the Goddess mother stream,
 Has ta'en her mortal birth,
 All in our iron age
 With sin a war to wage;
 Has sought our nether earth
 Us mortals to redeem,
 (Redeemer she of Gods above,
 Redeemer she of men below,)
 Our sin and death far to remove,
 To bear our endless weight of wo.
 All hallowed are the lands,
 O'er which the Gunga rolls,
 All hallowed to our souls,
 Though Kali Yög it be.
 Yea, who an hundred years has striven
 In Yama's iron bands,
 "The Gunga" let him ring but once to heaven,
 And he,
 That instant free.
 From Yama's hand escapes eternally.
 O'er Gunga filthy vultures fly.

And Gunga's wave they drink ;
 The wielders of earth's sceptred sway,
 Whom fate has placed too far away.
 Before their greatness shrink.
 Gaya, Benares fair,
 Dwarka, Mathura there,
 With Gererajos* cave,
 They all are sacred, I have said,
 Like Vishnu, for they all are made
 By Gunga's holy wave.

The earlier Missionaries also, who were of all men perhaps the best acquainted with Hinduism in its external forms, brought to the investigation of its creed a horror of the idolatrous system, which, though in itself perfectly just and righteous, was not exactly the frame of mind, best fitted to understand the depth and breadth of the esoteric mythology. Whoever reads Mr. Ward on the Hindús, will perceive at once, that, if his pictures are correctly painted, society must instantly go to pieces from the force of its own wickedness. Yet every syllable of fact, that Mr. Ward has asserted, may be proved from the evidence of eye witnesses. His error was, that he made no allowance for counteracting circumstances, and ascribed far too high a degree of social importance to the licentious criminality, which is characteristic of eastern creeds. He looked upon the system with that peculiar iconoclastic spirit, which would appear to have been natural to the Missionary, and which, though an important element of success, was unfavourable to the development of a fair spirit of enquiry. To understand the native character, we must remember that the Asiatic who does evil deeds, is not therefore reckoned necessarily an evil man. The deed may be bad, but it is not judged so, and its effect upon the man's social relation, in England and in India, is widely different.

Another fact, necessary to the comprehension of Hinduism, is, that a native is perfectly capable of believing two falsities, or a falsity, and a truth, one of which directly destroys the other. Thus the pandits declare Siva to be *Sorbohokteman*, Omnipotent; but, in the same breath, deny him the first place in the Triad, as if the Omnipotent could be less than first. Many pandits will acknowledge the truth of Christianity; but they affirm, and, what is more important, believe, that Hinduism is equally irrefragable. These, and many other peculiarities of the Indian mind, Europeans, in general, do not practically recognise; and these, together with their indisposition to examine into the ulterior reasons for native superstitions, incline them rather to

* A mountain of the Himalayan range.

laugh at "the Hindu's foolery," than either to understand, or to remedy it. We may give one instance for the sake of illustration. One of the names of Siva is *Nilakanta*, or "the blue throated;" and almost all Europeans, who notice the fact, ridicule the idea. It cannot be denied that there is something absurd, to a European mind, in the idea of a blue-throated Deity. Such is not the effect upon a Native. He sees, in the image, the impersonified God, who, in love for the world, swallowed the poison evolved in the foam with the Amrita, and saved the Universe: and the blue tinge is to him, the living evidence, that the God, he adores, is also a World-Preserver.

The whole basis of exoteric Hinduism rests upon those dogmas, which (having regard to the authority of the hereditary priesthood) are called Brahminical, and of all the divisions of the system, the nature and extent of the Brahminical power appears to have been most unfairly treated. The Brahmins are invariably represented, as a proud and dominant caste, whose only weapon was fear, and who, while they punished severely all recusants from their faith, left to their humbler countrymen but few of its advantages. To understand, however, the very peculiar position at present held by the order, we must recur for a moment to its earlier history.

That a successive importation of conquerors has taken place in India, and that the system of caste is of gradual establishment, must, we think, be evident from the physical disparities, which exist between the races, and which cannot be accounted for, on the supposition, that the modifications were all made from some previously equal race. The general (and we believe the most correct) theory is, that the Sudras, entering India from the North-West, about 3,500 years ago, cleared the country alike of its forests, and of the aboriginal races who inhabited them, and finally settled down to the quiet and permanent occupation of the soil. The second race, the Kshetriyas, one of the great warrior tribes, another branch of whom had founded the empire of Darius, poured into India like a flood, and fertilized more than they destroyed. With the hereditary gregariousness, which they have displayed in every corner of the globe, they raised and beautified enormous cities; and the ruins of Kanouj and Magodha, and the lost Palibothra, attest the architectural genius of those, whose forefathers may have founded Babylon and Nineveh. The Brahmins, or third family, brought with them a more northern blood, and a creed disfigured by all the wild extravagancies of northern imaginations. Another division of the same tribe, it is

supposed, and probably about the same time, traversed Europe, and occupied the great islands of Scandinavia. The difference between the severe climate of the northern forests, and the enervating miasma of the eastern jungles, gradually affected creeds originally, perhaps, the same ; and the nature of the change is well represented in their ideas of heaven. The Northern, burning with martial instincts, and the peculiar enthusiasm, which springs from a powerful physical organization, pictured his heaven, as a Walhalla, or an Elysium of eternal battle and eternal drunkenness. The Oriental realized his idea of bliss in the half-sleeping Narayana, borne on the lotus blossom over the ocean of eternity, and gazing with half-closed eyes at the luxurious movements of the ballet girls of heaven. The struggle immediately commenced between the disciplined and civilized Kshetriya, and the more energetic Brahmin ; and its first development appears to have been in Kanouj. At first, either the nature of the Kshetriya worship, or their superior learning, rendered them alike insensible to the reasoning, and to the swords of their Brahminical enemies. The latter however found means to detach from them a portion of their number, whom they designated the sons of flame, (Ugnikūl), and vanquished the warrior caste throughout Northern India ; from whence they gradually spread southward, greatly assisted by the series of catastrophes, which form the subject of the Ramayana.

In the midst of this theory, however, the antiquarian is perpetually perplexed by the recurrence of the Buddhist creed, under various forms, and in such widely separated districts, that he is led to believe it was once a dominant religion. We are told that Buddhism must have been the earliest creed, and extant before the arrival of the Brahmins, with whose faith it carried on for years a long and destructive contest. We scarcely think that the theory of those, who assert that Buddhism is an original creed, i. e. one of the earliest, of which we have any information, can be now maintained. Strong as the evidence of monuments and sculptures may be, those of the human mind are still stronger, and a rationalistic faith can never precede superstition. It invariably grows out of it, and is nourished by peace and luxury. We may imagine that the faith of the Sudras, at the time of their first entry into India, was one of the vulgar kinds of paganism, such as exists in Borneo, and the Eastern Archipelago ; while the original Kshetriya belief was a kind of Zoroastrian idolatry, that is the worship of the Supreme Being, under the symbol of fire, but mixed with rites of a more degraded character. Of this some traces still-exist. The worship of Indra, or the sun, is evidently much older than that of any other Deity,

and the pandits frequently fail to reconcile his powers, as described in the elder writings, with his insignificance in the Puranas. The story of his formal deposition, too, has never been fairly examined. In the lapse of years, when the tribe had become wealthy, and comparatively peaceful, the rationalistic creed of the Buddhist crept in, and, from its peculiar adaptation to the consciences of an evil race, spread rapidly over Northern Hindustán. On the arrival of the Brahmin, with his dogmatical belief, he found it impossible to grapple with this intangible faith, and proclaimed its extermination by fire and sword. As we have before said, the treachery of a portion of the Kshetriyas threw the sceptre into the hands of the new race; but the Buddhist still relied upon his co-religionists of the extreme south. The king of Lunka-dwípa, or Ceylon (and perhaps Travancore), advanced to the aid of the Northern Kshetriyas; and the balance of power became so equal, that Rama, the Lord of the sons of Flame, found it necessary to rouse the wild tribes of the Deccan, i. e. Hunuman and his monkies. The Buddhist prince was driven back to the south; and Rama, with the assistance of the Deccan tribes made use of, and probably improved the causeway, called Adam's Bridge, and, passing into Ceylon, defeated Ravan in his own stronghold.

The victorious Brahmins, with a salutary dread of a renewal of the contest, conceded to the remains of the Kshetriyas a place only second to their own. The Sudras still formed the bulk of the nation: and the more wealthy and powerful of their number were raised from their fellows, invested with a divided poita, and formed into a separate caste of Voisyas, or merchants. Then the system began to roll itself up, and the Brahmins, by constructing their genealogies, for ever shut out from themselves the moving power of most religions—the principle of propagandism.

It was now that the era of law-making may be presumed to have begun: and, as the Brahmin was, through the predominance of his creed, in possession of all religious power, and through the swords of the Ugnikúl, nearly omnipotent in temporal matters, it is natural to suppose he would legislate for his own benefit. The priests did so, but, like Clive in the treasury of Múrshedabad, considering the temptation and the opportunity, we wonder that they took so little. They established, in the very outset, a regulation, which distinguishes them from every other hierarchy, that has ever existed in the world. They demanded nothing from the state. Possessed of illimitable power, they condemned themselves and their successors to perpetual hereditary beggary, and gave the first great example of the sys-

tem, which has been styled in Europe the Voluntary Principle.* They demanded no treasures, save those derived from the attachment of the people, and no defence, save their own sanctity. To support the latter in the popular estimation, they filled the literature of the country with wild fable, or wilder reasoning, the whole argument of which turns on the majesty of the Brahminical order. By these means, and by a firm belief in their own assertions, which is peculiar to the Brahmin, they gained a controul over the minds of their countrymen, which is only to be paralleled, by that of a general of the order of Jesus over his subordinates. It has been usual to represent the dominance of the Brahmins, as an unmitigated despotism, detested by the subordinate castes, and only submitted to from fear. We doubt it greatly. The Asiatic, in all countries, and in India in particular, had much rather have his faith settled for him, than reason about it for himself; and it is far more suitable to his idiosyncrasy to consult the ever ready monitor, than to examine into the question in dispute. A native loves indolence in religion, as well as in physical action, and with the same sudden bursts of frantic excitement. He loves the regular order of society, and the external observances, which constitute his devotion, and which render him continually dependant on the Brahmins. Natives resign themselves wholly to that feeling, which has held sway even in England—the reverence for authority, simply as such, which chains the intellect under the title of implicit faith. Moreover the Brahmins have for ages stood in the place of a middle class, of a permanent public opinion, emanating from a body revered by the people, and one, which, as a body, the sovereign dares not touch. In this respect they correspond with the Roman Catholic hierarchy of the middle ages. They stand between the armed bureaucracy, who in all ages have ruled India, and the mass of the people: and their voices, though individually impotent, were all powerful in their collective strength. Bad as the dominion of the superior caste might be, and very bad it was, still it was better than none at all: and, in a time of general disorganization, when the Hindu had no motive, either in his creed, or in his social circumstances, to abstain from crime, he did abstain, because of the repressing influence of the Brahminical order: and thus society was held together.

* It must be confessed, however, that they took care that their appeal to this noble principle should be a *safe* one. They engrossed all knowledge; they made the other castes dependant on them for almost all the acts of life; and they established, as the faith of the people, that all belonged of right to the Brahmin, and that the highest duty of religion was to restore to him what was his own. It was much that he consented to forego the use of any part of it. In this the Brahmin was condescending to the Sudra—the god to the slave.

We have been led to make these remarks, partly because they form an appropriate introduction to the review of a work which is essentially Brahminical, and partly because we would suggest a few ideas, which may be worked out at leisure by more learned men, upon an important caste—important because they are the earthly gods of one-ninth of the whole human race, and even more important in their connection with the development of the human mind. That they are evil, and the cause of much evil, we do not venture to deny, but they are not so evil as Hindus would have been, if deprived of their repressing authority, and without a better one substituted in its place. They may be, at the present moment, a chain upon the Hindu intellect: but as a body, they are still in advance of their countrymen in civilization, in learning, and in physical qualifications.

Turn we to our book. We have said, it is essentially Brahminical, and written chiefly to support Brahmins. The original has, from various circumstances, excited unusual interest among the European philologists: but the Bengali translation is the book now under dissection. It was made about 120 years ago by a pandit, named Kirtibas, who takes the opportunity of closing each paragraph by some sentence of magniloquent self-glorification. It was first printed and published at the Serampore Press, where an old pandit, named Joygopal Torkolunkar, added many valuable emendations. As a translation, it is simply contemptible. Kirtibas has availed himself of all the stories originally composed by Valmiki: but his work is no more a translation, than Milton is of Dionysius the Areopagite, or Gulliver's Travels of Lucian's *Vera Historia*. It is written, too, in a jingling word-catching metre, that is far inferior, even in harmony, to the sonorous march of the Sanscrit couplets. This metre, which is a rhymed hexameter, is interrupted by bursts of poetry, into which the whole power of the poet appears to be expended, and in which there is a faint approximation to lyric excellence. If we could imagine Milton's *Paradise Lost* translated into rhyme by a half educated cobbler, with some of "Watt's Divine Songs" stuck in various places, and the whole recited to a jury of critical tailors, we should gain some idea of the Bengali Ramayana. Its stories are more offensive, its language more indecent, than in the original; and the whole is tainted with an air of downright vulgarity, which would have made Valmiki turn aside in disgust. It has however a peculiar excellence of its own: it is rhymed prose of the most perfect kind. We cannot call to mind a single instance of a rugged verse, or one in which the words are inverted from their most

ordinary prose order. By a law peculiar to Bengali, the language in poetry recovers its Sanscrit original, and the stopped consonants are removed. The constant presence of the inherent vowel, or liquid "o," is thus made to impart a softness to the measure, which the most uncouth words cannot wholly remove. It is to be regretted that neither this work, nor its kindred Mahabharata, has ever been translated. It is perhaps too immense as a whole, as it contains 28,000 lines—more than twice as much as Homer's Iliad: but portions might still be translated, and give a fair picture of Bengali poetry. Moreover a great many of the Bengali books would, if translated, expose the translator to a charge of offending against public delicacy; though the said public puts Lempriere's Dictionary into every boy's hand; but from this evil the Ramayun is, to a great extent, free. With the exception of a few passages, which could not be rendered into a modern tongue, there is nothing which might not be laid on every drawing room table in the country. We have however little hope that such an undertaking will ever be accomplished, although it would undoubtedly throw a flood of light on native ideas. Almost every Bengali, in Bengal proper, is acquainted with this poem: but as nine tenths of the people cannot read, they are obliged to rely upon the services of rhapsodists, like the Hellenes in the time of Homer. These rhapsodists, or *ko'haks* (talkers), as they are popularly styled, take their stand upon any vacant space, and erect a small awning, under which they ensconce themselves, and there, for hours together, they pour forth, or rather scream, the Ramayun, Mahabharat, and other popular poems. The multitudes, who crowd to these exhibitions, instead of crushing round the speaker, as the boors do in England, sit down in a circle, and give themselves wholly up to the inspiration of the rhapsodist. The latter never attempts anything like mannerism, though he sometimes "tears a passion to rags," but allows his words, as it were, to pour out of his mouth, without attention to anything save their obvious meaning. The people, sitting around, evidently accede their full and implicit belief to the prodigies related; and frequently the whole crowd makes some sudden impulsive gesture, illustrative of the progress of the story.

Of the whole story, we shall say little or nothing. It has been sung, and written, and dinned, into the ears of every person interested in Indian affairs. It has already been twice detailed in these pages, and we have no intention of inflicting it a third time. Our business is with the poetry, and the spirit of the poetry; and we can best illustrate both by somewhat copious translations. The scene opens in heaven; and here we may observe, that the

Bengali epic, so far as we know, never begins with an invocation, but presents the 'dramatis personæ' at once upon the stage—a feature in which it differs materially from its Sanscrit prototype.

Above all things on earth do they, the heavenly lands, appear,
Where the mighty "wielder of the club" is by Lakshmi seated near :
There rears its head aloft in air the wondrous matchless tree,
"The tree of purpose," that all gifts to all mankind gives free ;
There sun and moon by day and night in ceaseless lustre shine,
And, at its foot, there riseth up an edifice divine.
Sri Vishnu's bright and lustrous throne is raised up above ;
There Vishnu sits in cross-legged form* "the guardian of the grove."
A wish was in the secret heart of Vishnu deep compressed,
"I, who am one sole Godhead, I in four will be expressed."
Shri Rama, Bharat, he became, Satrugna, and Lakshmun,
One godhead in four parts expressed, sat Vishnu Narayun ;
And Sita too, in Lakshmi's form, was Rama seated by ;
The umbrella gilt o'er Rama's head, Shri Lakshmun held on high ;
And Bharat and Satrugna wave the cowstail chowries near,
While worships there, with folded hands, the reverent wind-lord Seer.

The wind-lord is Narada, who is surprised at the sight, and enquires of Siva what it may mean. Siva informs him ; and Brahma and Narada descend to the world below, to seek the man, who is to sing the history of the Avatar. They find him in a wood, in which he prowls, as a dacoit, and, true to his profession, endeavours to slay them. Brahma however contrives to awaken his remorse, by pointing out the guilt he has incurred in slaying Sunyasis.

Whoso one cow has impiously slain,
Whoso one hundred on the battle plain,
Their guilt shall equal be, their punishment the same.
Who dares an hundred cows deprive of life,
Who kills a woman, be she maid or wife,
Guilty are both alike, both lead a guilty life.
Who slays one hundred of the female race,
Who kills one Brahmin,—destitute of grace,
Equal in guilt, shall share an equal resting place.
Who kills a Brahmachari let him fear ;
Great are his sins : but thou, Ratnakur, hear !
The murder of a Sunyasi, what punishment can clear ?

The scale of crime, and the graduated value of human life, is here somewhat singularly exemplified :

One hundred soldiers	=	one cow.
One hundred cows	=	one woman.
One hundred women	=	one Brahmin.

A Brahmin's life is therefore worth that of ten thousand soldiers, which is very nearly the popular acceptance of their relative value. Ratnakur is terrified at his guilt ; but, after a while, bethinks himself, that, as his booty is shared by his

* More strictly, squatting like a Native.

parents, his sin ought to be so too. He explains his idea to Brahma, who sends him to consult them. They answer in the negative; and Ratnakur, in terrible remorse, throws himself at the feet of Brahma, and demands assistance. Brahma enables him, after some difficulty, to utter the name of Rama: and, the instant the holy words had escaped his lips, the guilty dacoit is absolved. Brahma departs to heaven, and Ratnakur addresses himself to a terrific course of penance.

The name of Ram he still repeats; in one place, still he sate,
And all his fleshy outward parts wild ants and insects ate:
His flesh consumed, they dug within, and ate his heart for food;
The kushi grass and prickly thorn grew round him as it would.
They ate the flesh, they ate the skin, they scarcely left the bones:
The Muni still within the Mound the name of Rama moans.

Brahma once more descends, changes the name of Ratnakur to Valmiki, the "ant eaten," and instructs him in the plan of the Ramayun. After the argument, which is not worth translation, the poet celebrates the pedigree of Rama; and the following extract may be taken as a fair specimen of the imbecility of the stories scattered through the book:

Before this nether world was made, the Holiest Being lived,
Brahma, Narayun, Siva's self, from him their life derived.
These godheads three one sister had, a female deity;
The godheads three bestowed on her the name of Kandini.
Jarut, the holy Muni's son, Narád by merit tried,
They summoned, and to him they gave their sister as a bride.
Then danced and sung the godheads all, and Narád with the rest,
And with a daughter, Bhànā named, the couple soon were blest.
A Raja, Jamadugni named, received her as his wife;
On earth, incarnate in her house, Sri Vishnu sprung to life.

And so on. Be it understood the doggerel of the translation is not among the sins of the translator. It is simply a copy of the original. This dull list rolls on for about five hundred lines, after which we arrive at the main point of interest in the first canto, viz. the descent of the Ganges. Passing over Sagor, his sixty thousand sons, the pans of milk, in which they were nourished, and the spades, with handles, eight miles long, by which they dug their way through the tortoise back, we come to the birth of Bhagirath, who finally succeeded in bringing down the Ganges.

Childless the sorrowing Rajah is; no comfort can be brought:
With his two beauteous wives once more his capital he sought.
The Gunga to obtain the king a mighty effort made,
For many a fasting year of pain his strict devotions paid.
And now with biting hunger faint, and now half dead with thirst,
An hundred million years he spent, in Brahma's praise immersed;
And Ayodhya's wide spread realm was left without a king.
Then Brahma, the creator, deep reflects his minds within.
"I've heard that of this solar race Narayun shall be born.
Yet how can that be, if the race is childless left forlorn?"

In deep and earnest thought reflect the bright celestial train,
 And Siva the Destroyer send to Ayodhya's plain.
 Alive the monarch had possessed in his own land two brides,
 And on his wondrous bull to them the stern Dread-giver rides.
 The two wives gently he addressed, the stern Asuras' foe;
 "Ye twain shall have a beauteous son, my blessing I bestow."
 His blessing on them then bestowed the stern Asura's foe;
 Glad-hearted at his word to bathe the wives of Dilip go.

* * * * *

In due time one fair wife again a mother's pains begun;
 But a shapeless lump of flesh she bore, instead of a fair son.
 Their son upon their lap, the two in mighty trouble rave,
 "O Siva triple-eyed ! is *this* the beauteous son you gave ?
 It is but flesh, it has no bones, it cannot even walk,
 And all the sneering world will see, and all the world will talk."
 The women took it on their laps within a basket placed,
 And angry to the river's brink to drown it went in haste.
 It chanced a learned Brahman did the women going view,
 And, deeply meditating, he the will of Siva knew.
 The Muni them addressed, "The child upon the road place ye,
 And he will pity, whosoe'er th' afflicted child shall see."
 At his command they placed the child, and forthwith parted home:
 In his eight limbs decrepit, there to bathe a sage had come.
 The holy sage could scarcely walk ; his limbs were bent awry ;
 He gazed upon th' afflicted child, while slowly passing by.
 The Muni, in eight limbs diseased, the boy viewed haughtily,
 And in his heart he angry said "That child is jeering me ;
 If thus in ridicule he laughs at me, that shapeless boy,
 My heavy curse, by Brahma's might, his body shall destroy.
 But if from earliest birth his form has thus distorted been,
 My mightier blessing shall restore his body wholly clean."
 Like Vishnu in his power he stood, though thus decrepit all,
 On whosoe'er his blessing came, no evil could befall.
 He, in eight limbs decrepit, spake, and saw, in high surprise,
 The son of Dilip rise in health, all healed before his eyes.
 The queens the Muni called : the two heart-grieving queens obey ;
 Heart glad they took their son again, retook their homeward way.
 Then all the neighbouring Brahmins came, and made high festival,
 And, from his wondrous monstrous birth, him Bhagirath they call.
 I pandit Kirtibas, who am first poet on the earth,
 In this first gentle canto sing of Bhagiratha's birth.

The boy is insulted at school with the name of bastard, and his mother, with many tears, informs him of his parentage. We pass over sundry other adventures, and come to the story of the bringing down of the Ganges, which, as a favourable specimen of the poem, we shall extract at some length, preserving the irregular rhymes of the Bengali translator :—

This Bhagirath contented, heard, and looked right merrily,
 And to his loving mother's face thus merrily spake he.
 "These mighty kings of Solar race were mighty fools I deem.
 Who, without labour, hopes to win from heaven bright Gunga's stream?
 If such in truth my name, and you a true descent do trace,
 I'll bring bright Gunga down, and win salvation to my race.
 Weeping, his mother answered him, "I crave of thee, my boy,
 Such worship thou'lt not pay; alone thou art thy race's joy."
 He turned to go, he would not hear his pleading mother's word ;
 In legal form at once the King of angels he adored.

But as his mother's tearful face before his mind uprose,
 His eyelids quivered tearfully, and back to her goes ;
 Before his grieving mother's feet obeisance he preferred,
 And then departed forth, and prayed into the angel's Lord.
 Fasting from all, to Indra's praise mysterious runes he said,
 For sixty thousand hungry years to Indra worship paid.
 The mighty runes the God constrained; he dared not stay within ;
 Forth Indra came, the Lord of Fire, and blessing gave to him.
 " Raja, whose progeny art thou ? of what race dost thou spring ?
 I grant thy wish, whatever it be : ask what thou wilt O king."
 He, meet obeisance humbly made, to Indra gave reply,
 " Of Solar race is my descent ; king Dilip's son am I.
 Of sixty thousand mighty sons was Sagor king the sire,
 And all a heap of ashes fell at Kupil's flaming ire.
 O angel-monarch ! grant to me to take bright Gunga's stream,
 And in that glorious act wilt thou my family redeem."
 Quoth the Fire lord again, " Hear, thou of royal progeny,
 To give to you bright Gunga's stream, O king, rests not with me.
 If I my blessing give to thee, bright Gunga thou wilt bring.
 To Siva worship pay ; adore the great destroying king.
 Within a mountain's darksome cave must Gunga first remain ;
 Then call on me, O King, and I will set her free again."
 At Indra's feet the King again his meet obeisance paid,
 Then to the " Monster slaying lord," to Koylas mount he sped.
 Fasting he prayed, and fasting still repeats his earnest prayers,
 And fasting ever worshipped thus for twice five thousand years.
 Said the Destroyer, " Hear, O thou of royal race the son,
 Wherefore such painful sacrifice in hunger hast thou done ?
 Now Siva's blessing be on thee : the stream shalt thou receive.
 To Vishnu go, and once again thy heartfelt worship give."
 At the Destroyer's feet the King a meet obeisance paid,
 To Vishnu's heavenly seat once more, to Lakshmi's lord, he sped.
 Within twelve circling hours the King a million texts repeats ;
 Intrepid with his head all bare he faced the solar heats :
 For four months in the cold within the gelid river stayed,
 In heat and cold for forty years a painful worship paid.
 The mighty runes the god compelled ; he dared not stay within ;
 Vishnu came forth, and gently thus his blessing gave to him.
 " At thy high penances and deeds amazement seizeth me ;
 What wouldst thou, son of mighty kings ? what can I give to thee ?"
 " Full sixty thousand mighty sons from Sagor king were sprung,"
 (So answered Bhagirath the king, of Solar race the son),
 " By Kupil Muni's flaming ire they all of them were slain.
 But, Gunga once obtained, on earth they all would live again."
 The Wielder of the quoit replies, a smile within his eye,
 " Am I the Gunga's sire, O king ? of Gunga what know I ?"
 Swiftly replied the king " If thou the Gunga wilt not give,
 Low at thy feet my soul I yield, I will no longer live."
 Narayun heard content, on him bestowed a solace kind,
 " In holy Brahma's glorious heaven, thou Gunga's stream shall find."
 What common water there remained on Brahma's holy seat,
 Narayun took, and bore away in innocent deceit.
 Narayun forthwith went, and stood before the Maker's face,
 And the Creator reverently arose, and gave him place.
 And water for his feet he sought : within his house was none ;
 The Kalasis were empty all, as dried up by the sun.
 Of Gunga's water then a thought within his mind uprose,
 And speedily, the stream to bring, himself the Maker goes.
 The water on his feet he poured, to Vishnu worship paid ;
 And from this act is Gunga named " the foot-produced" maid.

Vishnu, the "wielder of the Quoit," unto the Rajah said,
 "Go now with holy Gunga's stream : be blessings on thy head !
 Who, impious, shall a bull or Brahmin slay,
 And yet on Gunga's wave one blade shall lay
 Of holy Kushi grass, his sins shall pass away.
 Whoso in Gunga bathes his mortal leaven,
 How many sins are unto him forgiven,
 That much to say transcends the power of heaven,"
 "Go," said Vishnu, "O holy one ;" take Gunga down with thee,
 And free at once king Sagor's sons thy grandsire's family.
 "And Gunga, thou," Narayun said, "go thou now down with him,
 And free the nether world immersed in seas of deadly sin.

* * * * *

This carriage I on thee bestow ;
 High seated onward shalt thou go,
 And ever in thy march thy glorious conch shell blow."
 The king, high seated on the car, the conch shell sounded ever,
 And after him rolled on the Gunga's rushing river.
 I pandit Kirtibas have sung the fall of Gunga famed,
 Of Gunga, who in heaven above was Mandakini named ;
 When Bhagirath had left the sky the plains below to seek,
 With Gunga fell he down, and stood on high Suméru's peak.
 Within the mountain's pathless top a cavern deep appears,
 There Gunga wandered to and fro for twelve long weary years.

She is released at last from durance, at the prayer of Bhagirath, by Airavut, the far-famed elephant of Indra :—

To Airavut he told the word,
 The mighty beast, to action stirred,
 With long continued effort strave ;
 Four sep'rate open ways he clave,
 Within Suméru's mountain cave,
 Through which the Gunga leaping rides,
 And in four streams abroad right joyfully she glides.
 Basu rolled south unto the Ocean wide ;
 Bhadra rushed onward on the northern side ;
 Sweta, another, sought the Western Sea ;
 Over the broad earth rolled along Alaknanda the free.

Passing over her further progress from Sumeru to Koylas, from Koylas into Siva's hair, and thence to Hurdwar and Benares, through the ever potent penances and prayers of the unwearying Bhagirath, we extract a well known episode, illustrative of her virtues :—

An evil Muni once there was, and Kamdúr was his name ;
 A man more basely bad than he is yet untold to fame.
 Now, and e'en upwards from his birth, an harlot he obeyed ;
 To her his soul was bound in chains, and in her house he stayed.
 One day the jungle's deepest shades he sought to get some wood,
 And there a tiger rav'ning seized and slew him as he stood.
 The prowling ministers of Jom, Hell king, the soul embraced ;
 To Yama's house in hell they bore the destined soul in haste.
 The hungry tiger eats the flesh, and then departs again ;
 Within the jungle's deepest shade the whitened bones remain.
 A carrion crow pounced down on them, and o'er the Gunga flew ;
 Avulture, as it hovered o'er, the carrion chanced to view.

Her whirring flight she envious saw; to seize the crow she sped;
 The screaming crow in deadly fear along the Gunga fled.
 And as they quarrel, angry there, and fight, and rend, and scream,
 The dead man's bones, for which they fought, fell into Gunga's stream.
 The instant that the evil bones in Gunga's stream were laved,
 Like Vishnu innocent of soul, the sinful sage was saved.
 Narayun gazing sat within the pleasant bowers of heaven,
 And swiftly from the demon's hands the Brahmin's soul was riven.
 They screamed with rage the servants they of Patal's haughty lord,
 Then flew to Yama's feet, and thus their angry prayer out poured;
 "No more of work do we; our power from us has Vishnu torn;
 This day, O Lord of hell's black plain! great insult have we borne.
 Kamdûr by name, a Brahmin man of sinful soul, we seized:
 To take this justly punished one from us has Vishnu pleased."
 The Lord of Patal, Yama, heard in mingled rage and grief;
 To Vishnu's feet he raging sped; and made him question brief.
 And Yama wept full sore, as he at Vishnu's footstool fell,
 "My power away from me has passed; I am not Lord of hell.
 O'er all the sinful souls of men extends my wide spread sway:
 Then why, Narayun, this disgrace thou'st put on me to-day?"
 Narayun heard his wrathful speech, and gently laughing spake,
 "Gunga to nether earth has gone all sins away to take.
 The worth of Gunga's mighty river,
 I, high Narayun, cannot tell:
 Giver of penance, hear me well!
 As far as Gunga's wave shall sound,
 And o'er earth's fertile plains resound,
 So far, if thou approachest ever,
 My spirit shall rush forth the doomed ones to surround;
 And whoso's bones to Gunga have been given,
 Though from his body has his soul been riven,
 Like Vishnu faultless he shall spring to highest heaven.
 Who Gunga's wave shall drink, that act alone
 For all his sins most amply shall atone;
 His body, hear, O king, his body is mine own.
 Let not your rav'ning slaves go there: the instant they appear,
 The very air shall ring with shrieks of high Narayun's fear."
 Yama, the Lord of Patal, heard this sentence with affright.
 I pandit-poet Kirtibas in my first canto write,
 When Kamdûr's sinful soul to heaven
 By Gunga's power had thus been given,
 To Gour the Gunga's waters bright
 Rolled onward in their God and man redeeming might.
 Pudma, a sage, before them went,
 And Gunga followed, rolling free.
 The monarch last, his hands he bent,
 To Gunga wild petition sent;
 "Go not the Eastern road; there is no path for me."
 Instant the Muni Pudma took the Pudma stream away,
 And holy Gunga with the king straight onward took her way:
 And Gunga angry muttered low a curse upon the stream,
 "From this time forth no man shalt thou from punishment redeem."

These extracts will give a sufficiently accurate idea of the spirit of the Ramayun, and, as we have no intention either of recounting, or condensing, its interminable episodes, or of victimizing our readers by any recapitulation of its well known story, we will proceed to sum up its character in as few words as possible, and then return to our main subject, Brahminism, as we see it in Bengal. In the first place, the whole poem is

totally deficient in anything like elevation of sentiment. Kirtibas narrates a crime, or a virtuous action, in the same mellifluous wishwash, and never pauses for one instant, either to praise the virtue, or reprehend the villany, of which he is so faithful a narrator. Every one of the Rishis and Munis, who constitute his favourite characters, is ill-tempered, cruel, and treacherous; almost all the kings are vindictive to the last degree: while Siva, the omnipotent destroyer, descends from heaven to incite two persons to a crime, for which the English language has not even a name. The holy sage, whose power and wisdom have won a sceptre from Harischandra, refuses to alleviate the distress of the man, whom he has ruined, by the gift of one single acre of ground; and almost the whole succession of characters are supercilious in prosperity, and craven in adversity; while ingratitude appears to have been even a virtue in the eyes of the poet. The very words, in which his ideas are couched, though often sweet and liquid, lack manliness and energy: while the constant recurrence of puns, in the midst of pathos, is a conclusive evidence of his want of sympathy with real distress. It is the more singular that such should be the case, as the original Sanscrit, from which Kirtibas professes to have drawn his inspiration, is distinguished by the bold freedom of its style, and, if we may so speak, by the massiveness of its language. Listen to the invocation which opens the Sanscrit poem;

Lakshman's bright brother, Sita's Lord, hail Rama Raghúvide !
 Kakútstha's son, a sea of good, hail element, Brahmin loved !
 Hail, holy Rajah, bound to truth, hail Dusharatha's son !
 Thou hyacinthine, moveless one, thou world-delighting king !
 Light of thy race, Ravana's foe, hail Rama Raghúvide !
 High son of Raghú, victory ! Hail Kaushal's bliss bestower !
 Slayer of Him ten-headed, hail ! Hail Dasaratha's child !
 Thine eye is like the lotus flower that blossoms on the waves,
 And hail, Valmiki ! nightingale, who gently warblest forth
 The pleasant sound of Rama's name, on metre's branches borne.
 Honour to thee, O Muni Lord, ascetic, blessed indeed !
 Thou home of every wisdom, hail, Prostration be to thee.

Or, for we must give one instance more to prove our proposition, take the speech of Bramha to Valmiki in the Sanscrit, and in the Bengali. In the Sanscrit, it runs thus ;

Whatever Ram has seen or done, in secret or abroad,
 Sing thou, and Rama's comrades brave, and sing the Rakshuas tribe,
 And sing of her of Vaideha,* and all or known or hid ;
 For all, that is to thee unknown, shall be to thee revealed,

* * * * *
 As long as on the earth shall stand the mountain and the stream,
 So long the song of Rama's might shall circulate around :
 As long as Rama's song shall live, that song by thee composed,
 So long shall height and depth exist ; as long as these remain,
 So long within the heavenly bowers shalt thou, Valmiki, dwell.

* Sita.

Here is the Bengali—

Saraswati, O seer, shall stand upon your loosened tongue ;
A well-twined string of words shall be by thee, O poet, sung.
Whate'er it be, that you may write, that shall a Shastra be ;
And that shall Ram on earth perform, I, Brahma, swear to thee.

We fear Valmiki's indignation would not have confined itself to words, could he have guessed the mode, in which his poetry would be murdered by this worthy (so called) poet, sprung from the clime of Bengal.

But, leaving for the present Valmiki ' the ant-eaten,' and his clever and self-glorifying Bengali transformer, we wish to say a few words on the present condition of Brahminism and its disciples in Bengal. Has the estimation, in which the Brahmins were formerly held, been weakened or increased by the advent of the British, and the introduction of a more extended system of education ? The question is important ; for it involves, in a great measure, the probability of the Hindus ultimately escaping from the trammels of an absurd* superstition. We know it is usual to assert, that education has broken down the only real distinction between the Brahmin and the Sudra, and that a diminution of the respect formerly paid to the former must necessarily result from an increase of knowledge. In the great towns this statement may be considered as partially correct : but it is far otherwise with the millions of the country, who constitute the real people of Bengal. In Calcutta, and other towns of the same class, many of the alumni of the College are the wealthiest, as well as most intelligent, portion of the population ; and, being concentrated within a small space, they embolden each other in their defiance of the Brahminical chain. The wealthy Baboo, who has learned to read English, and can comprehend, though he cannot *feel*, the verses of Shakespeare and Milton, can afford to despise the poor (and perhaps ignorant) priest, who has nothing to recommend him but his sacred birth and superior intellect—the latter uncultivated by education, and the former secretly mocked at by the man of wealth and knowledge. The number of Europeans too, who hang about the wealthy natives of the metropolis, tends to inspire them with European habits of thought, and to make them affect a degree of independence beyond what they really feel, which is frequently displayed in an appearance of insulting con-

* We use this word advisedly in preference to the usual epithet ' debasing.' All idolatry debases the soul, and fetters the intellect ; but the Hindu system is emphatically an ocean of absurdities. From the sleeping Essence, to the Demons, who haunt the jungle, its assertions are not only false, but absolutely incompatible with the evidence of our senses. Its Theogony, its Geography, and its laws are more like those, which might be concocted by a group of children, than by reasoning and sensible human beings.

tempt for the Brahminical order. In the country, however, the Brahmin still reigns supreme. In the country too, though the acquisition of European knowledge is frequently accompanied by a species of theistic philosophy, it is not usual to find that belief openly expressed. The reverence for his order never forsakes a Brahmin; and as an avowal of his liberal principles would shake that feeling of respect, he conceals them in his own breast, until time and growing selfishness gradually eradicate them altogether, and he sinks into an "orthodox Hindu," with a full belief in the surpassing virtue of the Gunga, and in the existence and power of three hundred and thirty millions of preposterous deities. Every Brahmin too is a gentleman. The consciousness of being first in whatever society he may be thrown, and the feeling of perfect security from insult or impertinence, impart to his manner that easy dignity, which we generally conceive to be peculiar to the finished European gentleman, and which conduces in no slight degree to his influence over the minds of the masses.

On the other hand, every circumstance of his life, even the most minute, tends to confirm the subjection of the Sudra. He is still inferior to the Brahmin in knowledge—a circumstance of much more importance in the East than among the brutalized peasantry of Europe—and perceives strongly the disparity (both in reality, and in opinion) between his own class, and that of the haughty priest. He has been taught by his mother from his infancy to make a deep reverence as the Brahmin passes by; and, even in his maturer years, the sight of the *Paitya* elicits from his lips the almost involuntary '*Pranám, Mahashai*,' that is, Prostration, Sir: and the outward action is a fair index to the emotion. Again, all questions of caste—of the never ending social disparities, which cripple the Hindu from the instant of his birth—can only be determined by one, in whose veins runs the sacred blood, and the influence of that mysterious principle, which answers in the East to the European idea of apostolical succession. To understand the number and importance of these questions, and thereby gain a clue to the necessity for ceaseless Brahminical intermeddling, we shall state what these castes are: and the following detail may be the more interesting from the ignorance, which still prevails among Europeans on the subject.

The popular idea we believe, even among Anglo-Indians, with respect to caste, is that it is comprehended in four great divisions, each of which has its separate privileges, and individual duties to perform. In reality, there are upwards of forty, each of which is, for all social purposes, a distinct and separate order,

and possesses as complete an individuality, as that which divides the Englishman and the Kalmuk. In the first place ; there are many grades, or *Sréni*, even of Brahmins, although all may be ranged under three great divisions.

I. The RARHI, or Brahmins of Raur, so called, from the district in which they were settled, who are thus subdivided :

1. The KULINS. The signification of this word is simply "familied:" and it corresponds more nearly with the Spanish Hidalgo, or "son of somebody," than with any word of English derivation. Instituted by Bullal Sen, to infuse new energy into the Brahminical priesthood, they have ever since held themselves haughtily apart, alike from their own caste, as from all others. The Kulin *par excellence*, he whose family has never been tainted by the admixture of any inferior race, the pure "blue blood" of India, possesses immense privileges; and it is well for his countrymen that the number of his equals is so limited. Of these privileges, the most known, and (socially) the most iniquitous, is, that the Kulins can marry any number of wives they please, without the expense of maintaining them: and the father of the twentieth bride is equally bound with the father of the first to pay a dowry to the noble bridegroom.

2. The BHANGAS. Literally 'the broken,' so styled from being the children of a Kulin, who has married the daughter of an inferior Brahmin, and thus broken his *kúl*, or line of descent. They are however nearly as honourable as the former, and possess the same privileges of marriage and relationship.

3. BANGSAJA, "of good family." The descendants of such broken Kulins, as have married girls of their own caste.

4. SROTTRIYA. Those who are skilled in the Shastras. This class possesses only eight of the nine qualities appertaining to a Kulin—viz. good conduct, respect, learning, renown, fondness for pilgrimage, piety, asceticism, ability to read the Veds, and liberality. The Srottriyas possess no liberality. The names of the principal families of these four grades are Mukhapádhya (Múkerjea), Bandapádhya (Banerjea), Chattapádhya (Chatterjea), Gangapádhya (Ganguli), and Ghosal.

II. The BARENDRAS, or Brahmins of Barendra, are also named from the district, and, in like manner, subdivided into four grades, similar to the former ones, but under somewhat different names. The family appellations most common are Maitra, Rudra, Sandel, Lahuri, Bháduri.

III. The SAPTASATIS, or original Brahmins of Bengal. These are now denominated *Vaidiks*, literally, those skilled in the learning of the Vedas, an accomplishment however to which they cannot now lay claim. They are also subdivided into two

grades, the Pasch-attyā, or western, and Dakshin-attyā, or southern, each of which is, for all social purposes, a separate caste.

THE KSHETRIYAS.

The warrior caste. Of this great caste no representative exists in Bengal, as the few who claim that honour, though called Kshetriyas, are not allowed by the pandits to be of pure descent.*

VAISYAS.

The merchants. Of this caste there are none in Bengal.

SUDRAS.

The best pandits, and especially those who are skilled in genealogical learning—the Indian Burkes and Debretts—declare that there exist no families of genuine Sudras in Bengal, as they have all become corrupted by intermixtures. By that universal system of forbearance, however, without which the restraints of caste would be intolerable, the name of Sudra is accorded to them, and the various *Sréni* take rank, as though they really belonged to the fourth class.

Among the Sudras, the Kayasthas are decidedly the first in point of rank, not only from their superiority of birth, but from the eminence, which many of their members have attained. It has been a custom among them, for a considerable period, to allow their children to remain under tuition longer than is usual among Hindus, and hence the saying has almost become a proverb, that when we see a Kayastha, we see a clever man. The Kulin, or more aristocratic, Kayasthas are divided into two branches, the Uthar and Dakshin Rarhi, or northern and southern divisions, the names of whose principal families are Mitra, Basu, and Ghosh : the Bangsaja Kayasthas are also of the first rank, but the only name of eminence among them is Guha.

The ordinary Kayasthas are nearly as honourable as the Kulin Kayasthas ; while the names of their most numerous families, De, Dutt, Singh, Palit, Dhar and Kar, are all well known in literature and science. Rajnarayun Mitra, a Kayastha gentleman, has published one of the best antiquarian works ever composed by a Hindu, to prove that his tribe are descended from the Kshetriya, and have therefore a right to the *Paita* ; but the claim is disallowed, though supported by several of the pandits of Nuddea. The following list contains most of the principal subdivisions of the Sudras.

The AGURIS and MAHESYAS are not numerous ; and the same may be said of the KANARAS.

* The Rajah of Burdwan is very generally allowed to be a Kshetriya.

SHUTAS. These are chiefly coachmen and grooms ; but Brahmins are allowed to visit their houses, and eat fruit and water at their hands.

MALAKAR. This grade derives its name from the garlands, or *málas* of flowers, which are hung about the necks of the Gods and Brahmins on festival days. The occupation is considered not only honourable but meritorious, and must not be confounded with that of the ordinary Mali, or gardener. Brahmins eat fruit in their houses.

The NABASAK. This division, though nominally consisting of nine *Sréni*, contains in reality fourteen, all honourable, and in whose houses Brahmins can sit and eat fruit. Though all belonging to one great division, they are totally interdicted from inter-marriage, or any other form of social equality.

KARMAKAR. Ironworkers. This is one of those castes, the greater part of whose members have adhered to their original trade.

TILI. Spice-sellers. They employ themselves however in all kinds of professions, and number many rich men among their ranks.

TANTRABAYA, or Tanti. Weavers. Many have abandoned this employment, and are found in all kinds of trades.

KUMBHAKAR. Potters.

MALI. These are the ordinary gardeners ; but the trade is followed by almost all grades of husbandmen.

GANDHABANIK. Perfumers.

KANGSAKAR. Braziers.

SATGOP. Husbandmen.

TAMBALI. Chiefly Bazar men, sellers of pan and betel.

BARUI. Preparers of pan and betel.

NAPIT. Barbers.

MAIRA. Confectioners, or sweetmeat makers. These are a most important class of men, as every Bengali, young and old, is only limited in his consumption of sweetmeats by the length of his purse.

GOALA, OR GOPA. Herdsmen.

The following are those castes, into whose house no Brahmin of character will enter ; but they may still be servants in the houses of the priests.

DHOBA. Washermen. These are so degraded that they cannot even perform the meanest offices for the priests.

TELI. Oil pressers. Equally low.

HARI. These even sell pigs, and are, *par consequence*, considered on a level with the animals, in which they trade ; they are chiefly cooks among Europeans.

MUCHI. Shoemakers. So deeply is leather abhorred among the Hindus, that the more orthodox always wear their slip-

pers down at heel to escape the profanation of touching them. The shoemaker is therefore the lowest of all castes, save the

DOMS, who are scavengers and basket-makers ; as also are the Doklas.

The CHANDALS, or Outcasts, are held to be the lees of Hinduism, wretched beings, whom it is pollution for a Brahmin even to look at, much less to touch. The bare contact of their garments compels the Brahmin, and the other two higher castes, to wash themselves in the river.*

* The popular belief is that the Sudras are divided into thirty-six castes ; and the following list, differing in some respects from that in the text, has been kindly furnished to us by a young native Christian. It is compiled and arranged by himself.

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE THIRTY SIX CLASSES OF THE VARNA-SANKARS.

No.	Names.	Profession.
1	Baidya	Medicine.
2	Káyastha	Writer caste.
3	Gopa { 1 Sata	Husbandry.
	{ 2 Pallava	Dairy.
	{ 1 Gandha	Spicery.
4	Banik..... { 2 Káyangsa	Brasier.
	{ 3 Sankha	Dealer in Shells.
	{ 4 Sharna	Banker.
	{ 5 A'garoálá	Jeweller.
5	Sharnakár	Goldsmith.
6	Karmakár	Blacksmith.
7	Málakár	Florist.
8	Prámánik	Barber.
9	Tantubaya	Weaver.
10	Madak	Confectioner.
11	A'guri	Husbandman.
12	Sutradhar	Carpenter.
13	Tili	Spiceseller.
14	Kaibartya... { 1 Chási	Husbandman.
	{ 2 Dhibar	Fisherman.
15	Jugi	Dealer in cloth.
16	Báruí	Ditto in betel-nut, &c.
17	Soundik	Distiller of spirits.
18	Kumár	Potter.
19	Tambali	Spiceseller.
20	Teli	Oilman.
21	Rajak	Washerman.
22	Baiti	Maker of mats.
23	Dom	Ditto of baskets.
24	Charmakár.. { 1 Muchi	Shoe-maker.
	{ 2 Charmakar (proper)	Dealer in leather.
25	Dháyoá	Fisherman.
26	Bágdí	Menial servants.
	{ 1 Tetuliá	
	{ 2 Kushmetia	
27	Bádiyá	Seller of medicinal plants.
28	Chásádhobá	Dealer in rice, &c.
29	Chunari	Maker of lime.
30	Dule	Palki-bearer, &c.
31	Podh	Day-laborer.
32	Korár	Tank-digger.
33	Bhát	Attendant on sacrifices.
34	A'chárjya	Ditto ditto.
35	Hári	Undertaker, &c.
36	Chandal	Outcast.

It is so impossible for a European to become perfectly acquainted with all the mysteries of castes, that the foregoing list may contain a few inaccuracies; but it will be found to err rather in its omissions, than commissions. When it is considered that in each of these castes there is a multitude of subdivisions; that each ramification has some customs peculiar to itself, of which every infraction is a breach of the laws of caste; and that a great portion of the litigious spirit of a litigious race is spent upon these quarrels; we obtain a great clue to the source of Brahminical influence.*

It is well known that this influence is still very powerful, and that it operates as a formidable check to national improvement; but one of the many subjects upon which Europeans, who have written upon Indian customs; are apparently in the dark, is the nature of the process, by which the Brahmin exercises that portion of direct authority, which belongs to him, and which constitutes the ultimate basis of his ecclesiastical power. Let us suppose any man in ordinary circumstances to commit an offence against the laws of caste, which renders him impure, without absolutely severing him from Hinduism; let us suppose, for instance, a Kayastha detected eating pig's flesh: the circumstance comes to the ears of the Brahmins through some party intimate with the offender; and the case is at once subjected to the most rigorous scrutiny. The delinquent will probably make the most solemn asseverations of innocence, and call all the Gods to witness, that he was, at the time, performing pūja: but all this goes for little in Bengal at any time, and, in matters of caste, a man's word is considered as absolutely valueless. The Brahmins, having satisfied themselves of the truth of the charge, at once publish it abroad, and prescribe a form of *Prayaschitra*, or purification, adapted to the degree of the crime committed. This purification involves, not only an expenditure, that in many cases reduces the offender to hopeless poverty, but also a number of difficult and disgusting ceremonies. It sometimes happens therefore that he resists; and he is then declared *ABYABAHARJYA*, an outcast. The effect of this sentence far surpasses that of the terrible Romanist excommunication. The man remains in his own house solitary. No man, but the vilest of the populace, will enter it: none will address him,

* Upon the subject of breaking caste we must say one word. We have frequently been amused by hearing servants complain to their mistress, that such and such an act would break their caste; and the said story, very often, implicitly credited. For instance, we have seen a bearer refuse to remove a cup of tea, upon the plea of caste. The fact is that no cause on earth can break a man's caste, except eating with an infidel, or eating cow's flesh. The minor breaches may all be made up for by rupees, and, as for those alleged by servants to escape work, they are almost all lies; or at best such disgrace is incurred, as an English butler would experience, if he were to sweep the floor. In Calcutta even the major breach is of little moment. We have known cases of young men coming to a missionary for baptism, sleeping, eating, and drinking with native converts;—and received back, without question or scruple.

unless compelled by absolute necessity ; his relatives, who have resided in his house perhaps for twenty years, abandon it ; and even the females of his family, who are unable to depart, overwhelm him with reproaches. Should any one, influenced by the love of gold, frequent his dwelling, he also must perform a *Prayaschitra*. Add to this the torment of his own conscience,* and we may easily conceive, that it is impossible for the haughtiest spirit to hold out for more than a month. At the end of that time, the offender generally sends for his *Purohit*, or Brahminical Father Confessor, and declares his intention of submitting to the *Prayaschitra*. It is seldom that matters proceed as far as this : but every man is well aware, that this terrible sentence may be pronounced on the refractory. Towards the Brahmin, as towards the Sudra, these rules are equally strict ; but the Brahmin is in general more heavily punished for his offence. Thus, if a Sudra becomes intoxicated, he is reprimanded ; but, if a Brahmin is guilty of the same offence, he must perform the ceremony of purification for a whole year, by macerating his body, by alms-giving, and by fasting. The maceration consists in sleeping, and sitting, always on the bare ground, and in wearing coarse or heavy clothing ; while fasting, he may eat only just sufficient to support life ; and his alms-giving must not be less than Rs. 300.† The only advantage, which the Brahmin has over the Sudra, is the greater difficulty of procuring evidence against him, and the probability that the funds, necessary for his alms giving, will be supplied by some Sudra Baboo.

Of the work performed by the modern Brahmins, and the duties which they most affect, it is almost impossible to obtain any correct account. They may be found in the army, in trade, and in almost every profession connected with the use of the plough. A great number still adhere to their original trade of beggary ; and a still greater serve as *Purohits* in the houses of the middle and wealthy classes. The office of the *Purohit* is a compound of that of a secretary and a confessor. He performs almost all business for his protector, writes all his letters, and prescribes all his necessary worship. Generally well paid, he is always much revered : and we may safely say, that, throughout Bengal, there is no body of men, who possess the powers of the Brahmin *Purohits*.

* We do not mean to assert that this is very great. The feeling of utter solitariness, and the influence of a creed, which he has obeyed (at least outwardly) for the greater part of his life, produce a sensation much resembling that which we have described. It is the impossibility of producing this perfect isolation, which, as we have before observed, so much weakens the authority of the Brahmins in the great cities.

† We are exceedingly sorry to hear that the rapid increase of drunkenness has compelled the Brahmins to suspend this regulation ; and that the intoxicated priest now escapes with only a reprimand.

ART. III.—*The Oriental Astronomer*;—being a complete system of Hindu Astronomy, accompanied with a translation and numerous explanatory notes. With an appendix. Jaffna. 1848.

THE subject of the Hindu Astronomy is one, which, both on the ground of its intrinsic importance, and on account of the many curious questions that have originated in connexion with the study of it by the Western philosophers, claimed a prominent place in our pages. The claim was allowed; and it was one of the earliest subjects that we thought proper to bring to the notice of our readers, in the days when the *Calcutta Review* was very young—*animosus infans*. (See vol. I, p. 257). In the article to which we now refer, we treated the subject, and various questions connected with it, at considerable length; and our present purpose is not to go afresh over the ground that we then traversed, or to renew the discussion of any of the disputable matters, that we then either considered at length, or barely hinted at;—but simply, and *bonâ fide*, to give a notice, and not a very long one, of the volume now before us.

The *Oriental Astronomer*—our typographical resources do not enable us to present the alternative title in the Tamil language—is a work, or more properly a collection of works, in Tamil, with an English translation and numerous explanatory and corrective notes, by the Rev. H. R. Hoisington, an American Missionary, who has long been at the head of an important Educational Institution, established at Batticotta in Ceylon. The work has been prepared for the use of the students in that institution; and, at the outset of this notice, we cannot but congratulate them on the privilege they enjoy—of being directed in the study of this important science by so capable an instructor, as Mr. Hoisington's annotations in the volume before us evince him to be. One of the very questions, as we remember, that we considered in the course of the article to which we have just referred, was the suitability of native works on astronomy to occupy the place of text-books in the educational establishments designed for the education of native youth. We shall, however, strenuously adhere to the promise we have made, and not re-open that question on the present occasion. In fact it does not legitimately come before us at present, as Mr. Hoisington's object, as stated by himself, is a very different one from the system advocated by Mr. L. Wilkinson, which we then controverted. The purpose of the present volume is not to serve as a text-book, to the super-

cession of European treatises ; but to furnish those who have made good proficiency in the European system, with the means of instituting a comparison between that system and the native one. This we reckon not only a legitimate object, but a highly desirable one.

But, apart altogether from the merits of the work as an educational manual, and from any consideration of the place that its study should occupy in an academical course, we feel it due to Mr. Hoisington to express our cordial thanks, in which we are sure that many who take an interest in the study of a highly important subject, will as cordially concur, for the achievement of a laborious task. We cannot but think that he has laid the scientific world under no small obligation, by rendering accessible one of a class of works, that have been hitherto almost unknown ; and by presenting in so clear a form the merits and demerits of a system, that has been extravagantly lauded on the one hand, and unduly depreciated on the other, by those who had not the means of estimating it aright. Mr. Hoisington has well merited a place in the honorable list of those, who, having come to India for the purpose of proclaiming the blessed gospel, and elevating the minds of the people of the land, have done much to diffuse, amongst their own countrymen, correct and important information respecting the people amongst whom it has been their lot to labour, their religions, their languages, their customs, their history, and their sciences.

The volume before us consists of four parts ;—1. An introduction, in Tamil and English. 2. A treatise on Astronomy, according to the system of Ullamudian, with an English version. The epoch of the treatise is A. D. 1234. 3. A modern treatise on Eclipses, by a native astronomer, with an English translation. 4. An appendix, containing certain tables, astronomical problems, and a glossary of Hindu astronomical terms. We cannot do better than take a cursory review of these parts in their order, briefly noticing any thing that strikes us as meriting attention. And, at the outset, we must so far violate editorial etiquette as to confess ignorance—total ignorance, of the Tamil language. It is with the translation only that we can occupy ourselves ; and we shall take for granted, as in such a case we may pretty safely do, that, when any passage in the translation contains *sense*, it is *the* sense of the original.

The introduction is chiefly historical ; and contains a very brief notice, abridged from Bentley, of the various Eras in Hindu Astronomy. Although we agree in the main with Mr. Bentley, as to the comparatively recent date of this branch of

Oriental Science, and the utter groundlessness of the pretensions, advanced on behalf of the Hindu treatises and tables, to a remote antiquity; yet we do not feel our sympathies quite going along with Mr. Hoisington, when he states didactically, as if they were unquestioned and unquestionable verities, the conclusions which Bentley deduces from most ingenious, and generally very convincing, reasonings. We would not have recommended that, in such a work, matters should have been introduced controversially; but we think that the actual state of our knowledge of the subject scarcely warrants so dogmatical a statement of various chronological matters, as Mr. Hoisington has made.

We shall refer to one passage in the sketch of the history of the Hindu astronomy, which will at once illustrate our meaning, as to the too dogmatical character of the statements, and will give us an opportunity of pointing out what we conceive to be a misapprehension, on Mr. Hoisington's part, of Mr. Bentley's meaning. We shall first give at length the passage from Bentley, and make a few remarks upon it; and then we shall give Mr. Hoisington's abstract of it, and make a few more remarks upon it.

The passage in Bentley is as follows:—

“ Early in this period, that is to say, about the year A. D. 51, Christianity was preached in India by St. Thomas. This circumstance introduced new light into India, in respect of the history and opinions of the people of the West, and concerning the time of the Creation, in which the Hindus found they were far behind in point of antiquity, (their account of the Creation going back only to the year 2352, B. C. which was the year of the Mosaic flood); and that therefore they would be considered a modern people in respect of the rest of the world. To avoid this imputation, and to make the world believe they were the most ancient people on the face of the earth, they resolved to change the time of the creation, and carry it back to the year 4225, B. C.—thereby making it older than the Mosaic account, and making it appear, by means of false history written on purpose, that all men sprang from them. But to give the whole the appearance of reality, they divided the Hindu history into other periods, carrying the first of them back to the autumnal equinox in the year 4225, B. C. These periods they called *Manwantaras*, or patriarchal periods, and fixed the dates of their respective commencements by the computed conjunctions of Saturn with the Sun, in the same manner as those of the former ages, already given, were fixed by the conjunctions of Jupiter and the Sun. This, no doubt,

' was done with a view of making the world believe, that such conjunctions were noticed by the people, who lived in the respective periods; and therefore might be considered as real, genuine, and indisputable periods of history, founded on actual observations.

"The following table contains the periods, with their respective dates of commencement, &c.

<i>Patriarchal Periods, or Manwantaras.</i>	<i>Dates.</i>	<i>Moon's age.</i>	<i>Errors in the Tables used.</i>
1st	25th Oct. 4225 B. C.	9th Tithi of Aswin	30° 58' 42"—
2nd	13th Nov. 3841 "	12th do. of Kartik....	28 12 17 —
3rd	11th Apr. 3358 "	3rd do. of Chaitra...	24 43 14 —
4th	29th Aug. 2877 "	3rd do. of Bhadra...	21 14 38 —
5th	25th Mar. 2388 "	30th do. of Falgun...	17 42 55 —
6th	23rd Dec. 2043 "	11th do. of Paush	15 13 6 —
7th	2nd July 1528 "	10th do. of Ashadh...	11 30 8 —
8th	8th Jan. 1040 "	7th do. of Magh	7 58 22 —
9th	28th July 555 "	23rd do. of Sraban...	4 28 28 —
Do. ended.	23rd June 31 A.D.	15th do. of Asadha...	0 13 34 —

"The mean annual motion of Saturn was $0^{\circ} 22' 14'' 28''$, and the error in the mean annual motion = $26'' +$; therefore the year, in which there would be no error in the position of Saturn, would be A. D. 64; shewing the time when this division of the Hindu history was invented."

We have various remarks to make upon this extract. First of all, we do not reckon it an ascertained point that the Apostle Thomas was ever in India. It is certain that the gospel was preached in India at an early period by one Thomas; but it is not certain, that that period was the first century, or that that Thomas was the Apostle. To us it appears, that the preponderance of evidence is in favor of another Thomas, a Nestorian of the fifth century. And then, supposing the fact to be as stated, and that the extension of the Hindu chronology was made for the purpose indicated, is it at all likely that the Hindus would have been contented with extending it only two centuries beyond the period assigned by the Mosaic account to the creation? Would it not have been much more in accordance with Hindu usage, to have thrown it back to an overwhelmingly remote period, as, according to Mr. Bentley's own shewing, was done five centuries later, when, he says, "the Creation was thrown back 1972947101 years before the Christian era?"

* So in Bentley; a misprint for 12° .

Now let us turn to Mr. Hoisington's abstract of the above passage. It is as follows :—

“ ‘ About A. D. 51, Christianity was preached in India by St. Thomas. This gave rise to the periods called *Manwan-taras*, or patriarchal periods; the dates of their respective commencements being fixed by the computed conjunction of Saturn with the Sun, in the same manner as those of the four ages given above were fixed by the conjunction of Jupiter and the Sun.

“ This was done in order to extend the numbers in the Hindu chronology beyond those of the Christian.”

Now this abstract is liable to both the exceptions that we have taken to the passage from which it is abstracted, and to one or two more. Be the reason of the extension of the Hindu Chronology what it might, Bentley gives a reason—which can scarcely fail (his data being admitted) to commend itself to all who are capable of appreciating such evidence,—for believing that the extension took place at the period stated, viz. near the beginning of the latter half of the first century. The only uncertainty is as to the correctness of the estimate of Saturn's mean annual motion. We question whether, even now, it is so accurately ascertained as to serve as the basis of so delicate an argument. But as Mr. Hoisington states the matter, we have nothing for it but a bare assertion. It would no doubt have extended his introduction too far had he given a full statement of the reasons on which his historical assertions are based; but he might at least have introduced them with such a phrase as—“There is good reason to believe,”—or “Mr. Bentley has shewn,”—or words to the same effect.

We suspect also that Mr. Hoisington has considerably misapprehended Mr. Bentley's meaning. At all events, he has stated the matter so that all his readers, who do not refer to Bentley's work for themselves, will certainly misapprehend it. Mr. Bentley states, that the Hindu Chronology was extended in order to evince that the Hindus existed as a people, and had a history, before the period assigned to the Creation by the Mosaic chronology; and that, *this extension being made*, the Astronomers determined the commencement of nine epochs, by calculating the times of certain conjunctions of Saturn with the Sun. But, as Mr. Hoisington states it, it would appear that the substitution of Saturn for Jupiter was made with the view of *effecting this extension*: as if the Synodic period of Saturn, or the time between two of his conjunctions with the Sun, were longer than that of Jupiter, whereas it is in reality

shorter, in the proportion of 878 to 899. Probably however, this may be an inadvertence, not an inaccuracy; and we are sure that, if our present notice should fall into Mr. Hoisington's hands, he will regard as a kindness our pointing it out.

We have dwelt at greater length than we intended upon the Introduction to the volume, which occupies only 19 pages in both Tamil and English. It is therefore full time that we should proceed to notice the next department of the work,—the PARAKITHAM, or system of Hindu Astronomy.

As the main object of the Hindu Astronomy was the rectification of the Calendar, and the ascertainment of chronological epochs, the present work, as might be expected, sets out with rules for the calculation of various periods of time; and indeed this seems to be the main object that has been in the author's mind throughout. There is an apparent inconsistency in the second and third problems, of which not only the third assumes the result of the second to be known, but the second seems in like manner to proceed upon the result of the third. Thus the second teaches to find what year of the "*Salivakana era*" any given year is; and the rule is to multiply by sixty the number of "*cycles of sixty years*," passed from the introduction of that cycle, to add the number expressing the given year's place in the current cycle of sixty; and then to add 349, the year of the *Salivakana era* corresponding to the introduction of the cycle of sixty. Thus the present year 1850 is the forty-third year of the twenty-fourth cycle of sixty. Hence its place in the *Salivakana era* is $23 \times 60 + 43 + 349 = 1772$. By the converse process, the place of a given year in the current cycle appears to be found from its place in the *Salivakana* reckoning. But this, as we have stated, is not the case. The third problem is not merely the converse of the second; for the "*cycle of sixty*" years, spoken of in the third, differs very materially from "*the cycle of sixty*" years spoken of in the second. That employed in the second is a cycle of sixty *solar years*, commencing with A. D. 427, or the 349th year of the *Salivakana* period: while that spoken of in the second is a cycle of sixty *mean periods of Jupiter's remaining in a sign of the Zodiac*, (or sixty twelfth-parts of his revolution) commencing two years, three months and thirteen days before the *Salivakana era*, or A. D. 78. We know not whether in the original these two cycles are called by precisely the same name. The translator, in a note, furnishes us with a hint of the difference; but so obscurely expressed, that it required no small expenditure of thought to enable us to reconcile what seemed so glaring an inconsistency at the very outset of the system. It is well worthy of remark, that these

years, (or rather twelfth-parts of Jovian years) are taken, as implied in the technical rule, to be to Solar years as 1875 to 1897; in other words, 1897 of these are equal to 1875 Solar years. Now, taking the Solar year at $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, this makes Jupiter's revolution be performed in 4,382.2 days nearly, whereas Laplace gives it at 4,382.6 *à fort peu près*. This, it must be acknowledged, is a tolerable approximation to correctness on the part of the Hindu Astronomers, and creditable to them withal, when we consider the paucity of instrumental aids that they enjoyed in the ascertainment.

We are next instructed to ascertain the place that we have reached in the Kuli Yuga, which dates from 3179 before the *Salivakana*, or from B. C. 3101. Here also we have an opportunity afforded us of testing the accuracy of the Hindu determinations. We are directed to reduce years into days by multiplying the number of years by 1,416,106, and dividing the result by 3,877. This gives us the length of the year = $\frac{1416106}{3877}$ days = 365*d.* 6*h.* 11*m.* 47½*s.* Now as the Hindu year is determined by the entrance of the Sun into a Sidereal Sign, we must compare this, not with the tropical, but with the Sidereal year, the length of which, as given by Laplace, is 365*d.* 6*h.* 9*m.* 11½*s.* nearly. Hence, supposing the most accurate European determination to be correct, the Hindu errs by 2*m.* 36*s.* in excess. Another method makes 576 years equal to 210,389 days; but this is less accurate than the preceding, and is probably meant only as a rough approximation. It should be stated, however, that the Sidereal year is subject to a very small secular variation, so that it may have been somewhat longer in 3101 B. C. than at present.

The next subject is the method of finding the moon's true longitude for any given day. As this is a very fair specimen of the Hindu methods of proceeding, we shall explain it at length; and this, we believe, will be best accomplished by means of an example. Let it be required then to find the moon's true longitude for the two millionth day of the Kali Yuga. It is first assumed that the moon's mean motion in longitude is 13° 10' 35" per day, and that the mean daily motion in longitude of her apogee is 6' 41"; the difference of these = 13° 3' 54", is the mean daily motion of the moon from her apogee. Now it is assumed that, at the instant of the Kali Yuga, the moon was in the first point of Aries, and that her apogee was in longitude 6°. 29' 43". The next assumption is, that, after a period of 1,565,411 days, the moon and her apogee return to the same position with reference to each other and the ecliptic. Consequently, at the end of this period, we have the longitudes of the

moon and apogee precisely the same as at the beginning. We have therefore now only to find the change of longitude in $(2,000,000 - 1,565,411 =) 434,589$ days. Next, we find that, at the mean daily rate of motion of the moon and her apogee, the former in a period of 3,031 days passes over 110 complete revolutions, and $11^{\circ} 7' 38'' 5''$; and that, during the same period, the apogee passes over $11^{\circ} 7' 37'' 11''$. They therefore, at the end of this period, come within $54''$ of the same relative position, which they occupied at the beginning. Now this small difference may be neglected, and we may consider that they return to the same relative position at the end of each successive period of 3,031 days. In 434,589 days there are contained 143 such periods, and 1,156 days over. Consequently, 1,156 days before the two millionth day of the Kali Yuga, the *relative* positions of the moon and her apogee were the same as at the beginning of the Kali Yuga; although their *actual* position differed by upwards of $11'$. Once more, we find that in 248 days the moon goes through 9 complete revolutions, and $27^{\circ} 44' 40''$, while her apogee passes over $27^{\circ} 37' 28''$. These differ by $7' 12''$,—a considerable difference certainly;—but this is neglected, and we consider that the moon and her apogee return to the same relative position, after each successive period of 248 days. In 1,156 days there are contained four such periods, and 164 days more. Hence we conclude that, 164 days before the given day, the moon was at the same distance in longitude from her apogee that she was at the beginning of the Kali Yuga. Now we have a table giving the true motion in longitude of the moon in any number of days up to 248—her mean motion corrected by the equation of her centre. Referring to this table, we find that in 164 days the moon gains $2^{\circ} 25'$ of longitude. As the difference of longitude at the Kali Yuga was $6^{\circ} 29' 43''$, we have the actual distance of the moon at the two millionth day thereafter, from the apogee at the $(2,000,000 - 164 =) 1,990,816$ th day $= 6^{\circ} 27' 18''$, the moon being by that amount behind its apogee. We have now to find the actual longitude. Now the longitude of the apogee at the Kali Yuga, and at the 1,565,411th day thereafter, was $6^{\circ} 29' 43''$. In 3,031 days the apogee advances $11^{\circ} 7' 38'' 5''$ of longitude; multiplying this by 143, and rejecting the complete revolutions, we get an advance of the longitude of the apogee of $1^{\circ} 11' 46''$. Again, in 248 days the apogee is supposed to advance $27^{\circ} 44' 40''$; and consequently in four such periods it advances $3^{\circ} 20' 58' 40''$. These three quantities added together will give the longitude of the apogee 164 days before the two millionth day of the Kali Yuga; thus, $6^{\circ} 29' 43'' + 1^{\circ} 11' 46'' + 3^{\circ} 20' 59'' =$ (re-

jecting a complete circle) $0^{\circ} 2^{\circ} 28'$. From this we have now to subtract $6^{\circ} 27^{\circ} 18'$, above found; and the result is $5^{\circ} 5^{\circ} 10'$, the true longitude of the moon on the given day. Although the process seems tedious, when thus explained in detail, it is in reality very short in practice.

The question naturally suggests itself, what is the use of making so many successive rejections of complete periods, since it would evidently be a much neater operation to calculate the motion at once, by multiplying the mean daily motion by the number of days elapsed? But the periods rejected serve the purpose of corrections; inasmuch as it appears from the example, that the first and third periods differ from the numbers that would be deduced from the assumed rates.

We may notice, in passing, the following estimates of various important elements in the moon's revolution, comparing them with the European determinations of the same quantities.

	<i>Ullamudian.</i>	<i>Laplace.</i>
Moon's Anomalistic period	27d. 13h. 18m. 8s.	27d. 13h. 18m. 49s.
— Tropical revolution.	27d. 7h. 43m. 6s.	27d. 7h. 43m. 11s.
Revolution of Apsides ...	3231d. 22h. 5m. 5s.	3232d. 13h. 48m. 53s.*
Greatest equation of centre	$5^{\circ} 3'$	$6^{\circ} 17' 54''$

The latter column of the table we have calculated from the data furnished in Laplace's *Système du monde*. It has been ascertained that the moon moves more rapidly now than she did formerly—the acceleration amounting to nearly 11 seconds in a century. At this rate the Hindu tables are very considerably in error. It is to Lagrange that we owe the important knowledge that this acceleration is secular, and that it will ere long reach its maximum. As to the third item in the above table, we have deduced the Hindu estimate of it from the mean daily rate of the motion of the moon's apogee ($6^{\circ} 41'$): but we have already stated that various corrections are introduced; and in a subsequent part of the work, we find these corrections comprehended in a single one, the application of which makes the revolution of the Apsides to be accomplished in 3232d. 13h. 48m. 29s.; differing from Laplace's estimate by only twenty-four seconds. There is a large error in the maximum equation of the moon's centre, which will affect all the equations, and will render the determination of the moon's place erroneous, at all times, except at apogee and perigee. This will of course render the determination of eclipses erroneous, excepting when they

* Sir J. Herschell makes it 3232d. 13h. 48m. 29s.—agreeing exactly with the estimate of the Hindus.

occur very near the apogee or perigee of the moon. This error proceeds from under-estimating the eccentricity of the moon's orbit.

We have next rules and tables for determining the longitude of the sun and the planets, corresponding with those that we have spoken of for the moon. As the principles of all these are identical, it is not necessary to say aught about them. We shall only state a few of the elements assumed. The greatest equation of the sun's centre is taken at $2^{\circ} 10\frac{1}{2}'$: at the beginning of the present century it was $1^{\circ} 55' 16''$. It diminishes at the rate of about $17''$ in a century; so that it would correspond with the Hindu estimate about 50 centuries ago. But it were too rash to conclude that this is the period when the equation was ascertained; as it is much more likely that the ascertainment was made at a much later period, and made erroneously. The sidereal period of Mars is taken at 687 days; but a correction is introduced of $46'$ of arc in 280 years, or $12''$ a year, which will reduce it by a very minute period. Laplace gives it as 687 days *à fort peu près*. Mercury's sidereal period is reduced by a correction to 87.9621 days, which is very accurate. The period of Jupiter's revolution has been already stated, and compared with the corresponding period as given by Laplace. The periods of Venus and Saturn are also sufficiently correct.

We must pass over all else relating to the planets, the nodes of the moon's orbit, and several other subjects, and reserve what remains of our space for some notice of the methods given for calculating eclipses, the grand *terminus ad quem* of Hindu Astronomy.

There are three methods, given in the volume before us, for calculating an eclipse, whether of the sun or moon. They do not differ very widely from each other; but as the last, while it is essentially native in its method, is yet very considerably improved, in consequence of the knowledge of the European system that its author had picked up in the course of intercourse with individuals connected with the Batticotta Seminary, we shall confine our attention to it. It may be regarded as a very fair specimen of the mode in which Mr. Hoisington expects the influence of the Seminary to operate, in stirring up its students to enquire into the *reasons* of the empiric rules contained in the native treatises, and so to discover in what respects these are defective or erroneous, and to introduce the necessary improvements and corrections. The treatise, to which we now refer, is that of which we have formerly spoken, as forming the third part of the volume before us. It is compiled by Visvanatha Sastri, son of Narayana Sastri, of

Batticotta, near Jaffna, Ceylon. It is for the epoch 1756 A. D. which seems to have been the year of its author's birth, although it was not actually composed until 1788; and seems to have been constantly improved, as its author acquired more accurate information, up to the time of his death in 1845: Like all other native treatises, this consists of detached rules, or precepts, each directing merely the performance of an arithmetical process, without the slightest hint of the reason why the process should be performed. Mr. Hoisington has, by his notes, generally made the matter pretty intelligible; and we believe we shall do an acceptable service to some of our readers by sketching a detail of the process prescribed.

The treatise consists of thirty-three of these precepts, of which the first twelve relate to principles common to eclipses of the sun and moon, fourteen to solar, and seven to lunar eclipses. We shall give these precepts in detail, with such explanations, as may seem necessary for making them intelligible to those, who possess a moderate amount of knowledge of astronomical subjects.

1. *An eclipse may be expected in those months, when the Sun is in or near to the sign in which Rahu or Kethu is. If, in those months, a conjunction of the sun and moon occur in the day-time, there may be a solar eclipse; but if an opposition occur at night, there may be a lunar eclipse.*

Rahu and Kethu are the ascending and descending nodes of the moon's orbit. From this precept, we see, what will appear more clearly hereafter, that the treatise takes account only of eclipses visible at the place for which it is composed. European astronomers first ascertain whether an eclipse will occur, and then whether it will be visible at a given place, or, more generally, over what portion of the earth's surface it will be visible. But the Hindus proceed strictly on the principle, *De non apparentibus, ac de non existentibus, eadem est ratio.*

2. *Set down the Sutta Tinam to the time of sun-rising on the day in which the conjunction or opposition of the sun and moon occurs. From this subtract 1,774,192; the remainder is called Kandam. This Kandam should be considered as beginning on Monday.*

The *Sutta Tinam* is the number of days, hours, minutes &c., from the commencement of the Kali Yuga. The 1,774,192 is the *Sutta Tinam* of the epoch for which the treatise is composed, viz. some Monday in 1756; for which day the places of the sun, moon, and moon's nodes are known, and from which their motions up to the given day are to be ascertained.

3. *Divide the Kandam successively by 12,372; 3,031; and 248; and set down the quotients, marking also their respective*

divisors. The last remainder will be the Kethu Vakya, i. e. an argument for the Panchanka Vakya.

Multiply by the quotients (found above) the following numbers respectively, viz. $9^{\circ} 27' 48'' 10''$; $11^{\circ} 7' 31' 1''$; and $27^{\circ} 44' 6''$.

Take the sum of these three results, and add it to $2^{\circ} 1^{\circ} 14' 27''$ (which is the Mula Druvam, or moon's epoch longitude); and you obtain Sasi Druvam, i. e. the longitude of the moon's apogee at the beginning of the Panchanka Vakya.

This is precisely the process, which we have already explained and illustrated by an example, for finding the longitude of the moon's apogee for a given time; the only difference is that another divisor (12,372) is introduced, but exactly on the same principle on which the other divisors are used.

4. *To the Sasi Druvam add the Attei Vakya, (the moon's tabular longitude,) and the correction, called Maniyathi; the sum will be the moon's longitude.*

The Sasi Druvam, being the longitude of the moon's apogee for an ascertained number of days, less than 248, before the given time, the Attei Vakya is the progress that the moon makes in that number of days. The correction is for the difference of meridians. The result of this precept will be the moon's longitude, when the sun rises at the first meridian. The table gives the correction for the place where the system was constructed. It will not be difficult to form a table for any other place, whose longitude is known.

5. *To make the correction called Senakala.*

As this correction is merely on account of the numbers 12,372; 3,031; and 248, not being strictly accurate multiples of the period of the moon's anomalistic revolution, we need not give the precept at length, nor make any remark upon it. The result is of course the moon's true longitude at sunrise on the first meridian, called *Sutta Santiran*.

6. *To calculate the Sun's longitude;*

Set down the number of months passed, and the day of the month, as so many signs and degrees. From this sum subtract the Sankrama Nalikeis, and Vinalikeis, considering them as minutes and seconds, if the beginning of the month happen in the day time; but if the month begin at night, add to that sum the difference between these Nalikeis, &c. and sixty Nalikeis.

From the Yokyathi Vakya take the equation corresponding to the given day, and subtract it from the above result, if it falls within seven signs of Pisces; but if it be within five signs of Libra, it must be added to the same. The result obtained will be the sun's Pudam, or true longitude.

A month is the period of the sun's continuance in a sign;

the number of months passed is the number of months passed in the *Kandam*. The *Sankrama* is the precise period elapsed between sun-rise of the given day, and the beginning of the month. The *Yokyathi* is a table containing the correction of the sun's daily motion, which is to be added or subtracted, according as the motion for the given day is greater or less than the mean motion of 1° .

7. *Subtract the sun's true longitude from the Sutta Santiran (see No. 5), and find the number of complete Tithis passed; reduce the remainder to minutes, and multiply them by 60. Divide this product by the difference of the daily motions of the sun and moon, and the quotient will be Nalikeis. Multiply the remainder by 60, and divide by the same divisor, for Vinalikeis. The Nadis and Vinadis, thus obtained, are called Pratham Nadi and Vinadi. The difference between this result and 60 Nalikeis, will be Satta Paruva Nadi and Vinadi; i. e. the time of conjunction or opposition of the sun and moon.*

This precept requires little or no explanation. A *tithi* is a lunar day, or a thirtieth-part of a lunation. The precept therefore amounts simply to this;—divide the difference of the true longitude by the difference of motion in longitude; the result will be the time elapsed since last conjunction or opposition; and the complement to a lunation will be the time to elapse till the next.

8. *To calculate the longitude of Rahu, i. e. the ascending node;*

Divide the Kandam in No. 2 by 6795, and reject the quotient. Multiply the remainder by twelve, and divide by the same divisor; the quotient will be signs. Reduce the remainder to degrees and minutes by multiplying by thirty and sixty, and dividing by the same divisor. Divide the same Kandam by 813, and the quotient will be minutes. These minutes must be added to the above found result.

Take the sum of this quantity, and $7^{\circ} 18' 45''$, which is Rahu's epoch longitude, and subtract it from 12° ; the remainder will be Rahu's longitude for sun-rise of the given day.

Divide by 19 the number of Nalikeis, intervening between the time of sun-rise and the time of conjunction or opposition; the result will be minutes. Subtract these minutes from the longitude above found; the remainder will be the longitude of Rahu for the instant of conjunction or opposition.

This precept is sufficiently distinct. The period of revolution of the moon's nodes is assumed at 6795 days; and a correction is applied, which reduces it to 6792.37;—as thus, a being any number of days, we have, for the number of revolu-

tions $\frac{a}{6795} + \frac{a}{813 \times 60 \times 360} = \frac{17567595 a}{119325686000}$. Hence we have, for the length of a revolution, $\frac{119325686000}{17567595} = 6792.87$ days. At the commencement of the present century, it was, according to Laplace, 6793.39 days: but it is subject to great variation. As it is an important element in the determination of eclipses according to the present method, its erroneous estimate must considerably vitiate the results. As the motion of the nodes is retrograde, it is the complement of the fraction of a revolution that is to be taken. The motion of the nodes is assumed to be 1' in 19 Nadis.

9. *To calculate the precession of the equinoxes:—*

Divide the number of years passed in Kali Yuga by 615, and the quotient will be signs. Multiply the remainder by thirty and sixty successively, and divide each product by the same divisor; the result will be degrees and minutes.

Reduce the signs, &c. to Bhuja as usual; and take out the equation from Yutta Nathi Vakya.*

This equation, raised to the higher denominations, will be the Ayana Pudam, i. e. the precession of the equinoxes.

YUTTA NATHI VAKYA.

3° 45'.	Precession.	3° 45'.	Precession.	3° 45'.	Precession.
1	91'	9	783'	17	1284'
2	182	10	859	18	1324
3	274	11	933	19	1359
4	362	12	1002	20	1388
5	450	13	1068	21	1410
6	537	14	1129	22	1426
7	621	15	1185	23	1436
8	708	16	1238	24	1440

On a comparison of the precept with the table it will be observed that the precession of the equinoxes is made to be (1440' =) 24° in (615 × 3 =) 1845 years. This gives the mean annual precession = 46."8.

Now it ought, according to Laplace, to be 50."1. The error has been introduced, we doubt not, in this way. The Surya Siddhanta proceeded on the supposition that the Zodiacal and Sidereal signs coincided at the beginning of the Kali Yuga:

* It is elsewhere explained that *Bhuja* means the first or third quadrant, and *Kodi* the second or fourth. To reduce the result, we have therefore, if it be in the second quadrant, to subtract from 180°; if in the third quadrant, to subtract 180° from it; and, if in the fourth quadrant, to subtract it from 360°. The table embraces a quadrant of the epicycle, or 1845 years, taking 3° 45' as the unit: thus 3° 45' × 24 = 90°.

but this was not the case. The author of that treatise, in order to absorb the error, supposed the annual precession to be 54," which gave him the correct position of the equinox for his own epoch. Now the author of the present treatise, finding that an error would accrue if he calculated the position of the equinox at the rate of 54," set himself to correct the rate. He must have assumed that the increase in precession, which he found to exist, had accumulated from the Kali Yuga, whereas it had in reality accumulated only from the era of the Surya Siddhanta; accordingly he made the rate too small.

10. *To calculate the Ascensional Difference:—*

To the Sun's longitude (No. 6) add the precession of the equinoxes above found, and ascertain whether this quantity falls within six signs of Aries or Libra, and reduce it to Bhujā, if it be in Kōdi.

If this reduced quantity be less than a sign, multiply it by 48; then reduce the product to the higher denomination, and divide by 30. The resulting quotient is called Sara Vinadi, or ascensional difference.

When the reduced quantity is greater than one sign, but less than two, multiply the degrees and minutes of the same by 38, and find out the Sara Vinadi, as before, remembering to increase the result by 48 Vinadis. When it exceeds two signs, the degrees and minutes of the same must be multiplied by 16, and the result, found as before, must be added to 86 Vinadis.

The Ascensional difference is the quantity by which the semi-diurnal arc of the Sun is greater or less than a quadrant. As this depends upon the latitude of the place, as well as the Sun's declination, the numbers given in the text are therefore applicable only to the place for which the system is constructed, or places of the same latitude. It is not the ascensional difference, but double of that quantity, that the precept directs us to find.

11. *For the duration of the day.—To 30 Nalikeis add the ascensional difference found, if the sun's longitude be within six signs of Aries; but subtract the same, when it is otherwise. The sum, or difference, will be the duration of the day, called Tivamanam.*

This requires no explanation. The length of a day is equal to 30 Nalikeis (12 hours), increased or diminished by twice the ascensional difference, according as the sun is to the North or South of the equator. This confirms the correction, that we noticed under the preceding precept.

12. *Multiply the Sara Vinadi, found as in No. 10, by the true daily motions of the Sun and Moon, and divide each of the products twice by 60 successively. Add the last found quanti-*

ties respectively to the true longitudes of the Sun and Moon. The sums are called the Samakkrakam of the Sun and Moon.

On reference to No. 6, it will be seen that an element in the determination of the sun's longitude is the *Sankrama*, or time from sun-rise to the beginning of a month. In that article the sun-rise is considered to be at 6 o'clock; and the present is a correction to reduce the longitude to its value at actual sunrise.

SOLAR ECLIPSES.

13. *Take the difference between the time of conjunction and half the duration of the day, and with it, as an argument, take out the equation from the Lampitha Vakya, and divide it by 60; the result will be Nalikeis and Vinalikeis. To the time of conjunction apply the equation, by addition, or subtraction, according as it is in the afternoon, or forenoon. The result will be Lampana Puruvam, or the apparent time of conjunction.**

The *Lampitha Vakya* is a table of the moon's parallax in longitude, reduced to time; that is, the equation, contained in the table, is the difference between the time, when the moon appears to be in a given longitude, and the time, when she is there. The parallax of the sun is neglected. The rule seems to proceed on the supposition that, on the day of conjunction, the moon is on the meridian at noon; and consequently, her parallax depending on her altitude, the parallax at conjunction will be a function of the time of the conjunction before or after noon.

14. *Apply the same equation, as directed in the preceding article, to the Samakkrakam, regarding the Nalikeis as minutes, and the Vinalikeis as seconds. The result is called Lampana Ravi, or the Sun's apparent longitude for the time of conjunction.*

Rather, the sun's longitude at the time of apparent conjunction. This is evident. The Samakkrakam, being the longitude of the Sun and Moon at the time of actual conjunction, must be corrected by the amount of the parallax of the Moon, in order to give the longitude at the time of apparent conjunction.

15. *Take the difference between half the duration of the day and the time of apparent conjunction, and convert the remainder into degrees, &c., by multiplying by 6, and dividing by 60 and 30. Subtract the result from Lampana Ravi, if the time of conjunction occur in the forenoon; but, if it occur in the afternoon, add it to the same. The sum of this result and the precession of the equinoxes, is called Sayani Ravi; i. e. the longitude of the Nonagesimal.*

* Rather, time of apparent conjunction.—Ed.

The reason of this is evident. The sum, or difference, of the sun's apparent longitude at a given time and his distance from the Nonagesimal, or intersection of the ecliptic with the meridian of the place, is of course the longitude of the Nonagesimal.

16. *If the Sayana Ravi be within 6 signs of Aries, mark it as Northern; but if it be within six signs of Libra, mark it as Southern.*

Having reduced the Sayana Ravi to Bhuja, as usual, find out the equation from the sun's Manta Jya Vakya, and divide it by 7; the quotient will be Ankulas. Multiply the remainder by 60, and divide the product by the same divisor; the quotient will be Viankulas. These Ankulas and Viankulas are called the Northern, or Southern, (as the case may be) Ravi Vikshepam.

This is the moon's parallax in latitude, which is assumed, for no good reason that we can imagine, to be equal to one-seventh part of the equation of the sun's centre.

17. *Multiply by 18 the quotient found in art. 13; and the product, divided by 60, will be minutes and seconds. Subtract this result from the Samakkrakam, if the time of conjunction be in the forenoon, but, if it be in the afternoon, it must be added. The last result is called Lampana Sama Santiran; i. e. the apparent longitude of the moon at conjunction. (Long. of γ at app. conj.)*

This corresponds exactly with the precept No. 14, assuming that the moon's motion in longitude is 18 times that of the sun.

18. *From Lampana Sama Santiran, subtract the longitude of Rahu, and mark the remainder as northern or southern, according as it is less or greater than six Signs.*

Reduce the same remainder to Bhuja, if it be in Kodi, and bring it to minutes. Divide these minutes by 18; the quotient will be Ankulas; multiply the remainder by 60, and divide by the same divisor, and the quotient will be Viankulas. The result is the Moon's Vikshepan, or latitude, either north or south, according as before marked.

This is on the supposition that the Moon's latitude, when very near her node, is one-thirteenth part of her distance in longitude from the node. It were much more nearly correct to make it one-eleventh part. To find the latitude accurately requires nothing more than the solution of the right angled spherical triangle, of which the sides are the distance of the Moon from her node along the orbit, the difference in longitude of the Moon and node, and the latitude. The first of these sides is the hypotenuse of the right angled triangle: and the angle, contained by the Moon's orbit and the ecliptic, is known, being $= 5^{\circ} 8'$ nearly, according to Laplace. Hence we have, by Napier's rule,

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Sin. of diff. of long.} &= \text{tan. of lat.} \times \cot. 5^\circ 8'; \\ \text{or tan. of lat.} &= \text{Sin. of diff. of long.} \times \tan 5^\circ 8' \end{aligned}$$

But, both the latitude and the difference, of longitude, being necessarily so small at the time of a solar eclipse, we may consider the tangent of the one and the sine of the other to be equal to the arcs themselves; hence we get

$$\text{lat.} = \text{diff. of long.} \times \tan. 5^\circ 8' = .09 \times \text{diff. of long.} = \frac{1}{11} \times \text{diff. of long. nearly.}$$

The error of the author proceeds from under-estimating the inclination of the Moon's orbit, and taking the sine of that inclination instead of the tangent. He makes the inclination of the Moon's orbit to the ecliptic only $4^\circ 30'$, which is fully $38'$ too little.

19. *The Nitya Vikshepam is always south, being equal to $8'$.*

We are indebted to the translator for the explanation of this precept, which otherwise we should not have been able to understand, as we do not think we have previously been told the meaning of the term *Nitya Vikshepam*. With Mr. Hoisington's help, however, we make out that it is a correction for reducing the Moon's equatoreal parallax to the parallax for the place for which the treatise is composed. This place being in northern latitude, the Moon's apparent place is always further south, than if viewed from the equator. It corresponds to $9^\circ 45'$ North.

20. *If the three Vikshepams be of one kind, i. e., either northern or southern, add them together; but, if they be of different kinds, take their difference. The sum, or difference, found is called Puda Vikshepam, being northern or southern, according to the quality of the greater of the Vikshepams.*

The three *Vikshepams* to be added (algebraically) being the Moon's latitude (No. 18), the Moon's parallax in latitude (No. 16), and the correction of this parallax for the place of observation (No. 19), the result must be the Moon's apparent latitude.

21. *Multiply the Sun's true daily motion by 5, and divide the product by 18; the quotient will be Ankulas. Multiply the remainder by 60, and divide the product by the same divisor, for Viankulas. The result will be the Ravi Mandalartam, i. e. the Sun's apparent semi-diameter.*

As the sun's daily motion is greatest in perigee, and least in apogee, and as his apparent diameter is greatest and least at the same times respectively, and as both the daily motion and the apparent diameter increase from apogee to perigee and decrease from perigee to apogee, it appears that the one of these quantities may be regarded as a function of the other. The average daily motion being 1° , the rule will give the mean semi-diameter $= 16\frac{2}{3}$. According to Laplace, the mean diameter is $32' 3''.3$, or the semi-diameter $= 16' 1''.6$.

22. *Divide the moon's true daily motion by 50 ; the quotient will be Ankulas ; reduce the remainder to Viankulas. The result will be the Santira Mandalarttam ; i. e. the moon's apparent semi-diameter.*

This is precisely on the same principle with the preceding. The average daily motion of the moon being $13^{\circ} 10' 35''$, the rule gives the mean semi-diameter= $15' 48''$. Calculating from the data furnished by Laplace, we make it $15' 43''$.

23. *The sum of the apparent semi-diameters of the sun and moon is called Sampatkarttam. If from this the Puda Vikshepam cannot be subtracted there will be no eclipse. But if it can, then subtract the Puda Vikshepam from the Sampatkarttam ; and the remainder is called Krasangulam, being Northern or Southern, as is Puda Vikshepam.*

This requires no explanation. If the sum of the apparent semi-diameters of the sun and moon be not greater than the distance of their centres, they will not overlap each other. It should be noticed that the latitude of the Sun is not taken into account. As it never exceeds $1''$, it was not appreciable by the Hindu observers. The neglect of it will not produce any material error.

24. *From the Krasangulam, subtract successively 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, and 12. The number of subtractions will be Nalikeis. Multiply the remainder by 60, and divide the product by the number next greater than the one subtracted ; the quotient will be Vinalikeis. The result is called Tithi Nalikeis and Vinalikeis. Half of this result is called Tithiarttam.*

This is an empirical rule, most probably founded on observation. The Tithiarttam is half the duration of the eclipse. A *tithi* is a lunar day, or thirtieth part of a lunation. A *nalikei* is a sixtieth part of a day, consequently a *tithi nalikei* is a sixtieth part of a lunar day, or an eighteen hundredth part of a lunation. It is assumed that when the disks overlap by $1'$, the duration of the eclipse is one *tithi nalikei*.

When they overlap by $3'$, the duration of the eclipse is 2 *Nalikeis*.

6'	.....	3
12'	.....	4
20'	.....	5
32'	.....	6

These results, as we have said, have probably been derived from the observation of one or two eclipses. The supposition that two eclipses will necessarily last precisely the same time, if they be of precisely the same magnitude, is not quite correct. However, the error will not be great.

25. *Add Tithiarttam to Lampana Ravi for the beginning, and subtract the same for the end, of the eclipse. Lampana Paruvam is the time of the middle of the eclipse.*

This is surely a mistake. The processes for finding the beginning and end respectively of the eclipse are the reverse of those stated.

26. *The Sun's apparent semi-diameter doubled will be the apparent diameter of the Sun. Ascertain what part of this is the Krasankulam ; and it will give the magnitude of the eclipse. If $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, or $\frac{3}{4}$ of the sun's disk is eclipsed, while the Krasankulam is northern, the eclipse will commence on the North-west limb of the sun, and end on the North-east limb. But if the Krasankulam be southern, it will commence on the South-west, and end on the South-east limb. If the eclipse be total, it will begin on the Western, and end on the Eastern limb.*

This requires no explanation.

LUNAR ECLIPSES.

27. The same as 18.

28. The same as 22.

29. *Multiply the moon's apparent semi-diameter by five, and take half the product for Rahu Mandalarttam, the apparent semi-diameter of the shadow.*

This is on the assumption that the diameter of the earth's shadow, at the distance of the moon, is $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the diameter of the moon. This is but a rude approximation, assuming that the earth's distance from the sun has a constant ratio to her distance from the moon.

30. *The sum of the semi-diameters of the moon and shadow is called Sampatkarttam.*

If this be less than the moon's latitude, there will be no eclipse. But if greater, subtract the latitude from the Sampatkarttam, and the remainder will be Krasankulam ; which is to be considered Northern, when the moon's latitude is South, and Southern, when that is North.

This requires no remark.

31. *From the Krasankulam, subtract successively 1, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 11, 7, and 16. If any of these numbers cannot be subtracted, the remainder must be multiplied by 60, and divided by the number next to the last subtracted ; the quotient will be Vinalikeis. The number of the above subtractions will be Nalikeis. These Nalikeis and Vinalikeis express the duration of the eclipse. Half of this is called Tithiarttam.*

For the beginning of the eclipse, subtract Tithiarttam from the true time of opposition, and for the end, add the same to it. The true time of opposition is that of the middle of the eclipse.

In order to ascertain the time from sunset, the duration of the day must be subtracted from the time of the eclipse.

The remark, we have made on No. 24, is equally applicable to this.

32. *Multiply the apparent semi-diameter of the moon by 2, and ascertain what part of this is the Krasankulam. The result will be the magnitude of the eclipse.*

This is evident.

33. *If the Krasankulam is northern, while the eclipse is partial, the eclipse will commence on the north-eastern limb, and end on the north-western. If southern, it will begin on the south-eastern, and end on the south-western. If total, it will begin on the eastern, and end on the western, limb.*

This also is evident.

Thus have we gone over the treatise, and commented upon it at length. We trust that this labor will not have been mis-spent. Although we do not expect any considerable proportion of our readers to honour this article with a perusal, yet we hope that those, who have patience to go through with it, will acquire a definite knowledge of a subject, of which they have hitherto had but a vague notion. The operation is much shorter than the most improved European method, as shewn in Mr. Woolhouse's treatise, appended to the Nautical Almanac for 1836; but the greater complication of that process is due only to its greater accuracy. The Hindu method will not give a result that can be confidently depended upon. There may be a small eclipse, when this method will indicate none; or there may be none, when this method will indicate a small one; and, in every case, the eclipse may be greater or less than indicated. And this is in strict accordance with the fact, as ascertained by the comparison of the Native Almanacs, with the eclipses that actually occur. But still, with all its imperfections, we cannot but regard the method as highly creditable to the ingenuity of those who devised it. To calculate an eclipse, without the aid of those tables, which furnish the data, and that Spherical Trigonometry, which is the great instrument in the hand of the European Astronomer, is a "pursuit of knowledge under difficulties," in which it is no discredit to be occasionally "thrown out."

It is quite unnecessary to say a word as to the concluding part of Mr. Hoisington's volume. We shall therefore end, as we began, by expressing our conviction that the work is fitted to be useful, not only for the purpose, for which the translator intends it, but also for the purpose of making known the state of Astronomy amongst the Hindus, more accurately than it has hitherto been known to the Astronomers of the West. In order that it may be more useful for this purpose we would recommend that Mr. Hoisington, who is now in America, should reprint the translation apart from the Tamul Original. This would not occupy more than 100 pages of letter-press, and would not fail to be acceptable to many.

ART. IV.—*The Englishman, Bengal Hurkaru, Delhi Gazette, Friend of India, and other Journals. January to December. 1849.*

[We have been led to think that an occasional contribution to the contemporary history of the Indian Empire, in the shape of a brief sketch of the most prominent transactions in the Presidency of Fort William, will probably not be unacceptable to the majority of our supporters, and may prove of some value as a work of reference in future years. We intend therefore, in each succeeding year, to prepare a careful summary of the events of the past twelve months, comprising all the information, which may be within reach, and appear worthy of record. We have chosen to designate it “Annals of the Bengal Presidency”; because, although references will be made to events connected with the general History of India, and even to transactions beyond its confines, the more minute details will be especially restricted to that Presidency.—Ed.]

THE general aspect of affairs, at the commencement of the year 1849, might have checked the aspirations of even the most sanguine political optimists. Almost every succeeding mail from Europe brought tidings of an imminent general war, and of an actual and deadly struggle between the principles of liberty and despotism. Trade had been almost extinguished on the continent; and the revival of it in England had scarcely commenced, although the public journals began to point to certain symptoms as indicating a more healthful state in the commercial body. The mercantile Houses of Calcutta had not yet recovered from the shock, created by the disasters of 1847; and the apparently rickety condition of some of our public establishments deterred the few, who were possessed of capital, from adventuring it in such investments, and terrified all who had any interest, immediate or remote, in the different Joint Stock Companies. The conscription list of the Union Bank, too, had just been published; and every man, whose name was not in the black sheet, grasped his purse with a firmer hand, and congratulated himself on his extreme foresight in avoiding the snare. The great plan of Indian Railways, once so confidently announced, and from which such extraordinary results were to flow, appeared to have been swamped under the weight of continental revolutions, commercial distress, and corporate inactivity. Even the ordinary march of improvement was suspended by the requirements and excitement of actual warfare. Our armies in the Punjab, after many months of apparently useless campaigning, had fought a great battle on the banks of the Jhelum, without any satisfactory results. A distinct narrative of the transactions of this war has already appeared in our pages; and a detail has been given of the most important transactions of the campaign, from the first skirmish at Leiah, to the glorious victory of Guzerat—from the murder of the British officers, to its expia-

tion by the banishment of Múlraj. We need not, therefore, allude again to a subject now almost worn threadbare; and we have only to consider the course of events, which succeeded the memorable decree of annexation. The first consideration of continental statesmen, after a great triumph, seems to be, how it may be made as notorious and significant as possible; while the earliest thought of a British Minister, under the same circumstances, is how to make his success a source of permanent relief to the finances of the state. Perhaps the most mysterious circumstance in the history of the war is the mode, in which the necessary supplies of money for carrying it on were raised. The Indian Government does not publish its financial transactions with the same careful minuteness, which is imposed upon the Executive authorities in England by the lynx-eyed House of Commons: and, to those, who are not behind the scenes, it appears extraordinary how so large a drain on the finances can have been met without the slightest outward symptom of difficulty, or even a wrinkle on the brow of the Financial Secretary. It was from the beginning essentially a ready-money war: that is to say, large advances must have been made to the contractors, and during the period of actual fighting almost every article of supply must have been paid for in coin. The haste too, with which the commissariat officers were compelled to collect their stores, and the sterile nature of the country around Ferozepore, must have added enormously to the expenses. During the latter months of the campaign, the expenditure for the army of the Punjab was popularly estimated at a lakh and a half, or £15,000 sterling, a day. This however included only those expenses, which, from their regularity and magnitude, were within the reach of calculation; but the amount of that ceaseless welling out of money from the public treasury, which always accompanies an English war, has never yet been proclaimed. Besides this, we must take into consideration the expenses of the siege of Múltan, of the movement of troops, the six months' batta, and the operations of the Irregular bands in different parts of the Punjab; so that perhaps a million and a half sterling may possibly form some approximation to the truth. It is difficult to conceive whence the money can have been obtained with so little apparent exertion. We had no surplus revenue from the regular resources of these provinces, and but little money came in for the five per cent. loan; while the slight squeezings of the Rajas in the North West can scarcely have yielded any considerable assistance to the Treasury. The secret will most probably remain undivulged, until the expiration of the charter—when all the secrets of the Company's

Government will be unveiled. The ultimate return for all this expenditure was naturally to be looked for from the surplus revenues of the annexed territory; but upon this subject the information of the Authorities appears to have been singularly deficient. The only data, from which even an approximation to the actual revenue could be deduced, were, a rough estimate of what it had been in the times of Runjit Singh, and the account drawn up from information supplied by the Dewan, who had an obvious interest in understating the amount of the finances. The most generally received conjecture was that the clear revenue of the four Dúabs, together with the jaghires forfeited by the rebellion, would amount to a million and a half sterling. This however did not include Peshawur, and left wholly out of sight any thing like the prospective advantages to be derived from irrigation, and from the security to life and property consequent upon British rule. Long before the annexation, some of the ablest men in India declared that it was utterly impossible that a country, like the Punjab, could be governed without a large outlay from the over-pressed finances of the Bengal Presidency. The revenue, as before stated, was taken at a million and a half sterling; and the expenses were thus estimated:—

Civil Expenses,.....	85,50,000
Military,.....	1,26,70,000

This, however, was based from the beginning upon the idea, that the army would require an enormous increase, and that the country would be in a state of incessant hostility to British rule. Neither of these anticipations has been borne out by the event, and the theory based upon them has fallen to the ground.

The information, which has been obtained regarding the resources of the Punjab, and the additional expenditure which its annexation has involved, is necessarily very scanty. The country has scarcely as yet been a twelve-month in our possession; and it is impossible, therefore, at present to form any thing like an exact estimate of the financial results of this acquisition. The statements, which we give below on this subject, are the most authentic which have yet been obtained, and may be received with confidence. Before we touch on the question of Punjab finances, however, it appears advisable to give a brief outline of the system of administration established, in the kingdom on its being incorporated with the British territories.

When the remnant of Runjit Sing's kingdom was annexed to British India by the Notification of April 1849, it was bounded on the North by the Alpine region ceded in 1846 to Maharajah Golab Sing; on the South it adjoined Scinde; on

the West, it stretched to the great Sulimani range; and on the East to the rivers Beas and Sutlej. Within this area great variety of soil and many peculiarities of surface are to be found. In the Barí, Ríchneh, and Chuch Dúabs, the soil is in most places clayey; in others, light and sandy; but in all, fertile, where facilities of irrigation exist. The northern portions of these Dúabs are highly cultivated and densely populated. They contain the large cities of Lahore and Umritsur, and the considerable towns of Wuzírabad, Sealkote, Ramnugur, Guzeranwalla, and Guzerat. The Sind-Sagur Dúab on the other hand is divided into two distinct portions, that of the Salt range, and that south of the range. The former is rocky, abrupt, and precipitous, comparatively sterile, and thinly inhabited. It contains the towns of Rhotas, Rawul Pindí, Pinddadun-khan and Chuckowal. The lower portion of this Dúab, with the exception of its southern extremity, is arid and sterile. Its population and cultivation are almost entirely confined to the alluvial strips along the banks of the Jhelum and Indus. The centre of this Dúab below the Salt range, and indeed of the southern portion of all the Dúabs, is a perfect desert, known by the local epithet of "the Bar." The Trans-Indus tract in many respects resembles the Sind-Sagur Dúab, and may be divided into two portions. The division, north of Kala Bagh, includes Kohat, Peshawur, and Eusufzye. In this portion we have the fertile valley of Peshawur, and the wide plain of Eusufzye, which was once fertile, while the rest of the country is bleak, rocky, and precipitous. To the South of Kala Bagh, we have the valley of Bunnú, Murwut, Esaukhail, Tank, and the Dera-ját, or the three Deras; viz. Ismail Khan, Gazi Khan, and Futteh Khan, down to Mithancote.

In the Barí Dúab, from Dínanuggur to within thirty miles of Pak-Puttun, are to be found the flower of the Sikh population, and the best agriculturists and the hardiest soldiers in India. Many Muhammadan villages are to be found in it; but the bulk of the population is Jat, and nearly all of them are Sikhs in religion. In the Ríchneh and Chuch Dúabs a considerable proportion of the population are also Sikhs: but, the farther we proceed westward, the more does the Muhammadan population predominate. In Sind-Sagur again, and of course in the Trans-Indus, the great majority of the people are Muhammadans.

To the territory, thus rapidly sketched, were added the Cis and Trans-Sutlej States; and the whole region was placed under one form of government. A Board, consisting of three members, exercised the powers of administration under the imme-

diate control of Government. Their charge comprehended the whole of the British possessions west of the Jumna, from the mouth of the Khyber to within a few miles of Kurnál.

The Cis-Sutlej division has hitherto been managed by a Commissioner and a Sessions Judge : but the two appointments have lately been combined, and the duties will be performed by a single officer. This territory is divided into five districts, Lúdíana, Ferozepur, Umballa, Khytul, and Simla, yielding about 25 lakhs of Rupees of revenue. Within its circle lie the dependent states of Putiala, Jhínd, and Naba, with perhaps fifty other petty Chiefships, the revenue of which cannot fall short of 40 lakhs of Rupees. The Trans-Sutlej territory has been under one officer since the Sutlej campaign, and is divided into three districts, Kangra, Jalundhur, and Hoshyarpur. It yields a land revenue of about 30 lakhs of Rupees, and contains a number of Chiefships, among which the principal are those of Kapúrthulla, Mundí, Soheit, Chumba, and Golair. The income of the whole of the chiefs of this territory is equal to about 15 lakhs of Rupees per annum.

. For the newly annexed kingdom, four Commissioners were deemed sufficient. The upper portions of the Barí and Ríchnéh Dúabs formed the Commissionership of LAHORE, and were divided into five districts : 1. Butalí ; 2. Umritsur ; 3. Lahore, in the Barí Dúab ; 4. Wuzirabad, and 5. Shaikhapúr, in the Ríchnéh. The JHELUM Division formed the second, and comprised the Chuch Dúab and the country of the Salt range, south of Hazara, in the Sind-Sagur Dúab. It is divided into four districts, 6. Guzerat ; 7. Shahpúr, in the Chuch Dúab ; 8. Rawul Pindí ; 9. Pind-dadun-khan, in the Sind-Sagur Dúab. The latter district contains all the Cis-Indus Salt mines. The third Division is that of MULTAN, which embraces the southern portion of the Ríchnéh and Barí Dúabs, and is divided into three districts ; 10. Múltan, in the Barí Dúab ; 11. Pat Puttun ; 12. Jung, in the Ríchnéh Dúab. The fourth Division is that called LEIA, which comprises that portion of the Sind-Sagur Dúab, which lies south of the Salt range, and all the Derajat and Trans-Indus tracts, up to the latitude of Kala Bagh. It forms four Districts, 13. Leia ; 14. Khanghur, in the Sind-Sagur Dúab ; 15. Dera Ghazí Khan, and 16. Dera Ismail Khan (Trans-Indus). The Provinces of Peshawur and Hazara form two separate Districts, directly under the Board of Administration. Thus the newly annexed kingdom comprehends Four Commissionerships, and Eighteen Districts ; and the whole territory, under the jurisdiction of the Board, contains Six Divisions, and Twenty-six Districts. Of the Twenty

Deputies, and Twenty-nine Assistants, originally nominated for the annexed territory, four were shortly after incapacitated by sickness, and nine were employed on the right Bank of the Beas, or did not join their appointments, so that the Staff soon fell down to Forty officers. At this time, there are Fifty-three District officers of the grade of Deputy and Assistant Commissioners: and, when the number is complete, there will be Fifty-eight.

To aid this Civil staff, Fourteen Uncovenanted, or extra-assistants were appointed, who exercise the powers entrusted in the Lower provinces to native Judges, Deputy Collectors, and Assistant Magistrates. Of these, all but three were men, who had performed good service during the late disturbances, and all but four had been servants of the late Durbar.

The following may be considered as a rough estimate of the probable receipts and expenditure of the current year 1849-50; from which it would appear that the receipts will not exceed 125 lakhs of Rupees, while the expenditure will reach nearly Ninety-five lakhs, exclusive of the extra batta to the troops, and the new corps from England: thus

1. Salaries of Covenanted officers.....	Rs. 8,50,000
2. Uncovenanted Establishments	13,00,000
3. Contingencies	3,00,000
4. Police Corps.....	5,00,000
5. Pensions.....	12,00,000
6. Public Improvements	1,00,000
7. Old Establishments paid off	15,00,000

Total, Civil Expenditure.....	57,50,000
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Military,

Irregular levies enlisted, or maintained, during the	
War, and portions of which are still kept up	20,00,000
Ten New Corps	15,00,000
Guide Corps	2,00,000

37,00,000

Total Expenses, Civil and Military, exclusive of the Regular army.....	94,50,000
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Income—Land revenue.

Lahore Division	34,00,000
Multan.....	15,00,000
Leia	20,00,000
Jhelum	24,00,000
Peshawur	11,00,000
Hazara	2,25,000

Total, Land revenue	106,25,000
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<i>Miscellaneous.</i>	
Excise and Stamps.....	4,00,000
Customs	4,00,000
Salt	8,00,000
Ferries and Canals.....	1,50,000
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Total Miscellaneous.....	17,50,000
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Grand Total, Receipts.....	1,23,75,000
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It is probable, however, that not more than 120 lakhs will be actually collected, and that there will be a deficit in the land revenue to some extent. When it is considered that, since the Sutlej campaign, the country has been afflicted with two severe droughts, and that even 1847 was a very indifferent year; that it has been subjected to war and devastation; and that the Civil officers in many instances were not able to join their appointments, before the spring harvest had been cut and gathered—it will be easily seen that some loss cannot fail to arise. In the ensuing year, the revenue will probably be increased by ten lakhs of rupees, from additions to the land revenue, and from the full operation of the Salt excise. There will, however, be a deficit from the abolition of the Customs.

When the Punjab was annexed, we had 54,000 British Troops on the North of the Sutlej, inclusive, of course, of the Jalundhur Dúab; besides 30,000 levies of different kinds belonging to the late Durbar. Among the latter force were three corps of Infantry, and some Artillery, under General Courtland, and a corps at Umritsur, commanded by a Sikh Colonel, all of which had remained faithful. These, with a body of men equal to another Infantry Regiment in Huzara, constitute five Police corps, which, it is said, Government intend to keep up. Their numbers may be roughly estimated at 5,000. The remaining 25,000 men have been reduced to about 4,000. But, in the meantime, the famous Corps of Guides, under that gallant officer, Lieut. Lumsden, has been augmented, and 10 Corps of Punjab Cavalry and Infantry (equal to about 8,000 men) have been organized. Thus the Board of Administration have, for the time being, 17,000 troops under their control; the annual expenditure of which is about thirty-two lakhs of rupees per annum.

Of this force, 9,500 are on the frontier, performing not only Police, but Military, duty. In the interior of the country, there are only 7,500 men. The whole of the British Forces, Trans-Beas and Trans-Ghara,* with the exception of that portion cantoned at Múltan, and in the Fort of Govindghur (Umritsur), is

* Ghara is the name, which the Sutlej and Beas take after their junction at Hurikí.

placed on one line of road from Lahore to Peshawur. The rest of the country is held by the Civil Corps, or the ordinary Police and Revenue Establishments, which are both few in number, and, from the nature of their duties, greatly scattered. From Peshawur to Mithancote, a line of frontier of fully 500 miles, accessible at every point to the warlike and predatory tribes of the Sulíman range, and from Peshawur itself to the borders of Swat northwards, embracing the whole Eusufzye country, there is but one cantonment held by the regular army. In the same manner the whole of the Sind-Sagur Dúab, south of Rawul Pindí, which cannot be less than 300 miles in length, the wild districts of Hazara, which have often given employment to 10,000 Sikh soldiers, the southern portion of the Richneh Dúab, and the intervening space between Lahore and Múltan, are all held and controlled by the Civil power. There can be no question that the presence of so vast a force, massed on the Peshawur road, and ready to advance at a few days' notice, has a powerful effect in quieting the disturbed spirits, who were so lately in arms : but there is no disputing the fact that vast tracts of country are distant many days march from all military succour, and that in some cases the intervening space is little better than a desert, where no forage, or even water, is procurable for many miles.

The permanent expenses, arising out of the occupation of the Punjab, after the first year or two, may thus be roughly estimated :—

Civil Establishments.....	Rs. 29,50,000
Police Horse.....	5,00,000
Pensions	12,00,000
Public Improvements.....	5,00,000
Irregular Corps and Guides	17,00,000
New European Regiments.....	24,00,000
Batta at Peshawur.....	6,00,000

Total.....	98,50,000
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Against a revenue of	Rs. 140,00,000
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The amount of work, which has been disposed of in the course of the year, has been enormous. The whole of the old establishments have been mustered ; their arrears, which extended over many months, have been paid up ; and the greater portion discharged, many of their number having received gratuities, and not a few, pensions. The revenue and police establishments have been organized, and rules, simple and distinct, laid down for their guidance. The great mass of the jaghíre tenures have been investigated, reported on, and disposed of. Rules

for the investigation and disposal of all disputes which may arise between the Jaghírdar and the occupant of the land, have been laid down. The Military contingents have been mustered and disbanded, the élite being entertained as Police Horse paid by Government; and the lands, assigned for their support, have been recovered to the state. Officers have been appointed to fix and mark off the village boundaries, preparatory to a survey in the ensuing cold weather, and rules for the investigation of the rent free tenures of the country have been drawn up and circulated. All custom duties on imports and exports have been abolished; and, with the single exception of an excise on Salt of Two Rs. per maund, which includes the price of excavation and carriage to the depôt, the whole trade of the Punjab has been made free. The Customs yielded six lakhs of Rupees; and perhaps double that sum would barely represent the relief which their abolition has afforded to the people. Measures have also been proposed for the withdrawal of the old currencies, and the substitution of the Company's Rupee. The value of this measure to all classes, and especially to the agricultural community, who often sold their produce for one coin, while they paid their revenue in another, may be imagined from the fact, that of the Nanukshahi Rupee alone, there are Sixty different coinages in circulation, and of other currencies fully Fifty more. Arrangements have also been made for the gradual and easy introduction of one system of weights to the supercession of those heretofore in use, which varied in every town, and even in every village. Government has appropriated Five lakhs of rupees for improvements; but there can be no question that if five times that amount were annually expended in opening roads and in excavating canals for the next ten years, the revenue would probably be double at the end of that period; and such an expenditure would do more for the peace and security of the country than the addition of 20,000 men to the army. Already the Engineer Staff is organized, and parties are employed in surveying and levelling in the Barí Duab. The existing revenue assessment, as made by our officers in 1847, has been maintained; and in places, where it did not extend, as in Múltan, and the other districts formerly under Múltraj, it will be completed by the end of the year. Such a measure must be hailed with the utmost satisfaction by the agriculturists, who would otherwise have been a prey to a host of harpies, collecting the Government tax in kind. All these great measures must have an immediate tendency to increase the material comforts of the mass of the people, and to reconcile them to our rule. As conquerors, it is manifestly impossible that those whose power we have subverted, can, in

the present generation, be reconciled to us. There are large bodies of soldiers and official men, whom the change of rule has deprived of service; and it is only by opening out new means of subsistence, that we can hope that such classes will relinquish the idea of a revolution by force and intrigue. These great changes have been made without parade, or commotion of any kind; they are hardly known even to the majority of our own countrymen. They possess not the glitter of Military conquest; but they are nevertheless felt and appreciated by those, whom they are intended so greatly to benefit.

So successful have these arrangements proved, that from the day of annexation to the present time, there has not been an event of interest connected with the Punjab, if we except the wandering of the Raní, and the seizure of the Chiefs. The Raní of Lahore had been conveyed from Benares to Chunar; but, on the 19th April, she contrived, partly by bribery, and partly through her matchless talents for intrigue, to elude the vigilance of her keepers, and to escape to Katmandú, where she has been suffered to remain, subsisting by the sale of her jewels. The Sikh Sirdars had been injudiciously allowed to return to their own villages. The privilege appears to have been originally granted to them without the sanction of the Governor-General; and he immediately placed them under a rigid surveillance. Intelligence reached the Council in a few months that the two Attariwallahs were in communication with the Amír of Cabul. This intimation was obtained through the means of a well arranged system of espionage, which (as we are informed in one of the Journals placed at the head of this article) the Governor-General had deemed it necessary to place round the insurgent chieftains. The intriguers were allowed to carry on their designs till they were nearly ripe for execution; when the Council, who had been aware of the whole affair from its commencement, placed them in arrest on the 2nd or 3rd of October. In concluding this brief notice of the progress of events in the "Land of the Five rivers" during the past year, we would only farther remark that the object, which most forcibly impresses the observer, is the perfect quiet to which the people and their leaders appear to have resigned themselves. There have been none of those convulsive movements, or of that desperate resistance to authority, which was so confidently expected. No guerilla warfare has disturbed the repose of the Governor-General, and no assassinations have disgraced the conquered. Small parties of marauders still plunder and murder, when they have an opportunity; but they have never yet collected into a force sufficient to call for the employment of a single regiment.

The Normans were not masters of England till after two hundred years of incessant warfare, and the Poles have not yet yielded to their conquerors; while the Khalsa, who alone of Indian powers tried the strength of Britain to its utmost, have submitted to a rule against which they have twice risked their lives and properties, and the haughty leaders of armies appear now to be tamed down into quiet Zemindars.

With the exception of the affairs of the Punjab, the Government of India has been but little concerned, during the past year, in any transactions with native princes. Of these few, the most important is that which refers to the conduct of the British Government regarding the Sattara state. We must, however, caution our readers against confounding this question with that popularly known as "the Sattara case." The latter arose out of the dethronement of a former Rajah, and the installation of the Rajah lately deceased. The present transaction grows out of an adoption made by the deceased Rajah, just before his death, but not sanctioned by the British authorities. As the Rajah died without heirs, the state would naturally lapse to the British Government. Before taking so important a step as the absorption of the territory, the Court appear to have called for the opinions of some of their most eminent servants upon the subject. Sir George Clerk, and Mr. Frere, Resident at the Court of Sattara, expressed most decided opinions against this measure. The Governor-General, however, the Marquis of Dalhousie, voted strongly in favour of the annexation of Sattara, and also said, "I take this fitting occasion of recording my strong and deliberate opinion, that, in the exercise of a wise and sound policy, the British Government is bound not to put aside, or neglect, such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory, or revenue, as may from time to time present themselves, whether they arise from the lapse of subordinate States, by the failure of all heirs of every description whatever, or from the failure of heirs natural, where the succession can be sustained only by the sanction of the Government being given to the ceremony of adoption among the Hindoos." With this view of the subject the Court of Directors declared their entire concurrence, and conveyed their decision to the Government of India in the following terms: "The result of our deliberation is, that, concurring with you in opinion, we are fully satisfied that, by the general law and custom of India, a dependant principality, like that of Sattara, cannot pass to an adopted heir without the consent of the paramount power; that we are under no pledge, direct or constructive, to give such consent; and that the general interests committed to our charge are best consulted by withhold-

ing it. The pretensions set up in favour of the adopted son of the Ex-Rajah being wholly untenable, and all claim of collaterals being excluded by the fact, that none of them are descended from the person in whose favour the principality was created—the Ex-Rajah Pertaub Shean, it follows that the territory of Sattara has lapsed by failure of heirs to the power which bestowed it, and we desire that it be annexed to the British dominions.” This resolution of the Court of Directors, so tersely expressed, is not only important as regards the principality of Sattara, but as indicating the future course of their policy in reference to other principalities in India. It is of course, self-evident, that if the various princes of India are permitted to perpetuate their line by adoption, and thereby to continue the independent sovereignties in their own family, there can never be any hope of seeing the whole of India brought under the same system of administration, and endowed with the same institutions. The present resolution of the Court of Directors introduces a new principle into the Government of India. It evinces their determination to refuse permission to the native Princes to prolong the existence of their little sovereignties by adoption. The consequences of this resolution are very momentous. It provides for the slow and peaceful extinction of all the native dynasties, and the extension of the direct power of the Indian Government, into territories now ruled by dependant princes, under various titles. It is a distinct assumption by the English Government of the full prerogatives of the paramount power, which devolves on the successors of the Great Mogul. The majority, in the Court of Proprietors, of those who voted in favour of this principle, was large; and we learn from this circumstance that it has been gaining ground among men, who are uninfluenced by the peculiar views of Leadenhall Street, and who regarded the question in its general bearings, and not with any eye to immediate fiscal advantage. We shall not again open the question of the justice, or injustice, of the course pursued in the case of Sattara. The deed has been done; it is *un fait accompli*; and, as such, we accept the general principle, with the hope, if not the confident belief, that it will yet be found advantageous to the general interests of the millions of India.

The King of Delhi, who has for years remained in a state of quiescence within his own palace, and whose existence has only been made manifest by some squabbles about precedence, has made an effort, during the past year, to change the succession to the throne. His eldest son expired in the middle of 1848; and, since that time, His Majesty has been endeavouring to take away the succession from his second son. As the Government

of India refused to listen to his claims, he addressed an epistle to Her Majesty of England, of which the following is a translation :—

“ Having in view the friendship that existed between the illustrious House of Amir Timūr, and particularly between His late Majesty Jalal-uddin Ukbur Shah and the British nation, which, under favour of Providence, still continues in the same thriving position of unanimity as of old, it was my intention to send my son, Mirza Juwan-Bukht Bahadur, to you; but, owing to his tender age, I have not done so, being also unable to bear his absence for a moment. Notwithstanding his tender age, the marks of eminence are conspicuous on his forehead. He is placed under proper tuition. He is blessed with discernment between right and wrong, and a conciliatory disposition; owing to these, he is possessed of a greater share of my affection and of consequent preferment in life, which the brotherly affection subsisting between your Majesty and me, gives him a superior claim on your Majesty, more than that of a mother's love, to advance. I have, therefore, sent a drawing of my son Mirza Juwan-Bukht's hand to you, to solicit your Majesty's patronage on his behalf, and, by the influence of your Power, to disappoint enemies, and gladden the hearts of friends and well-wishers, so that in my present advanced age, I may be thoroughly satisfied of the safety of my son from the fangs of ambitious and crafty men. I hope your Majesty will be graciously pleased to countenance and approve this appeal, and favour me with information accordingly.”

To this demand, the Secretary to the Government of the North-west Provinces replied in the following terms,—and the document is a singular mixture of Oriental etiquette, and that resolute spirit, which the public authorities adopt in their intercourse with the princes of India :—

“ To the servants of His Majesty, the shadow of God, the king, divine successor, mighty monarch of the world, master of the universe, world-enslaver, whose possessions shall endure to all eternity. This day a letter has been received from the office of the Secretary to the Lieutenant Governor (Nuwab) of Agra, regarding the despatch of the Nama to the great Queen of England. Previous to this, on the 20th of March, 1849, the Governor-General, Bahadūr, had already intimated that such correspondence was not usual, and had never before been entered on. Therefore, until the sanction of the Ministers of the Queen has been received, the present Nama cannot be forwarded, in the opinion of the Lieutenant Governor. Dated the 21st September, 1849.”

It has since been stated, that the Government at home has determined on the eventual abrogation of the titular sovereignty, and the privileges, of the House of Timūr; but this event belongs to the year on which we are now entering.

It is a remarkable truth, and one upon which very great stress has often been laid, that almost all the servants of Government, who have distinguished themselves in the capacity of Residents at the native Courts, are strong advocates for their maintenance; and the fact has generally been considered a powerful argument in favour of those principalities. The truth

however is, that it is the good qualities and ability of the Resident himself, which enable the Government, over which he in reality, though not ostensibly, presides, to administer its affairs to such advantage. Wherever the Resident, either from disinclination, or the circumstances of his position, adopts a system of non-interference, the Native Government appears in all its hideousness. Defective as the British Government may be in some departments of its administration, it at least contains within itself a principle of improvement totally wanting to the native dominion.

Two extensive territories, the kingdom of the Punjab, and the principality of Sattara, had thus already been added to the dominions administered by the Company, when another windfall was announced. Sumbhulpore, a large district in Gundwana, covering an area of nearly 9000 miles, lapsed in September last, by the death of the Rajah without heirs. This extensive and fertile strip of land, on the banks of the Mahanadi, produces a revenue of nearly Four lakhs a year, which will now find its way into the coffers of the Company. The population has been estimated at 80,000. Dr. Cadenhead, who was formerly employed in Khondistan, and whose cause we have so often advocated, received the reward of his many services in the appointment of Commissioner of the district; and, with two or three assistants, will replace the ponderous old court, with its useless train of officials, and its profuse expenditure. Of the people of the newly acquired province, their habits, their manners, and even their language, little is known: but Dr. Cadenhead is well fitted to illustrate them; and we hope that his pen will be employed in throwing more light upon the peculiarities of the district.

On the affairs of Hyderabad in the Deccan it is almost impossible for us to furnish any information to our readers. Whoever has carefully perused, as we have, the various statements and counter-statements concerning the transactions in that territory, which so constantly find their way into the Presidency journals, cannot fail to be struck with the total absence of coherence, and even of ordinary intelligibility, which they exhibit. They abound with the names of persons, who, however well known in the intriguing circles of Hyderabad, are perfectly unknown beyond them, and with allusions to intrigues, which the writers evidently do not perfectly understand, and which are totally unintelligible to those beyond the circle of that state. The one great fact, which is continually presented to the eye amidst this cloud of words, is, that the country is fearfully disorganized; and that its financial affairs are rapidly tending to

(what is popularly termed) "a dead lock." The payment of the debt of Fifty-four lakhs of Rupees, due from the Nizam to the Company, cannot be delayed beyond another twelve-month. The Governor-General is said to have granted the Nizam a respite till January 1851; but the means of acquittance do not appear to be forthcoming. The Jaghires granted one month are resumed the next; and the promises made to the Sahúkar (capitalists) are shamelessly broken, without any consciousness, on the part of the Nizam or his advisers, that they are sapping the foundation of their own power. The Rohillas, Linewallas, and Pathan soldiers, entertained by the Nizam, are kept so long in arrears, that, every now and then, they break into open rebellion, and are only pacified by large donations obtained by the plunder of some wealthy Sahúkar, and by the dread of an ultimate appeal to the soldiers of the Contingent commanded by English officers. In the midst of these disorders, the Resident holds himself aloof; and the Nizam is perpetually changing his Prime Minister, with whom alone, according to the system which has been gradually introduced, the executive power ought to remain. At one time, it is a profligate noble, whom no one will trust; at another, some imbecile, who is put forward by the Nizam to cover his own assumption of the executive power, and is maintained for a few weeks till the ill-constructed fabric suddenly breaks down. Once, during the past year, the Nizam obtained the services of a really able and upright nobleman, who possessed considerable skill in the management of finance; but he was soon obliged to give up his charge. He retired in disgust, declaring that it was impossible to satisfy his master, the Resident, and the people together. Every thing appears to be tending towards that degree of disorganization, in which the paramount power must interfere and take the administration into its own hands. It has been repeatedly stated that the expenses of the Contingent are to be curtailed by reducing the strength of that force, and that no small relief will thus be afforded to the finances of the state. But this financial reform will not provide for the payment of arrears, though it may effectually prevent their augmentation; and there appears to be little doubt entertained that the present crisis will be met by a transfer of territory. Happy would it be indeed for the peace and comfort of the Súbahdar, as well as for the prosperity of the people—if these territories were at once transferred to the British Government, and the royal family endowed with a suitable pension.

Another little affair with a petty native chief has lately broken out; and, as it may ultimately lead to consequences, not

altogether unimportant, we may be permitted to trace its progress up to the latest date. Dr. Hooker, a botanist of European fame, had been obstructed in his endeavours to carry his botanical researches through Sikkim-puti, (a small territory to the East of Nipal), and Dr. Campbell, Superintendent of Darjeling, (the English settlement upon the confines of that state) set out for Tumloong, the capital, on the 4th of November last, with the view of remonstrating with the Rajah, and affording all the assistance in his power to Dr. Hooker. The Rajah, however, refused to see him, or to listen to his message; and, on his return to his own frontier, placed him under arrest. This occurred on the 7th November. Not content with this insult to the British Government, the Rajah inflicted every indignity upon Dr. Campbell, who was, moreover, informed that, unless he consented to withdraw certain official acts lately promulgated, he would not be allowed to return to Darjeeling. Dr. Campbell treated this preposterous demand with the scorn it merited, and informed the Rajah, that even if he should be compelled by torture to sign such a document, it would be without any kind of validity. The Rajah ordered him back to his prison, and there appeared to be every prospect that he would put his threat into execution. In the meantime, the British Government, having received intelligence of the occurrence, despatched a very stern letter to the Rajah, which, combined with a fear of the ultimate result, induced him to liberate these officers; but, instead of allowing them to return by the shortest road, they were placed under the control of an officer in the confidence of the Rajah, and obliged to describe a circuitous route. They have reached Darjeling in safety. The sequel of this affair belongs to the present year; but we may be permitted so far to anticipate our next annual survey, as to state that a force, consisting of between One and Two thousand men, was despatched to Darjeling, partly for its defence, but chiefly for those ulterior measures, which were likely to grow out of this outrage. A portion of the troops advanced into the dominions of the Sikkim Rajah, and remained there for several weeks. The chief Military authority, however, pronounced against the practicability of an advance, and the troops were accordingly recalled; and it is said to have been resolved to limit the chastisement of the Rajah, to the annexation of a strip of territory (North of Darjeling) to our dominions, to the discontinuance of the quit rent of 6,000 Rs. hitherto paid for that Sanatorium, and to the confiscation of the Terai portion of the Sikkim dominions.

The past year has been remarkable, above all others, for its prolific legislation, and the important objects to which it has

been directed. This is perhaps to be attributed to the appointment of Mr. Bethune to the post of Legislative Member of Council, and of Mr. Halliday to that of Home Secretary to the Government of India, and to the combination of the extensive legal knowledge and activity of the one, with the great local experience and official industry of the other. This is not the place for a critical examination of the various acts which have been passed, or proposed. Opportunities will hereafter be afforded for discussing their merits, and examining the arguments, which have been brought forward in support of them, as well as the nature of the opposition, which they have encountered. Our business at present is to present a brief notice of such of these Acts, as appear to be most important in their consequences, and of the history of their enactment, as far as it has transpired. The first on the list is the Act for abolishing branding and exposure, designated in Mahomedan law by the term, *Tushir*. It is an index of the increasing humanity of our legislation. It prohibits the practice of branding criminals, which was introduced into our Code, in conformity with the practice, which had prevailed in England for centuries, but which the increasing liberality of the present age has repudiated. The branding of a criminal effectually prevents his ever being restored to the bosom of society. After the period of punishment has expired, he must still continue, both corporally and socially, a marked man—the object of perpetual suspicion, and deprived of all inducement to return to the paths of honesty and industry.

The next Act, to which we shall allude, is that which was passed to confirm an agreement between certain shareholders and creditors of the Union Bank of Calcutta. Its object was to give legal validity to the arrangement which had been contrived for winding up the affairs of this most unfortunate of all Banking Establishments, wherein a million and a half sterling had been extinguished by commercial profligacy, of which the history of banking in India, and even in England, affords no example. As the Union Bank was not a chartered institution, the creditors, on its becoming bankrupt, were, of course, at liberty to select their own victims, and to strip the most opulent of the proprietors of their whole fortunes, though they might only have held a single share in the Bank. The principle of liquidation adopted was to divide the deficiency of Fifty lakhs of Rupees among all the shareholders, according to the estimate which was formed of their resources; and the Act was designed to confirm this arrangement, and to prevent the reckless and vindictive pursuit of individual proprietors, but still without diminishing the security of the creditors.

Another Act of great importance was that for the appointment of an Administrator General in the Bengal Presidency. Few, if any, can require to be informed, that the Act arises out of the defalcations of Sir Thomas Turton, the Ecclesiastical Registrar, to whom the administration of the estates of British subjects dying intestate had been committed. The appointment of that officer, as well as the control of his proceedings, rested exclusively with the Judges of the Supreme Court, and not with the Government of India. Long previous to the discovery of the defalcations, Sir Lawrence Peel had urged on Government the propriety of separating this ministerial office from that of the Ecclesiastical Registrar, on the ground that the Supreme Court was not in a capacity to exercise that control over his proceedings which was necessary. The truth of this assertion became fatally manifest, in the perfect impunity which the Registrar has enjoyed after such misfeasance.* It has been found so utterly impossible to touch him by process of Law, that the Legislative Member of Council has been led to propose the arbitrary and inequitable, though not altogether unconstitutional, measure of passing a bill of pains and penalties to reach the case. We rejoice that the proposal was dropped. It is better that one criminal should escape, than that any such arbitrary proceedings should be allowed to disfigure our code. The present Act separates the administration of the estates of intestate Europeans from the office of Ecclesiastical Registrar, and commits it to an Administrator General in Bengal, who is to be appointed by the Executive Government of India, to whom he is to be accountable for the funds entrusted to him, and for all his proceedings regarding them. This Act contains the most elaborate and stringent provisions against abuse, and provides the most ready remedy against them. It has met with general approbation, except on one point. It enacts that no private executor shall be at liberty to charge any commission, or agency, as executor of a will. It had previously been customary for executors to consider themselves entitled to a commission of Five per Cent. on all estates which they administered; and, in former days, when the Houses of Agency in Calcutta were few in number, and enjoyed the unbounded confidence of the community, for whom they acted as bankers, the administration of Estates formed no despicable portion of their profits. The prohibitive provision was introduced at the particular instance of some of the Judges of the Crown Courts in India; but it did not give the less umbrage on this account. The most active and persevering efforts

* He has since been condemned to two years' imprisonment by the Commissioner of the Insolvent Court.

were made by the European residents in Calcutta to obtain its exclusion. The matter was referred to the Authorities in Leadenhall Street; but the only result of the application was the addition of a clause, permitting any executor to enjoy the benefit of any legacy bequeathed to him, either of a specific sum, or a residuary bequest, or by way of commission, or in any other manner. If the testator therefore should forget to leave a specific legacy to the executor, or to direct him to deduct his commission, the estate will be thrown into the hands of the Administrator General, unless the executor should have reasons of private affection to induce him to undertake the charge of it.

An Act has also been passed to secure the Abkari Revenue of Calcutta, that is, the revenue derived from the sale of spirituous liquors. Under the old Acts, no man was at liberty to open a liquor shop without taking out a license; but there was no adequate provision in them for punishing a breach of the law, and the revenue was collected irregularly, more out of respect for the general authority of Government, than from any dread of punishment. The Collector had not, we believe, any power to inflict fines for the illegal sale of spirits; and it became necessary, either to relinquish this branch of revenue, or to enforce its collection by clearer and more stringent enactments. The latter course has been adopted.

The Act for securing Military and Naval pensions, and Superannuation allowances, has given rise to some discussion. It corresponds exactly in its object, and even in its terms, with the Reg. 12, of 1814, of Bengal, and Act 31, of 1845, which was applicable to Bombay, with this addition, that the pensions, thus exempted from seizure, are to include all the out pensions of Chelsea and Greenwich, and that the Act shall be extended to the Queen's Courts. The gist of the Act lies in the words 'that no such pension shall be liable to seizure, attachment, or sequestration, by process of any Court within the said territories, at the instance of a creditor, for any demand against the prisoner, or in satisfaction of a decree or order of such Court:' and these expressions are copied verbatim from the two Acts, which had been in force, the one for thirty-five, and the other for four years. A few months before the promulgation of this Act, the British Parliament passed an Act to consolidate and amend the Laws relating to Insolvent Debtors in India, which gave power to the Courts to make any assignment of the debtor's property, or income, for the benefit of his creditors. Some months ago, an Insolvent Pensioner was brought up before the Supreme Court at Bombay, and pleaded the Act of the Legislative Council, which we have alluded to, in bar of any deduction from his

allowances: and it became a matter of enquiry which law should regulate the case. It was eventually disposed of, without any determination of this question, by the discovery that the Insolvent was not one of the class contemplated in the local Act. It appears evident, however, that the Legislative Council had no intention, when framing this enactment, to bring it into collision with the Insolvent Act of the Imperial Parliament. Whenever that Council, in the exercise of the plenary power, which was conferred on it by the three estates of the Realm in 1833, has deemed it necessary to repeal any Parliamentary enactment, it has always adopted the open and judicious course of abrogating or modifying it by a distinct Act. In the present instance, we believe, the clashing of the two Acts was inadvertent and undesigned; and we are inclined to think that in any such case, where the collision is accidental, the law of Parliament must be considered paramount. These are among the most important of the Acts, which have already passed: but they sink into insignificance, when compared with those, which are still under consideration.

Among the oldest of these is the Act for the more easy recovery of Small Debts at the three Presidency Towns. The reader is too well acquainted with the abortive attempts, which have been made during the past ten years, to obtain the sanction of the Court of Directors to an Act for improving the Court of Requests in Calcutta, to render it necessary for us to recapitulate them. Suffice it then to say, that the Court of Directors at length granted premission to pass an Act, similar to that which had been enacted in England for the establishment of County Courts; and the present Draft has been drawn up on the same principle. It gives the Commissioners a common law and equity jurisdiction in cases not exceeding 500 Rupees in value, and lays down rules for the cheap, simple, and expeditious administration of Civil Justice in such suits. The draft has been submitted to the Judges of the Queen's Courts, and has received their approbation, with the exception of the Judges at Bombay, where the Small Cause Court is part and parcel of the Supreme Court, and has enjoyed the advantage of being presided over by its Judges. The establishment of such a Court at the three Presidencies will be a new era in the history of civil justice in India. Should it be found to work well, it may serve as a model for the improvement of the Munsiff's Courts in the interior of the country, in which nineteen out of every twenty suits are instituted annually.

On the repeated importunity of the mercantile community, the Legislative Council have published the Drafts of two Acts, the

one for the registry, the other for the encouragement, of Merchant Seamen. It is to be hoped that they will effectually check the practice of incendiarism, on the part of the native crews, to whom is attributed the burning of Ten ships within the last eight years in the harbour of Bombay, the aggregate value of which amounted to Thirty lakhs of Rupees.

The Apprenticing Act, the draft of which was promulgated three years ago, and then entombed in the archives of the Legislative Council, has been dug up, and again brought before the public. It is said that the tradesmen in Calcutta have raised objections to some of its clauses, and manifested an indisposition to avail themselves of it: but as the law will compel no man to engage an apprentice, it is probable that the Legislative Council will at once proceed to pass it, when the period arrives for re-considering it, and thus submit its merits to the test of experience.

A draft of an Act has also been published for punishing Breaches of Trust: and no one will suppose that it has been brought forward before it was needed. During the last two or three years, we have had examples of the most flagrant abuses of Trust, which involved the loss of millions sterling, and entailed the most extensive misery and ruin on the members of the community; but in no case has it been possible, owing to the weakness and defect of the law, to bring home the crime to the guilty, and to inflict adequate punishment on them.

Another Act, of no small importance to the future well-being of the country, is that which establishes Liberty of Conscience throughout India. By the Hindu Law, any man, who forsakes his ancestral creed, forfeits all claim to his ancestral property, and is reduced to a state of beggary. The land of India is thus, for the most part, hypothecated, by the Hindu Code, to the perpetual support of Hindu superstition: and no man of property can forsake the ranks of idolatry without incurring the severest pecuniary penalties. In 1832, Lord William Bentinck made the first attack on this system of persecution, so far as this presidency is concerned, and enacted that no man should be subjected to the loss of property to which he would be entitled but for his change of creed. At the end of seventeen years—and, it is said, with the cordial concurrence of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control—the Legislative Council has proposed to extend this just and equitable law to the two other Presidencies. Though the Hindus at this presidency can have no individual interest in this movement, as freedom of conscience is the law among them; they have, as might have been expected, taken umbrage at a measure which destroys one of the bulwarks

of Hinduism in other parts of the country, and they have sent in a Memorial against it. The Hindus at Madras have also taken alarm at the introduction of this law into their presidency: but the Marquis of Tweeddale is no longer at the head of that Government, and the opposition to the proposed enactment has been comparatively feeble.

Government has also begun to legislate for Joint Stock Companies; and the draft of a very elaborate Act has been published for giving privileges to Registered Companies. It does not grant them the privilege of limited responsibility, which is the peculiar prerogative of a Charter; but it gives to creditors the amplest remedy for the recovery of their deposits against the shareholders. It has not met with any particular acceptance from the commercial community, because it is said not to provide adequate securities against mismanagement. It is an improvement upon the existing law: and that is all that has been said in its favour.

But the Acts which have given peculiar umbrage to the European community, are those which are intended to place British subjects under the jurisdiction of the Criminal Courts of the Company, and to afford security to Magistrates. The first of these is entitled an Act for Abolishing Exemption from the Jurisdiction of the East India Company's Criminal Courts. It provides that "throughout the territories of the East India Company, with the exception of the Presidency Towns, all persons are henceforth amenable to the jurisdiction of the Magistrates and Criminal Courts of the East India Company, and may be apprehended, tried, and punished by them, respectively, according to the Regulations now, or hereafter to be, in force." The history of this enactment has an important bearing upon its merits. By an Act passed in 1813, the Parliament of Great Britain enacted that, for the better protection of the Natives of the country, British subjects, who had hitherto been entirely exempt from the jurisdiction of the Criminal Courts of the Company, should be liable to be tried in them, and punished with fines to the extent of 500 Rs., in all cases of assault, forcible entry, or other injury accompanied with force. By the last Charter, that of 1833, permission was given for Europeans to purchase and hold lands throughout India, and to settle in the country; and a Legislative Council was at the same time established, with power to make laws for all courts, all persons, and in all matters—with certain exceptions. The Court of Directors immediately wrote to the Government, that, "in their view, it would be impossible to fulfil the obligation of protecting the natives of India, from insult and outrage (according to the

direction in Clause 85 of the Act), unless both Natives and Europeans were rendered responsible to the same judicial control. There can be no equality of protection, where justice is not equally, and on equal terms, accessible to all." It was in consequence of this recommendation, that Europeans were subjected, in 1836, to the civil jurisdiction of the Company's Courts. Subsequently, three or four Acts have been passed, in the spirit of these instructions, and directed to the same object. It only remained to make British subjects amenable to the Magistrates and Criminal Courts of the Company, in cases not embraced by the Act of the 53d, George III. The subject was long under discussion in the Law Commission: and the opinions of its members, as well as of the Judges of the Supreme Courts and the Members of Council, having all been obtained, the Legislative Council proceeded to carry out the views of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, and promulgated the Act, to which we have alluded. It has created a great commotion in the European community, and more especially in Calcutta. A Memorial has been drawn up for presentation to the Governor General against this and two other acts; and a sum of more than 86,000 Rs. has been subscribed, for the furtherance of their objects, by the memorialists.

Another of the Acts, against which the Memorial is directed, is entitled an Act for the Protection of Judicial Officers: and it provides "that no officer, acting judicially, shall be liable to be sued in any Civil Court for any act done, or ordered to be done, by him in the discharge of his judicial duty, whether within, or not within, the limits of his jurisdiction, provided that he at the time in good faith believed himself to have jurisdiction to do or order the act complained of." It corresponds in a great measure with the Act of 21st George III, which declared that "no action should lie against any judicial officer, for any act committed in his judicial capacity." That enactment, as the reader must well know, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council drove their coach and four through; and the Judges of the Supreme Court in Calcutta have accordingly conformed to the precedent, and inflicted fines, and costs, on the Magistrates when brought before them. Those, who preside in the Supreme Court, have felt the position to be unpleasant in which they are thus placed; and it is generally understood that this Act has been drafted at the suggestion, if not in the words, of Sir Lawrence Peel, the Chief Justice.

The third Act, to which the memorialists object, declares, that, "whereas doubts have been entertained as to the proper course of procedure in cases of persons entitled to exemption

from the jurisdiction of the Company's Courts, every person charged with any crime before those Courts, who is, or claims to be, entitled to any of the said privileges and exemptions, must plead and prove, to the satisfaction of the Court, his privilege and exemption." On the merits of those famous Acts, we shall take an opportunity, in another place, of recording our opinion.

We have yet two other Draft Acts to notice. The first refers to Trial by Jury in the Company's Courts. It remodels and extends the Act passed by Lord William Bentinck for establishing this mode of trial. It exempts from serving on the Jury the whole body of public servants, and directs the Collector to make out a list of "persons of reputed intelligence, and respectability, and consideration, between the ages of twenty-five and fifty," who are to be compelled to serve, when summoned, under the penalty of a fine. Five persons are to be chosen by lot for any jury trial; but their decision is not to be final, unless the Session Judge should approve of it. This Act has not met with the approval of any class of men; and it is much to be doubted, whether it will prove beneficial, in its present form, to the cause of justice. We must not omit to mention that the Jury Act contains the following enactment regarding the Muhammadan law; "After the passing of this Act, no Futwah shall be required in any case from the law officer of any Court."

The last Act, we have occasion to notice, is one for the establishment of Tolls on all roads, constructed, or repaired, by Government. By it the system of Tolls which has so long been in operation at the Presidency of Bombay, is extended to the whole of India. This brief recapitulation of the chief legislative movements of the year will fully bear us out in our remark, that the past year has been remarkable above all others for the fertility of its legislation, and for the importance of the change in our institutions, which the Acts are designed to introduce.

We have mentioned, in a previous page, that the whole of the army of India was thrown forwards towards the Punjab. The official order on this subject is as follows:—

"The Most Noble the Governor General of India is pleased to resolve, that the undermentioned Stations, attached to the Bengal Presidency, shall hereafter be permanently occupied by Troops of the Madras and Bombay Armies, as follows:

"By the Madras Army—Cuttack, Sagor, Hussingabad, Jubbulpore, Nagode, Nursingpore, and Mhow.

"By the Bombay Army—Nimuch and Nusserabad.

"All Appointments, connected with the Bengal army at the above Stations, will cease on the 1st of January next; but Officers will continue to act in their present Appointments, until they are relieved, or are withdrawn.

“The Stations of Nowgong, Jhansi, Oraee, Bandah, Humírpore, and Calpi, now attached to the Sagor Division, are transferred to the Cawnpore Division, from this date.”

The distribution of the army of the three Presidencies has not been materially altered for some years; but the determination of Government to hold the Punjab, without any addition to the regular regiments, rendered it necessary to modify the existing arrangements. The Malabar coast was heretofore garrisoned by troops from the Madras Presidency; though, in a geographical point of view, it might be considered as belonging to that of Bombay. By the order above quoted this anomaly is remedied; and the Malabar stations are transferred to the Bombay troops. The Madras Army, thus relieved, is enabled to occupy Sagor and Mhow, which had formerly belonged to the Bengal Presidency: while the care of Rajpútana and Meywar, hitherto garrisoned by Bengal troops, was made over to the sepoys of Bombay. The Bengal troops, thus relieved of the charge of four important military stations, are enabled to occupy all the cantonments in the Punjab, which has now been entirely made over to the army of this Presidency.

At the commencement of the past year, the hopes of those, who are anxious for the improvement of India, were damped by the refusal of the Court of Directors to act up to their promises, respecting the Dividend, which they were understood to have guaranteed to the shareholders of the two Indian Railway Companies, the East Indian, and the Great Indian and Peninsular. Though the events, which preceded this decision, do not properly fall within the scope of this article, a succinct narrative of them appears necessary for the sake of more complete illustration. The Honorable Court promised, in the year 1846, to guarantee a dividend of four per cent. upon £500,000 sterling, for 15 years, on condition that the details of the Railway should be arranged according to their wishes, and that only such sections of the line should be attempted, as they themselves might think fit to adopt. The shareholders of the two Companies, however, declined the terms offered, which, they feared, would not be found sufficient to induce English capitalists to embark in the undertaking. Moved by their representations, the Court agreed, on the 7th July 1847, to grant a dividend of 5 per cent. for twenty-five years upon the same amount, but coupled their promise with a proviso, that the Railway Company should demonstrate their ability to perform their part of the contract, by raising £100,000 before the 1st October following, and paying it, as a deposit, into the Company's treasury. This the Railway Company agreed to do: but the Commercial distress, which arose about this time, and the breaking out of the French Revolution, with the con-

sequent derangement of all commercial enterprises, prevented the realisation of the promised funds. They then offered to deposit £50,000, and to content themselves with commencing only one section of the line. The Court of Directors, however, appear to have entertained a very excusable suspicion, that the Railway Companies possessed no real stamina; and that a Company, which could not raise £100,000, was not likely to be able to raise a Million: and they positively refused to accede to the proposal. But the Court were at length induced to change their determination: and, within a month of their positive refusal, they accepted a modified proposal of the shareholders. The guarantee was maintained on its former footing; but the deposit money was reduced to £60,000: and this was paid up, though not without difficulty, arising from the tightness of the money market.

The two Companies now began to indulge the hope, that they had at last cleared their path, and that no further difficulties remained, but those which are inseparable from the operations of all Railway Companies:—but their hopes once more proved delusive. At the eleventh hour, a question was started, as to the nature of the dividend guaranteed: and the Court of Directors were brought to explain the nature of their engagement in terms more explicit than they had previously done. They replied to a representation, which was made to them, that they had simply promised Five per cent. interest upon all the money paid into their treasury; but that they knew nothing of any Dividend, and had no intention of guaranteeing anything of the kind. This was a heavy blow; and its severity was not mitigated by the extraordinary excuse put forward by the Directors, that they had never intended to grant a dividend. They were, at any rate, fully acquainted with the belief, which universally prevailed in the City on the subject. Prospectus after prospectus had been issued, speeches had been made, and articles written, on the supposition of the dividend: and, greatly as the Directors may individually undervalue the press, we doubt whether any one of them is without a newspaper on his breakfast table: the plea of ignorance was therefore inadmissible. The Court had an expensive war on their hands at the time, in which they were said to be spending at the rate of £15,000 a day, and which appeared likely to be protracted for a long period; and they manifestly dreaded to take the responsibility of so great an undertaking, before they were well assured that their military expenses were approaching a termination. Had they frankly announced this as their reason, the public might have been satisfied. The manufacturers of Manchester, on learning this apparently capri-

cious decision of the Court, began to bestir themselves; and a deputation of that body requested an interview with Sir John Hobhouse, who was understood to be the chief obstacle to the progress of the Railway, and asked for an exposition of his sentiments. Sir John declared that he had not the slightest intention of obstructing that great work; and that he did not think that any of the Directors entertained such a feeling. With this the deputation expressed itself satisfied, and retired. The matter was thus brought to a happy termination; and the terms, eventually granted, were perhaps more liberal than the Companies had previously expected. The following were the conditions, on which the Government of India resolved to grant their aid to this work:—

"1. That the section of the line of railway be left to the Government of India, it being understood that the section to be undertaken in the first instance, shall be the commencement of the line, which may be determined upon, from Calcutta, towards the upper provinces, so as to form a commencement of the line, leading either to Mirzapore, or to Rajmahal.

"2. That the railway be made by a company under the supervision and direction of the East India Company, whose officers in India, or in London, shall attend to the whole expenditure, and see that the capital account is properly kept, in the course of construction.

"3. That a capital of 1,000,000*l.* sterling, for the execution of the proposed experimental section, shall be raised by the railway company from the shareholders, and paid into the East India Company's treasury in London, to be redrawn as required for expenditure for such purposes only as shall be admitted to be capital.

"4. That the land be provided by the Government.

"5. That the land remain the property of Government, and that the Railway Company be granted the use of it on lease for 99 years; but which, nevertheless, shall be terminable at any shorter period, when the East India Company shall, under the conditions and stipulations herein contained, become possessed of the railway.

"6. That the East India Company shall pay annually to the directors of the railway company a sum equal to 5 per cent. interest on the capital of one million paid into the East India Company's treasury, under the provision contained in clause 3.

"7. That the whole of the profits shall be applicable to repay the East India Company the interest of 5 per cent. thus advanced; and if more profit than 5 per cent. is made, then that one-half of the surplus shall go towards repaying the interest advanced in former years, and the other half to the shareholders. When the arrears of interest, with interest thereon, calculated at the rate of 5 per cent. from the time it shall have been advanced by the East India Company, are all paid, then all the extra profit to go to the shareholders.

"8. That in order that the public may have security that the railway, when opened, shall be kept in use, it be a condition, that the Railway Company shall run such trains as the Government in India shall consider necessary for the convenience of the public and the general traffic.

"9. That, in the working of the line, the East India Company shall

have perfect supervision of works, books, accounts, &c., and shall see that the line and working-stock are at all times kept in perfect repair, equal to the first state; and that if the Railway Company fail to follow the directions of the East India Company's officers, the latter shall be at liberty to make repairs, and deduct the cost from the next accruing interest, or other moneys, to be paid to the Railway Company.

" 10. That in no case shall the East India Company be called upon to pay more than 5 per cent. per annum on the actual capital paid into the Company's treasury, to an extent not exceeding 1,000,000*l.* sterling; and that, if there be any loss in working the line, the Railway Company shall bear the same, so long as they retain it. They shall, however, be at liberty to give it up to the East India Company at any time they please, after six months' notice in writing, which may be given at any time after the line, first to be made, shall have been finished, and in operation for the space of three months: but the railroad to be given up in perfect condition, both as to the line, and the working-stock. They shall then receive payment of the original capital, invested in the actual survey and construction of the line, either in one sum, or at the option of Government, it may be commuted for an annuity according to the provision herein-after contained for the purchase of the railway by the East India Company, the Railway Company having satisfied the East India Company that all claims against the Railway Company, in respect to the railway, have been discharged.

" 11. That any Company undertaking these works shall lodge with the East India Company, within two months from the date of the Court's letter transmitting the present revised terms, a subscription contract list of the shareholders, to be approved by the East India Company, for the whole amount of the capital required—namely, 1,000,000*l.* sterling, with a deposit thereon of 8 per cent; whereupon the East India Company will return the present deposit of 80,000*l.* and will take measures, in view to obtain without delay for the Railway Company a charter from the Government of India, and a charter in conformity therewith from the Crown.

" 12. That a clause be introduced into such charters, which shall bind the Railway Company to the payment of the required capital, and the completion of the works undertaken, within such period as may be agreed upon between them and the East India Company, and which in case of failure of such engagement, shall enable the East India Company to take possession of the line, upon the repayment only of the cost of survey and construction of such portions of the line, as shall have been actually completed and opened to the public.

" 13. That provision be made for securing to the Government of India the option of purchasing the railway at the expiration of 25, or of 50, years.

" 14. That the terms of such purchase shall be computed at the mean market value of the shares of the railway during the three years last preceding the same period of 25, or 50, years, as the case may be.

" 15. That the purchase-money so computed, may, at the option of Government, either be paid to the Railway Company in one sum, or be commuted for a fixed annuity for the remainder of the lease of 99 years.

" 16. That it is to be understood that the annual payment, guaranteed by clause 6 of these terms and conditions, will be confined to the experiment now under consideration.

" 17. That it is to be likewise understood that the present arrangement in no respect supersedes the terms communicated to the Government of India in the Legislative letter of May 7, 1845, with the exception only of the question of guarantee of interest.

"18. That, in consideration of the rate of interest having been raised from four to five per cent. per annum, the Railway Company undertakes to carry the mail free, and the troops, the artisans, and the stores of the Government at the terms chargeable for the lowest class of passengers, and at the lowest rate for goods respectively."

These terms were subsequent embodied, with little alteration, in the Indenture made on the 17th of August 1849, between the East India Company on the one part, and the East India Railway Company, incorporated by Act of Parliament, on the other. The Indenture consists of Thirty clauses, and lays down the minutest rules for the management of the Rail, and provides, apparently, for every possible contingency. But the arrangement, which has thus been made after five years of hesitation and vacillation, for the commencement of this great national undertaking, appears open to many objections, which are not altogether without foundation. The Court of Directors do not guarantee a Dividend of Five per cent. to the Shareholders, which they ought unquestionably to have done, if they intended to inspire the public with confidence, and to secure the acquisition of the capital requisite for this great enterprize. Their engagement amounts to little more than a *contribution* of Five lakhs of Rupees a year to the Railway Company; the whole of which may be absorbed in its operations, leaving the shareholders to wait for their dividends, till the Rail becomes remunerative. The Court of Directors are fully aware, that the success of the enterprize depends upon the guarantee of Five per cent. interest to the *Holders of Railway Stock*; and, that if this guarantee had been given at once, three or four years ago, capital would have flowed into their Treasury by Millions, and the Railway would probably by this time have been completed to Burdwan. We are not certain, that the East India Company will not eventually be constrained to adopt this measure—after three or four years more have been frittered away.

Another objection to the plan is that the sum, to be expended in the first experiment, is limited to one Million Sterling; and that the Rail is to be extended, if that experiment is found to answer. But it must have been equally evident to both the parties to this agreement, that this contemptible sum would not be sufficient to carry the Rail to any point, either in the direction of Mirzapore, or Rajmahal, where a remunerating traffic could be expected. It is scarcely possible to avoid the conclusion, though it may appear uncharitable, that the Court of Directors have not entered into the arrangement with that degree of zeal, which was calculated to shew that they were anxious for its success.

The British establishments in China, though under the administration of the Crown, are so closely identified, by ancient associations and existing interests, with those of India, that we may naturally be expected to glance at the more important transactions, which have occurred there during the past year. From the time when the viceroy of Canton refused to fulfil the provisions of the treaty of 1842, to the unavenged murder of Governor Amaral at Macao, our proceedings have consisted of little else but humiliating quarrels with the provincial mandarins, and useless concessions to Chinese mob-dictation. Among the clauses of the treaty of 1842, which we dictated to the Cabinet of Peking, when the Empire was at its last gasp, and a few marches forward might have terminated the dynasty of the Tartars, it was arranged that the Port of Canton, on the southern coast, should be open to all Europeans, and that they should possess full liberty of ingress and egress, or of permanent residence. But, after this treaty had been ratified, and the dollars, which formed the indemnity, had been so ostentatiously conveyed to the Royal Mint in London, another treaty was concluded with the Chinese authorities, the *secret* articles of which were not allowed to transpire. Intelligence reached Sir John Davis that the French were intriguing to obtain possession of the island of Chusan. This island, which had been for some period under British rule, and was only restored at the termination of the war, was felt (from its position) to be of too great importance to be allowed to pass into the hands of a rival and enterprising power. Sir John therefore declared that the English Government would waive its right of entry into the town of Canton, on condition that the Emperor should pledge himself to refuse possession of Chusan to any European power, except the British. The Emperor, well aware of the state of public feeling in the Canton province, and conscious of his own impotence, eagerly caught at the nominal equivalent; and the secret clause was confirmed. This transaction was not known to the public generally; and all parties became clamorous for the fulfilment of the treaty of 1842, and the opening of the gates. The Ministry were therefore constrained to instruct the Government of Hong-Kong to demand the fulfilment of the treaty of 1842: and, as our readers well know, a British armament, consisting of land and sea forces, proceeded up to Canton, levelled the forts at the Bocca Tigris, spiked eight hundred pieces of cannon, and, on arriving before the city, threatened to bombard it, unless the demand was instantly complied with. The Imperial Commissioner, thus placed between two fires, the British cannon on the one hand, and an infuriated populace on the

other, prevailed on the British representative to agree that the opening of the gates should be postponed for two years, to the 1st of April, 1849. As the time approached for the fulfilment of this engagement, the difficulties in the way appeared to increase. As early as November 1848, the popular feeling in and about Canton had made itself manifest, in a mode which could not be mistaken. Various circumstances, connected with the internal condition of the country, have combined to give to the expression of the popular will of the city and province of Canton a degree of importance, which is unknown in oriental monarchies. The people of this district, the most warlike and turbulent of all the divisions of the Empire, are said to be generally opposed to the Tartar dynasty; and the descendants of the ancient Chinese princes, we are informed, are still looked upon with a degree of reverence almost approaching to loyalty. The influence of habit, and some fear of the ulterior strength of the Government, have alone kept the people of the province from actual rebellion: but the Brother of the Sun and Moon has frequently been made to feel that the swords of his Tartar soldiery, and the buttons of his Tartar Mandarins, would be of little avail against the vengeance of an exasperated mob. The triumphs of the British, and the consequent exposure of the real weakness of the Empire, appear to have sapped the foundations of the Imperial authority: and it was felt that another scene of humiliation, like that which was enacted at Nankin, would probably terminate the reign of the existing dynasty. Even in China, new ideas have sprung up; and the wish for change has made itself felt through all the Chinese "strudbrug civilization." Any declared opposition to the will of the mob at Canton, or any decided attempt to coerce the people, would have produced an outbreak, which, it was felt by the Imperial Court, would prove dangerous, if not ruinous, to its authority. The behests of the populace thus became law in the palace of the Tartar Viceroy. When, therefore, the great and important 1st of April arrived, the Imperial Commissioner Seu declared his determination not to allow the entrance of any foreigners, merchants or others, into the city of Canton. It was necessary, however, before a final refusal was given, to make a reference to the Emperor himself; as otherwise Seu felt that subsequent events might induce his master to throw the whole responsibility of the transaction on his shoulders, and possibly to remove his head from them by way of expiation. In due time the Imperial rescript arrived; and a more cautious and diplomatic missive was never concocted by Talleyrand himself. Seu was directed to conciliate at once the foreigners and the people,

and to rely upon his own judgment for the mode in which this was to be done—but, above all things, to avoid embroiling the Government with the populace. This was simply to allow Seu to take what course he pleased, without reference to any thing but his own responsibility. Thus emboldened by his master's letter, he repeated his refusal; and, as the crisis appeared to involve the possibility of a war, Mr. Bonham, the Queen's representative, deemed it expedient to make a reference to England. Fortunately some very strong statements appeared, in the English and Indian Journals, of the danger and inutility of a forcible entry into the city; and the Ministry determined to waive the right which they had obtained by the second treaty. There was, moreover, another motive for the concession. In England there appears to have been, from time immemorial, a vague respect for the greatness of the Chinese Empire. Its vast extent, the indistinctness of our information concerning its resources, and the apocryphal stories of its advance in civilization and refinement, have not been without their effect on the minds even of statesmen. They totally forgot that Queen Anne, whose generals had conquered half Europe, felt precisely the same undefined dread of the great Mogul. The publications of that day frequently teemed with stories of the immeasurable magnificence of the Great Court, now pensioned by a company of Merchants. This dread of collision, combined with the complicated state of European politics, induced the Ministry to pocket the insult, which the Chinese Government had offered: and their determination has met with general approbation.

The satisfaction of the Emperor, at this termination of his difficulties, has been expressed in a very remarkable state paper: and as this document, and the proclamation of the people of Canton, are of some importance in estimating the real spirit of the Chinese Government and nation, we have given them in full. The following is the Emperor's proclamation:—

"It is now ten years since the commencement of our affairs with the barbarians. The sea coast was troubled and distressed, vast treasure expended, and our army harrassed. Of late years, although they have been somewhat pacified; yet, on calm consideration, the best means of guiding them, whether this be rigour or mildness, cannot be determined: and the evils, which flow, are the more extraordinary as they increase. We have deeply feared that the people on the sea board would suffer the calamities of those who are trampled under foot in flight; and we have patiently borne all this, for it is an incontrovertible principle of reason that a small wrong must have ample redress.

"Yesterday successive memorials were received from Seu-kwang-tsin, Governor-General of Kwangtung, on account of the English barbarians having again sent a request to enter the city of Canton, reporting that he had settled the affairs as most expedient and proper: and this day a courier

has brought a memorial, stating that the merchants and populace of the said place, being deeply imbued with high principles, have contributed funds to ward off the insult; and, the gentry and literati having really exerted themselves to assist, the question of entering the city was already set at rest. The said barbarians are to have free trade as of old; and both natives and foreigners will live in peace. Not a soldier has been killed, nor an arrow discharged. The said Governor-General, and Lieutenant-Governor, have tranquillized the people, and soothed the barbarians,—in every point maintaining the interests of main importance. They have caused the said barbarians to submit quietly, and not offer the least violence; and this settlement must be of permanent duration.

“Our feelings of congratulation and pleasure it would be hard fully to express; and it is fitting that we bestow liberal rewards to encourage such eminent merit. Let Seu kwang-tsin by our favour be rewarded with the title of Tsze-tseoh (Viscount), the same to be hereditary; and let him also be rewarded with a double-eyed peacock's feather. Let Yeh-ming-chin (Lieut.-Governor) by our favour be rewarded with the title of Nau-tseoh (Baronet), also hereditary, and let him also be rewarded with a double-eyed peacock's feather. Thus will our kind reward be displayed. Let the two peacock's feathers be sent off, to be respectively received by the parties. Let Mun-ze-gan, Woolawtai-Coh-gar-tunga, Iang-ming-beang, and Tseang-lin, who all joined their efforts in fulfilling their duty, be by our kindness rewarded by the Board according to the rules for military merit. Let the Taoutai expectant, Heu-tseang-kwang, by our favour be entered in the new official List; and appointed to the first vacant post, whether it be one of greater or less business. Let the Sing-chung expectant, Woo-tsung-yoon, by our favour have the diploma of a Taoutai conferred upon him; and let the Board select him for employment without delay. Let these two officers be also rewarded with Buttons of the third rank. Let Seu-kwang-tsin also select all the other civil and military officers in Kwangtung, who exerted themselves most conspicuously in the business, and, on due consideration of their respective merits, individually recommend them to us, when we will afterwards bestow our favour upon them.

“As to my people of Kwangtung, they have always been called brave and spirited, but of late years they have been deeply imbued with high principles—possessed of bravery, and enlarged discernment, indubitably arising from the spirit of renovation instructing them aright, and which is also the enlarged liberality of a heavenly disposition. It would be hard to find such thousands of people, who grudge not their wealth, and are steadfast in their minds. Pondering on the merits of their tranquil awe, can we but sympathize with them? or can our heart remain unmoved?

“Let Seu-kwang-tsin publish our words, that they be known to every family, and constantly increase a desire to exertion for the public weal, and devotion to us. All will then enjoy the happiness of a quiet life, and rejoice in their estate. Let the said Governor-General bestow rewards, according to the merits of the parties, and confer Tablets with inscriptions, that their glory may be manifested. Let not our favours be in the least retarded, and thus will our mind be consoled. Let the rest be all settled as agreed upon. Respect this.”

The next is the proclamation by the people of Canton, in honour of their brave governor, and their braver selves:—

“Honorary Tablet erected to their Excellencies Seu and Yeh, by the gentry and literati. From of old there were no well-contrived plans for ruling the foreigners: for, if they were strictly governed, then strife arose; while con-

tempt was the consequence of treating them kindly. Their dispositions are perfectly avaricious and presumptuous : as ravenous after gain, as the Leviathan rushing on its prey, if they be disappointed in their profits, they become ten times, yea, a hundred times, more outrageous, and cannot be appeased. It was said by Tang Kingchuen of the Ming dynasty, 'China and foreigners are like a great family, neighbours to a gang of robbers, whose proximity is more dangerous than their violence ; for then there is no period when they must not be guarded against ; while they are all the more able to observe every opening to their advantage.'

"The country having long enjoyed peace, our civilians have become negligent of the public welfare in their eagerness after their own advancement ; and our military officers have kept quiet in order to secure their own safety. At the first rumour of robbers, they start with fear, and, seeing the storm from afar, scatter in amazement ; ere they have come to the brunt, the spirit of the battalions is already affected, if not even extinct. There is perhaps some explanation for the unbounded violence and exactions of the foreigners ; for in former times they had only Macao, one little corner on the extreme south, as a trading-spot : but now they sail here and there into every port, just as they please, building foreign houses, bringing foreign women, and obtaining all they ask for, to their heart's desire. Moreover, they boast saying, 'we are a match for the Chinese officers. Why should we not go into the city here at Canton, and pay our respects to the authorities, just the same as is done at Fuhkien, Chekiang, and Kiangnan?'

"The Imperial envoy [Keying] unavoidably complied with the necessities of the case, and memorialized the Court, setting the period of three years, after which this might be allowed ; but he shortly after retired from office : and His Excellency Seu, an officer deep in counsel, and bold in action, was raised from the governorship to the rank of Governor-General ; and, after about a year's possession of the post, he has fully learned that the spirit of the people of Canton can be depended on, and that the enthusiasm of the troops can easily be aroused. When the time arrived, the chiefs of the nations came in their vessels requesting an interview ; when His Excellency accorded them a personal meeting, at which he firmly rejected ten or more things besought by them. Perceiving that the commissioner was immovable, the chiefs again put forth their request to enter the city ; when His Excellency said, 'I will refer the matter to Court, to see whether or no it can be allowed.' They exclaimed, 'Well, well ! We will hear the mandate.'

"Meanwhile the provincial officers generally thought His Excellency would not be able to arrange the matter amicably, and that native vagabonds would take advantage of the occasion to excite disturbance, which even his utmost energy could not overrule ; but he never showed the least discomposure (at this threatening prospect), and, in conjunction with the Fuyuen Yeh, exerted all his wisdom and energy in making preparations for a resort to arms. At the same time, these two officers sedulously collected horses, and enlisted men, put in order the cannon and other military equipments, and laid in a store of provisions. They stimulated the enthusiasm of officers, by exciting their emulation and love for glory ; they roused the courage of the soldiery, by holding out rewards, and by threatening certain punishments ; they excited the patriotism of the gentry and literati, by circulating energetic remonstrances, setting forth in the plainest manner the happiness or calamity which would result from their conduct ; and, by stopping the trade of the merchants and shopmen, they stirred up their indignation, and obtained their co-operation. By all these means, they prepared the people to protect themselves, every household making itself ready

for the struggle ; so that spears and arms glittered in every street, the clangour of drums made the welkin ring, and the combined action of the many myriads of brave spirits in the city paralyzed the heaven-daring pride [of the foreigners], and terrified their slavish hearts.

"The Imperial rescript having arrived, His Excellency issued a proclamation that the popular indignation could not be opposed ; and the question of entering the city was accordingly dropped. For about ten years, since 1839 and 1840, when troops were drawn out, and mutual hatred was stirred up, they have trodden down at will the coast of our country, seizing and destroying our people and our women, penetrating every where through our inner and outer waters ; and the inhabitants have universally complied with their inclinations, as if they had been bewitched. Nobody could or would hear of any man, or any plan of action, adequate to oppose their intentions, or check their encroachments ; only we of Canton at Sunyuensli have ever destroyed them, and at Hwang-chuh-ke cut them to pieces. Even tender children here are desirous to devour their flesh, and sleep upon their skins."

Soon after, another occurrence threatened to embroil us with a different power in China. On the 7th of June 1849, a young man of the name of Summers, a missionary, stopped in the streets of Macao to observe a procession of the Host : but either through ignorance, or a conscientious feeling, refused to take off his hat, as it passed. Perhaps Macao is, of all cities in the world, the most remarkable for the extreme bigotry of its inhabitants and their rulers. Even the Inquisition still exists in the town ; and the clergy, it is said, seldom scruple to make use of means, more substantial than their spiritual weapons, to convince heretics that the bosom of the church is at least safer than heresy. The priests complained to the Governor, who was near the spot ; and a message was sent to the young Englishman, with a request to him to comply with the customs of the place. Mr. Summers, not being able to understand the language of the request, still kept on the offensive hat. He was therefore summarily arrested, and thrown into prison ; whence he wrote an account of the affair to Commodore Keppel, the officer in command of the Queen's vessels in the harbour, who demanded the missionary's release, which was peremptorily refused. He then determined to effect the object by force. The Governor was absent at a regatta : and the Commodore, landing a party of sailors and marines, passed through the town, and liberated Mr. Summers from jail. Unhappily one life was lost : and the Governor ordered the soldier to be buried, and made proclamation that he had been assassinated by order of Captain Keppel, Commodore of Her Britannic Majesty's fleet in those seas.

A singular question of international law has arisen out of this apparently insignificant affair. Macao has been in the possession of the Portuguese, ever since 1586, i. e. for more than two hundred and fifty years : but it has never been

acknowledged as an independent port. In the treaty of 1842, there is a clause, which provides that all British subjects offending against the laws of China, shall be amenable only to the jurisdiction of British Judges; this clause was subsequently declared by Sir H. Pottinger's ordinance [No. I., of 1844] to include Macao. The Portuguese Court demanded an explanation of this document; to which Lord Aberdeen, who at that time held the seals of the Foreign office, returned a somewhat ambiguous reply. It satisfied the Court of Lisbon, however; and they considered the ordinance as null and void, with respect to their own possessions in China. Captain Keppel, very probably, had not seen this document: and he consequently acted up to (what he believed to be) the spirit of the instructions furnished by his own Government. It was a case of the black and white sides of the shield, and would have been insignificant enough in itself, but for the high character of Governor Amaral, who was known in Macao only as a stern and uncompromising reformer.

A more tragical event, however, soon after cast this international question into the shade, and added greatly to the already complicated state of affairs in China. The Governor of Macao had long been bitterly detested by the Chinese around, who were annoyed at his reforms: and some of the desperate characters, who appear to batten upon the European settlements, murdered him, when out on a ride beyond the barrier, and retained his head and hand. These were, it appears, handed over to the Chinese Viceroy, Seu. The Portuguese inhabitants determined on retribution. They made an assault upon a small fort outside their city, and captured it, with the slaughter of seventy-five of the guards. A Provisional Government was formed, with the Bishop Jeronymo at its head; and a very sharp correspondence with the Viceroy took place. Seu at first coolly refused to deliver up the head; and, when further pressed, asserted that he was afraid of the populace. To this the Bishop replied, that he should consider the Governor of Canton as an accessory before the fact, and that the consequences must rest on his own head. Seu now tried to offer some partial reparation: an individual, probably some condemned criminal, was beheaded, and the Viceroy informed the Provisional Government, that this was the assassin: but he still refused to restore the mutilated members of the body.* The Provisional Government have summoned Troops from Goa and from Portugal. These, however, have not arrived: but it is difficult to see how the matter can end

* The head and hand have since been restored.

without bloodshed, as Portugal dares not draw back, and, low as that country has fallen, it is still able to inflict a signal retribution on the Chinese.

Lately there appears to have been something like a renewal of energy in our transactions in China. The southern coasts of the country have always been much exposed to the attacks of pirates; this collection of all the desperadoes of the maritime provinces commit the most shocking atrocities in the vessels they obtain possession of, apparently for the wanton pleasure of cruelty. So formidable have these pirates become, that some of their associations have grown into towns; and they are enabled to equip war junks of an enormous size, and make any terms they please with the regular authorities. Two war steamers, the *Fury* and *Columbine*, under the command of Captain Hay, after an intermitted battle of two days, destroyed twenty-three of these junks, averaging 500 tons, and mounting from 12 to 18 guns, three junks, still on the stocks, and, finally, the dockyards with their apparatus, machinery, and timber. On the 13th of October, the same officer attacked another piratical fleet of 64 vessels, mounting 1220 pieces of cannon, and manned by 3000 desperadoes. The whole were commanded by a pirate named Shap-ing-stai, a man who had for months been the terror of that coast. Fifty-six junks were destroyed, 1700 men slaughtered, upwards of 1200 guns captured, and the pirate himself escaped with difficulty, with three or four of the smallest junks. These enterprises may be productive of more important effects, than merely delivering the coast from the piratical squadron. The Chinese have now for the first time seen the British in their true character, as possessed of irresistible strength, and employing it for the benefit of others. They will gradually fall into the habit of regarding the English as their natural protectors; and between this, and actual submission, the interval is brief indeed.

We now turn to another colony of the Crown in the East. The Great Rebellion of 1848 in Ceylon excited, from the first, very considerable interest in England; and even the British Parliament contrived to acquire something like definite information as to the real subject matter in dispute. Perhaps, of all the departments of Government, the Colonial office is deservedly the most unpopular. One man (who, however able and zealous he may be, is but mortal) is expected to stand in the relation of a second Providence to Forty-five colonies, of which three are embryo Saxon Empires, and the rest filled with a population of turbulent natives, and discontented Europeans. The affairs of Ceylon for 1849 are best narrated in the pages of Hansard: for

its history is comprised in fierce Parliamentary attacks, and heavy onslaughts, directed against the Ministerial party, under the pretence of attacking Lord Torrington. We have so recently discussed the merits of this question, that we have now only the result to chronicle. Lord Torrington was accused of tyranny: and the only proof, brought forward, was, that he did not believe Ceylon to be quite so far advanced in the career of civilization as Paris, or that the abolition of the punishment of death for political offences was expedient. He was accused of gross dereliction of duty: and the assertion was supported by evidence that he had suppressed a rebellion, and saved the European residents from massacre. Lastly, he was accused of exciting the rebellion by the imposition of taxes, which had been ordered by the Colonial office, and of shooting a Buddhist priest in his robes, instead of shooting him naked. Lord Torrington was acquitted of every charge save one, by no means the least important, viz. that he had been a Lord of the Bedchamber; and the records of the island have ever since exhibited a picture of progressive improvement. The expenditure has been reduced by £34,000; and the Governor has announced his hope of being able to effect still further reductions. The expenditure, however, is still far too large. The Honourable Company, within whose territories Ceylon geographically lies, would certainly govern the island for £200,000 a year, and relieve it at once of its ornamental Governor, and burdensome Military Staff. A Brigadier would govern the Military departments of Ceylon; and four Commissioners for the four districts, with their assistants, would be found to be much more useful than the present costly establishments. The characteristic of Ceylon, during 1849, has been profound quiet; the island can scarcely be said to have presented a single event worth recording—unless the dull squabbles of the colonists, and the duller diatribes about them in the local press, may be deemed such.

- ART. V.—1. *Samáchar Darpan. Serampore. 1818.*
 2. *Sambád Kaumadi. Sanskrit Press. 1821.*
 3. *Bráhmaṇ Sebadi. Calcutta. 1821.*
 4. *Samáchar Chandriká. Calcutta. 1822.*
 5. *Banga Dut. Calcutta. 1829.*
 6. *Gyánáneshwan. Calcutta. 1831.*

THE publication of Elliot's Muhammadan Historians of India, and of Du Tassy's History of Hindustani Literature, together with other valuable works of a similar class issued of late years, indicates that a taste is springing up for Bibliographical studies, and that the statistics of Literature are considered to be worthy of investigation, even in this age so fond of seeking after mere material objects. In this field, as in others, France and Germany have taken the lead. What works has England ever produced of a Bibliographical kind, equal to the writings of Mabillon and the Fathers of St. Maur?

While notice has been taken at different periods of Sanskrit and Arabic Works, very little attention has been paid to a history of the rise and progress of the different Vernacular Literatures in India. We should be glad, for instance, to see a synopsis and sketch of the books published in Tamul, Canarese, and Mahratta. Monsieur du Tassy has supplied the desideratum for Hindustani; and we are glad to learn that his work is being translated from French into Urdu; it will form an excellent guide for the study of Hindustani, as Horne's Introduction does for Biblical pursuits. We purpose in the present article to take a cursory range over the state of early Bengali literature, particularly with reference to the periodical press, which is indirectly exercising a considerable influence on the Hindu mind; we shall also give a short notice of Bengali works, printed previously to the era of the Bengali Newspapers.

It is difficult to gain any precise information respecting the language that was used at the Courts of Gaur and Nadiya;—nor is this surprising, when we reflect on the cloud of obscurity, that hangs over the ancient history of Bengal. It is true we have certain landmarks. Dacca and Satgan flourished, as commercial emporia, in the days of Pliny; Gaur, according to Rennel, was the capital of Bengal, 750 B. C.; Tamuk, or Tamralipta, was the Benares of Buddhism

in Bengal, eighteen centuries ago;* and a temple was erected in honor of Kapil Muni in Sagar Island, as far back as A. D. 430. We therefore conclude, on this and various other grounds, that the hypothesis, started by Ram Komul Sen in the very able preface to his Dictionary, is utterly without foundation, viz. that a considerable portion of Bengal, as for instance the district of Jessore, has been reclaimed from the sea within the last three centuries. So far from the Sunderbund districts being of such recent origin, we believe that evidence can be adduced to shew that they formed a cultivated tract of country, at a period when England was only emerging from a state of barbarism. We ourselves saw a couple of years ago, in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, through the kindness of Monsieur Jomard, a map of Bengal, made in the fifteenth century, in which we observed five large cities marked off on the borders of the sea, in what are now the Sunderbunds: but these have been subsequently laid waste through Portuguese buccaneering, the effects of inundations, and a sinking of the land owing to volcanic agency. We conclude therefore that Bengal was a civilized country long before the light of refinement dawned on Britain. And there are various data to confirm this position; for instance, the notice of Bengal in the *Raghuvansa*—the long standing fame of Tribeni, near Hugly, as a place of pilgrimage—and the mention of Ganga Sagar in the Ramayana and Mahabharat. Kali Ghât is referred to as existing in the days of king Bhagirath. The *Vrihat Katha* alludes to various events of a very ancient date connected with Bengal; and, in one of the stories contained in that highly interesting work, the scene is laid in Tamluk, and one of the chief dramatis personæ is a Buddhist priest.

Mention is also made of Bengal in the *Raghuvansa*. At the period of the composition of that work, probably the whole body of the Ganges flowed down by way of Satgan, Sankhrâl Reach, and Bâripur to the sea, instead of taking its present course, viz.

* In proof of this, we would refer to an excellent volume, published under the patronage of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, "The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian, from the French, with additional notes. Calcutta. 1848." Professor Wilson has commented very favourably on this work in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and Colonel Sykes in his valuable "Notes on the Ante-Muhammadan period of India." In Fa Hian's days, viz. A. D. 399, Tamluk is described as near the sea, and as a place of great traffic; 1,000 Buddhist monks lived in it. At the close of the 5th century before the Christian era, Dharmasoka, sovereign of all Jambudwipa, is said to have sent to the King of Ceylon an Ambassador, who embarked from Tamluk; and, as late as the 7th century, it was a town of considerable importance. We have a lively recollection of the danger we encountered lately in passing it, owing to the sands and shallows, with which the river is now filled. Like Satgan, it has fallen into decay, partly owing to that silting process of the river, which may eventually block up even the port of Calcutta.

the Padma. From these, and various other data, we infer, that Bengal may have been a comparatively civilized country for, perhaps, 2,500 years. Whether the Aboriginal tribes ever occupied the plains of Bengal, we know not; perhaps the researches, which Mr. Hodgson is making respecting the Aborigines, may throw light on this point: but these facts are well ascertained;—that, Tamluk, in the third century, was famous for its Buddhist Colleges, in which Fa Hian, a Chinese Priest, spent two years; that one of the towers of Asoka stood there; that, as late as the 12th century, the Pal Kings of Gaur were Buddhists; that Adisur brought Brahmans from Kanauj to Bengal in the 10th century, as Buddhism had infected the Hindu priesthood in the latter country; and that the Jains, whose system is a scion of Buddhism, were formerly very numerous in Bengal. They were probably a lingering remnant of the Buddhists.

We offer the following suggestion as a point for inquiry. Considering that the Pali language is as invariable an accompaniment of the Buddhist rulers and priests, as Latin is of the Romish, or Sanskrit of the Brahminical, hierarchy; and that the Pali bears as close an affinity to Sanskrit, as the Bengali does,—is it not probable, that the ancient language, spoken on the plains of Bengal, was a mixture of the Páli and Prákrit, which might then have served, like the Prakrit, or Apabhransa, generally, as a kind of transition-dialect between the ancient Sanskrit and the modern Bengali, or Gauriya Bháshá? The Páli was pre-eminently the language of the people. It was the organ of the itinerant preaching system of the Buddhist priests: * it was once the vernacular of Magadha, or Bahar; and it bears the same relation to the Sanskrit, as the Dutch does to the German, or the Italian to the Latin.

In support of the assertion, that Pali, or Prakrit, has been the language of the people, while Sanskrit was used by the Brahminical class, we have the authority of Dr. Muller, in his "Relation of the Bengali to the Arian and Aboriginal languages of India." He remarks, "The author of the most famous Prakrit Grammar, Katyayana, was the same, who wrote additional notes on the great work on Sanskrit Grammar by Panini, his contemporary, or immediate predecessor; and we find in one branch of Sanskrit literature, which was more than any other destined for the higher, as well as the lower, classes, viz. in the dramatic compositions, a constant mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit dialects, which unfold there an un-

* Buddhist Missionaries employed in China, Nipal, and the Eastern Archipelago, the machinery of the vernaculars and itinerant preaching for diffusing their doctrines.

expected wealth of melodious poetry. Strange as such a combination of similar dialects may seem, we find a similar fact in Italy, where each of the masked persons in the *Commedie dell'arte* was originally intended as a kind of characteristic representation of some particular Italian district or town." Dr. Muller, however, thinks, that, "while other modern dialects of India are of Prakrit origin, the Bengali is almost a direct off-shoot from the Sanskrit, superseding the simple and concise forms of ancient declensions and conjugations by modern paraphrastic formations."*

What the language of Bengal was, 1200 years ago, when Gaur, its capital, was in the zenith of its glory, with its two millions of inhabitants, and its princely buildings, we know not. Some suppose it to have been the Sanskrit, not in its present highly artificial form, but in a simpler one; others consider that there was an aboriginal language, traces of which remain still in such words, as *ultá*, *eman*, *ekhan*, *chál*, *chhari*, *dhámá*, *pet*, *bhari*, *sojá*, *holá*. In the admirable preface to his Bengali Dictionary, Ram Komul Sen gives a list of 128 original Bengali words, derived from no other language, "which must have been peculiar to the aborigines," and are still in general use among the lower classes; he also appends sixty-five words, spoken among the Koles, and which may be heard at present in the Thakurpúkur and other districts to the South of Calcutta.

Previous to the introduction of Bengali typography into this country in 1778, there were about forty works composed in the Bengali language. Among these the chief were the *Chaitanya Charita Amrita*, a work popular among the Vaishnavas, written in 1557, by Krishna Das Kabiraj, a follower of Chaitanya†; the *Mansa Mangal* by Khemananda; the *Dharma Gana* published by order of Layu Shen, a Raja near Burdwan; the *Mahabharat*, *Ramayan*, *Subankura*, and *Guru Dakhina*; the *Chandi*,

* The Bengali characters according to Colebrooke, "is nothing else but Devanagari deformed, for the sake of expeditious writing." See a valuable paper of the late James Prinsep on this subject, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

† Ram Komul Sen, in the preface to his Dictionary, p. 14, states, "The composition of bibliographical and historical works in Bengali commenced on the appearance of Chaitanya in Nadiya, about 307 years ago; his disciples wrote various books on the doctrines of the Vaishnava sect. In 1557, Krishna Das wrote the *Chaitanya Charita Amrita*: his brethren also produced several works on mythology and theology; their dramatic works are moreover excellent." One-fifth of the population of Bengal have embraced the doctrines of Chaitanya: and one cause of the rapid spread of this sect was probably owing to the activity with which they availed themselves of Bengali literature to disseminate their tenets. We have no account of any Bengali work previous to the period of Chaitanya: and yet it is singular that in Telugu, certainly not superior to the Bengali in richness and expressiveness, we have books, still extant, which were composed previous to the Moslem invasion.

by Kabikankan, and the *Annada Mangal*, by Bharat Chandra, both written under the patronage of the Mæcenæ of Hindu literature, the illustrious Raja Krishna Ray of Naba-dwip.

Though the Musalmans in other countries came with the Koran in one hand and the sword in the other, yet in Bengal they generally granted toleration: but, like the English, when they conquered Ireland, they acted with a depressing weight on every effort to create a national literature; and hence, though there are many MSS. extant, yet a search, in order to obtain any clue to ascertain the early formation of the language, or to procure any historical information respecting Bengal in the Ante-Muhammadan period, ends in complete disappointment. Either the Hindus were afraid to write, or the Muhammadans destroyed their documents.

It may not perhaps prove uninteresting to some of our readers to peruse the following curious extract, relative to the early settlement of the Muhammadans in Bengal at Pandua, a place 15 miles from Hugly on the road to Burdwan, given by the correspondent of an old periodical, now very scarce, the *Calcutta Asiatic Observer* for 1824.

"Traditional Account of the Minaret at Pandúa.

The Minaret at Pandúa is certainly one of the most ancient monuments of Muhammadan bigotry in Bengal. I was given to understand by the people of Pandúa, that, about 600 years since, Shah-Sufi-uddin Khan Shahid, undertook the invasion of Bengal, pursuant to the representation made by a certain Mussulman, who had a little before been invited over by the Hindu rajahs to reside there, for the purpose of interpreting to them the messages, or mandates, of the emperor of Hindusthan, respecting the politics of the times. This man being childless, he made a vow, "that should God grant him a son, he would make a splendid sacrifice to his honour." His prayer was granted; and he proceeded to celebrate the happy event, in the first instance by slaughtering a cow by way of sacrifice, in fulfilment of his vow. This circumstance gave great offence to the Hindus, and exasperated them to such a degree, that, by the orders of their rajahs, they not only punished him in the severest manner imaginable, but they also brought forth the son of his vow, and offered him up a sacrifice to appease their deities. A short time after this cruel affair had transpired, the Mussulman escaped to Delhi, and petitioned the emperor to revenge him, by punishing the murderers of his son. The emperor, shocked at the circumstance, immediately issued a proclamation throughout his dominions, offering a magnificent reward to any person that would undertake to head an army, and proceed to Bengal to revenge the outrage.

"Prince Shah-Sufi-uddin Khan volunteered his services; and, having assembled an army of the most devout Mussulmans, marched towards Bengal, carrying fire and desolation wherever he came. Having subdued all the rajahs of the intermediate places, he came to Pandúa, a strong fortified place, the residence of a powerful rajah, called Pundraja, and besieged it. This rajah was aided by the rajah of Munad, who was a powerful ally. But what, above all things, according to tradition, tended to the success of

the besieged in repelling the attacks of the invaders for a long time, was a wonderful pool at Munad, called Jhínch-khúnd. It is said, that this pool had the virtue of restoring the dead to life again, and of healing the wounds of those, who were engaged in the war with the Mussulmans. The latter made repeated assaults on the besieged, but were invariably repulsed with great slaughter. Shah-Sufi, (being a little surprized to find, that after so many battles had been fought, and thousands of the enemy carried out of the field dead or wounded, their numbers still suffered no diminution,) offered a handsome reward to any person who would trace out the cause of such a circumstance in favour of the besieged. A certain person undertook to procure him the requisite information, and, approaching the neighbourhood of some of the enemy's stations in disguise, found out the secret relative to the miraculous efficacy of the Jhínch-khúnd. Next, taking upon himself the disguise of a Hindu Jogí, he arrived at Munad, where was the celebrated pool, and begged permission to bathe in it. Having obtained his request, and while in the act of performing his ablutions, he threw a piece of cow's flesh into the pool undiscovered, which at once destroyed the virtues of Jhínch-khúnd for ever. Having achieved this enterprize, he returned, not a little elated at the success he had met with, and informed the general of the circumstance. The news soon spread through the army, and elated them to such a degree, that they took up their arms immediately, and rushed upon their enemies. The conflict was dreadful. That the healing virtues of the pool had been destroyed was a disastrous event to the Hindus, who in vain cast into it their dead and dying; for as they were cast in one after another, so they remained. Struck with atonishment and shame at this circumstance, and appalled with fear, they were no longer able to withstand the impetuosity of the Mussulman troops, and were routed with a dreadful slaughter. Thus the Mussulmans got possession of Pandúa, and its adjacent towns. They next erected a fortress at Pandúa, and built a Minaret to perpetuate the signal victory they had obtained over the infidels. Many Hindus were compelled to be circumcised, and to embrace the Muhammadan religion.

"The conquerors having established themselves in the country, built a large mosque at Pandúa within the walls of the fort, which they had previously erected. This mosque has sixty domes, supported upon two rows of dark grey coloured stones, carved in a very curious style. The outer walls are ornamented with a kind of Mosaic architecture. The bricks, of which they are built, are neatly and curiously moulded into a variety of checquered-work flowers and leaves. The domes, however, are not lofty. They increase the sound of the voice greatly; as a person speaking at one end of the wall enables those who stand on the opposite side, a distance of upwards of a hundred feet, to hear every word distinctly, though spoken with a voice but moderately elevated.

"The Minaret is the most worthy of notice. It is upwards of 80 cubits in height by actual measurement. To arrive at its summit, a person is obliged to ascend by means of a narrow, dark, spiral flight of stairs. In the days of the prosperity of this place, the Muazzin, or inviter to prayers, used to ascend to the highest standing place of this Minaret, and proclaim the uzan, or invitation to prayers.

"During a former visit, which I paid to this place, I was told of a circumstance of a most lamentable nature, which had taken place a short time before my arrival. The particulars were related by a resident of the place. It is usual for multitudes of Mussulmans to come to this place on a pilgrimage to the shrine of the martyr Shah-Sufi, from the remotest parts of Bengal. At such times (January and April,) extensive fairs are held

for the accommodation of the pilgrims. It is an invariable practice of the visitors to ascend to the highest stage of the Minaret, for the purpose of seeing an iron bar, which runs evidently through the middle of the spiral steps, from top to bottom. This, the pilgrims say, was the walking staff of the martyr. Hundreds ascend at the same time, and throng each other in a miserable manner. On one of these occasions, while multitudes were pressing through this spiral staircase, a person stumbled midway up the steps, and fell upon those, who attempted to push on; and these again, being propelled upwards by others following hard at their heels, could not avoid trampling on the person who had fallen, and, as is supposed, killed him on the spot. This created great confusion and uproar, but the cause could not be ascertained, either at the foot of the steps, or at the top. Both those below, and those above, heard the noise, but knew not the reason of it. Struck with alarm, those, who were uppermost, essayed to descend as fast as possible; and those, who were at the foot of the steps, or a little above, being shoved upwards by a multitude following from below, a most distressing struggle ensued in the middle of the stairs, in which upwards of seventy persons were crushed to death.

"Shah-Sufi, the conqueror of Pandúa, was celebrated for the sanctity of his life. It is said, that on a certain day, he went to sleep, after having ordered one of his slaves to wake him precisely at an hour specified, perhaps the hour of prayer. The slave fell asleep likewise, but awoke after the appointed hour had elapsed. Filled with dread at the neglect of which he had been guilty, and his lord being yet in bed, he drew his sword, plunged it into his heart, and killed him; but immediately killed himself likewise. Thus Shah-Sufi became a martyr: since which he has been held in great veneration; and his shrine, which is always kept in repair, is annually visited by multitudes of pilgrims, as related above. In and about Pandúa, there are also the shrines of the heroes, that fell in the battles against the infidels, and who are also held in a degree of respect, next to adoration, by the Mussulmans. They are all martyrs; so that when a person visits Pandua, he treads holy ground. The sanctity of the place is made the means of great pecuniary emolument to thousands of fukirs, and to the *mútu-wullis*, or successors of the representatives of Shah-Sufi, in whose hands the lands attached to the religious institution are retained, as well as the amounts of sacrifices collected at the fairs; which they dispose of to such purposes, as best suit their views and inclinations."

Religious reformers in all ages, whether we refer to Luther in Germany, Wicliffe in England, St. Patrick in Ireland, Marot in France, or Sankar-Acharjya in India, have always availed themselves of the Vernaculars, as the media for influencing the masses; and, in so doing, have refined the "vulgar tongue," and rendered it a more powerful vehicle for inculcating new ideas. We observe a similar process in Bengal, which may be divided into four stages; that of Chaitanya about A. D. 1500, when the first Bengali works were composed; that of Raja Krishna Ray of Nadiya, about A. D. 1750;* that of

* This Raja aspired to be a second Vikramaditya, and to make Nadiya another Ujain. He gave an immense stimulus to Native Literature. Under his patronage, Kabikankan wrote the *Chandi*, a highly popular work in praise of Durga; and Bharatchandra composed the *Annada Mangal*. Learned men from all parts of the country were collected at Nadiya, and supported by rich endowments granted by the Raja, who made Nadiya as

Dr. Carey and his Serampore contemporaries; and that of Ram Mohan Ray, and the *Tatwabodhini Sabha*.*

Muhammadan influence had exerted itself in checking every development of a National Literature. The officers of the Revenue Courts under the Mogul regime as a general rule would not even receive a petition in Bengali: it had to be written in Persian, which was the avenue to all places of trust and emolument. Yet it is surprising that, even under the British Government, the Persian held its ground, until the memorable 1st of January, 1839, when, by the orders of the Authorities, the Bengali was substituted for the Persian in all the courts of the Lower Provinces, and this Moslem language was deposed from its unjust ascendancy. On the other hand, though the Pandits (like those subtle trainers of the intellect, the School-men of the middle ages) kept the Hindu mind in a certain state of activity—yet it was the activity of a *class*, not of a nation; and no man dared to encroach on the preserves

celebrated for logic, as Oxford now is—the Raja being very partial to Nyaya studies, which still retain the ascendancy at Nadiya. The Raja set an example of correct diction, “which encouraged the people to study Bengali with unusual diligence.” He is said to have once, on the occasion of the Durga Puja, offered a sacrifice of goats and sheep to the goddess; he commenced with one, and, doubling it by the process of geometrical progression, at the end of sixteen days, he had slaughtered 65,535 animals. He sent the carcasses as presents to the Brahmans. He was a regular Alva in defence of his own religion, and once put a Sudra to death, for having intermarried into the family of a Brahman. Such was caste! Even as recently as forty years ago a case occurred near Calcutta, when a Brahman, as a punishment for having received a gift from a goldsmith (one of the lower castes), was sentenced to fast two days, to repeat a holy text 100,000 times, and to have his mouth, which had been polluted through the food received from the goldsmith, purified by filling it with cow-dung.

The grandson of the Raja was equally superstitious. Mr. Ward relates the following anecdote of him:—“About twenty years ago, (1790) Ishwara-chundra, the Raja of Nadiya, spent 100,000 rupees in marrying two monkeys, when all the parade common at Hindu marriages was exhibited. In the marriage procession were seen elephants, camels, horses, richly caparisoned palanqueens, lamps, and flambeaus. The male monkey was fastened in a fine palanqueen, having a crown upon his head, with men standing by his side to fan him: then followed singing and dancing girls in carriages; every kind of Hindu music; a grand display of fireworks, &c. Dancing, music, singing, and every degree of low mirth, were exhibited at the bridegroom's palace for twelve days together. At the time of the marriage ceremony, learned Brahmans were employed in reading the formulas from the Shastras!” At that period none of these monkeys were to be seen about Nadiya; now they are so numerous that they devour almost all the fruit of the orchards, as the inhabitants are afraid of hurting them.

Those, who are anxious to know any further particulars respecting the Rajah, will find various interesting details in a little work published at the Serampore Press, and sold for eight annas, called *Raja Krishna Chandra Ray Charitra*. The author, Rajib Lochan, on account of the purity and polish of his Bengali style, is well entitled to be called the Addison of Bengal.

* Rammohan Ray professed to be a follower of Sankar Acharya. His acquaintance with Sanskrit contributed very much to polish his Bengali style. His writings, as well as those of his followers in the Brahma Sabha, have given a powerful impulse to the study of classical Bengali, and have imparted nerve and expressiveness to the language. To those, who wish to know what the expressiveness of the Bengali language means, we would recommend the perusal of the *Tatwabodhini Patrika*, a monthly publication in Bengali, which yields to scarcely any English publication in India, for the ability and originality of its articles.

of the twice born castes.* The Vernacular was consequently neglected by both, and even despised, while the saying was strictly acted on, that "ignorance is the mother of devotion." Hence a writer, well acquainted with native attainments, forty years ago, states:—

"If they can *write* at all, each character, to say nothing of orthography, is made in so irregular and indistinct a manner, that comparatively few of them can read what is written by another; and some of them can scarcely wade through what has been written by themselves, after any lapse of time. If they have learned to *read*, they can seldom read five words together, without stopping to make out the syllables, and often scarcely two, even when the hand-writing is legible. The case is precisely the same with their knowledge of *figures*."—*Friend of India*, vol. ii., p. 392.

In tracing back the progress of improvement during the last half century in Bengal, there is nothing more striking than the development and finish given to the language of the people during that period. It was contemned by the Pandits as a *Pra-krit* dialect, fit only for "demons and women," though "it arose from the tomb of the Sanskrit." And, even in the early days of Fort William College, it was so despised, that the attention of students could with difficulty be directed to its study, so that Dr. Carey could scarcely muster a class there. Yet it has burst through all these obstacles: and the era of Missionary enterprise has been also the era, when the rich resources of the

* We quote the following anecdotes as illustrative of the thralldom of the *pro-fanum vulgus*. "It came to our knowledge, that the dust from the feet of a thousand brahmans, and even of a lakh, has actually been collected, and drachms of it disposed of, from time to time, as a specific against various diseases. There is now living at Calcutta, a spice-seller, named Vishnu-sah, who believes that, by a pinch of the dust shaken from the feet of a lakh of brahmans, worn as a charm, he was cured of the leprosy; and this poor infatuated man comes into the street (at Chitpore) daily, both in the forenoon and afternoon, and stands and bows in the most reverential manner to every brahman, who passes by him. Should a brahman pass by without receiving this honor, he calls out to him, and says, "Oh! Sir, receive my salâm." He has now for years paid these honors to this tribe, firmly believing that he owes his deliverance from the most dreadful of diseases to the virtues imparted by them to the dust shaken from their feet. Amongst others, who have gathered and preserved the dust from the feet of a lakh of brahmans, are mentioned the names of Gunga Govinda-sing, and of Lala-babû, his grandson. The former, preserving this dust in a large sheet, as often as he was visited by brahmans, took them aside, and made them shake the dust from their feet upon this sheet for the good of mankind. Even the dust collected from the feet of single brahmans is given away in pinches, and is inclosed in gold, silver, and brass caskets, worn on the body, and carried about as a charm against diseases, evil spirits, &c. When a poor Hindu leaves his house to proceed on some difficult business, he rubs a little of this dust on his forehead; and, if it remain on his forehead till he arrive at the place, where the affair is to be adjusted, he feels certain of success. In addition to this mark of superstitious devotion to this tribe, we have heard that it is common, six days after the birth of a child, to rub the dust from the feet of the brahman guests upon the forehead, the breast, and other parts of the child's body, as a security against disease. The sudra is even taught to believe, that by eating constantly from the plantain leaves, which have been used at meals by brahmans, he shall lose the degradation of continuing a sudra, and in the next birth be infallibly born a brahman.—*Quarterly Friend of India*, vol. ii., pp. 69-70-71.

Bengali have been developed, in spite of the genius of Brahmanism, which excludes the masses from the temple of knowledge.* It is a singular contrast, that while Buddhism encourages the study of the Pali among its votaries, and Islam, the study of the Arabic—among the Hindus, the Sudra's sole prospect of acquiring knowledge lies in being born a Brahman in another birth.† “The separation of the soul from intellect, which the Hindu philosophers have for ages attempted to establish in theory, they practically accomplished in the case of the Sudra.” But as the press, in the hands of Voltaire, Condorçet, Rousseau, and the Encyclopedists, shook the fabric of despotism, both priestly and aristocratic, in France, so, it is destined to discharge a similar office in this country. Already the people are less dependent on the oral instruction of the Brahmans, who feel as strong an aversion, as Free Masons, to have their arcana disclosed to the vulgar gaze. An able writer in the *Quarterly Friend of India*, vol. iv., pp. 152, makes the following judicious remarks on this subject:—

“As the priesthood derived all their importance from the general ignorance of the people, it became their interest to neglect their language. A pandit, who twenty years ago, should have written the Bengalee language with accuracy, would have been treated with contempt. So far indeed did the literati carry their contempt for their own mother tongue, that, while they cultivated the learned language with the greatest assiduity, they, in many instances, prided themselves on writing the language of the people with inaccuracy. They even discouraged the use of it among the people, and set their face against its improvement. When Kirtibas, about sixty years ago, translated the Ramayana into Bengali, the literary conclave at the Court of Raja Krishna Chundra Raya, is said to have denounced it in the following rescript, copied from the Sangskrit. “As it is not the work of a Pandit, let it not be read.”‡ As the Bengali language is totally dependent on its parent for philological strength and beauty, and even for the principles of orthography, this system was fatal to every prospect of its improvement.”

The most ancient specimen of printing in Bengali, that we

* We are happy to state that, of late years, the Pandits have rendered their knowledge of Sanskrit eminently conducive to forming a standard of style and orthography for the Bengali. We have just received a work, translated by a Pandit of the Sanskrit College, Ishwar Chandra Sarma, from Chambers's Biography, containing the lives of Copernicus, Galileo, Newton, Herschell, Grotius, Linnæus, &c. This translation reflects the highest credit on the ability of the translator; and, we hope, that he will proceed with a series of works on the same plan.

† Young Bengal seems to retain a spice of this old leaven still. No Kulin frowns with deeper indignation at the notion of imparting knowledge to the people, than he does at communicating information through the *Vernacular*.

‡ Bidyûnath, who translated an indelicate work into the popular dialect, apologizes in the preface for the use of it, which he ascribes to the imperious necessity created by his pecuniary embarrassments. He is in fact so greatly ashamed of countenancing such an innovation, that he blushes to name his ancestry, whom he has hereby disgraced. He then proceeds to compare the Bengali language to the hideous notes of a crow, sounding amidst the melody of the kukil.

have, is Halhed's Grammar, printed at Hugly in 1778. Halhed was so remarkable for his proficiency in colloquial Bengali, that he has been known to disguise himself in a native dress, and to pass as a Bengali in assemblies of Hindus. The types for this Grammar were prepared by the hands of Sir C. Wilkins, who, by his perseverance amid many difficulties, deserves the title of the Caxton of Bengal. He instructed a native blacksmith, named Panchanan, in type cutting, and all the native knowledge of type cutting was derived from him. He was the editor of the *Bhagavat Gita* and of a Sanskrit Grammar, and was one of our first Sanskrit scholars.

One of the earliest works, printed in Bengali, was Carey's translation of the New Testament, published in 1801. Though written according to the English idiom, and in a Bengali style, that would be considered disreputable in the present day, yet it was a great work for its time, considering the few books in the language. He received considerable assistance in the translation from one Ram Basu, who had been recommended to him by Mr. W. Chambers. This man was the author of the life of Raja Pratapaditya, and was a good Persian scholar. To Carey the Bengali language is as much indebted, as the Urdu was to the untiring zeal of Gilchrist. He published a useful Grammar of the language: and his Dictionary, in three volumes quarto, containing 80,000 words, will long remain as a monument of his skill and industry in investigating the resources of the Bengali tongue. He had in fact to pioneer his own way; and Bengali then lay before him as shapeless as was Italian, when the plastic hand of Dante undertook the moulding it into form and beauty. The clumsy Bengali characters of this Testament present a marked contrast to the beauty of the existing Bengali typography.

The life of Raja Pratapaditya, "the last king of Sagur," published in 1801, at Serampur, was one of the first works written in Bengali prose. Its style, a kind of Mosaic, half Persian, half Bengali, indicates the pernicious influence which the Muhamadans had exercised over the Sanskrit-derived languages of India. Raja Pratapaditya lived in the reign of Akbar at Dhumghat near Kalna in the Sunderbunds: his city, now abandoned to the tiger and wild boar, was then the abode of luxury, and the scene of revelry. Like the Seer Mutakherim, this work throws some light on the phases of native society, and enables us to look behind the curtain. The following is a summary of the contents of this interesting work.

Ram Chandra was a Bengali Kayastha from the East of Bengal, who obtained employment in an office at Satgan, where he

had three sons, Bhabananda, Gunananda and Shibananda, who, in consequence of a quarrel, retired to Gaur, which was then flourishing under Suliman, where Shibananda obtained influence and employment. Daud, the son of Suliman, succeeded to the Musnud; but, puffed up by prosperity, he determined not to pay tribute any longer to Delhi. Ram Chandra's family saw the storm impending, and quitted Gaur for a retirement in Jessore, a place full of swamps, and wild beasts, which they soon reclaimed. After a few years they erected a city there. In the mean time Akbar sent an army of 200,000 men against Gaur under Raja Tarmahal; and Daud was defeated. Daud gave orders to remove the most valuable property in Gaur to Jessore; and fled, with his family, to the Rajmahal hills, while his two brothers assumed the garb of Vairagis. In the mean time, the Mussulman Generals, Tarmahal, and Amra Sing, entered Gaur, and plundered it of whatever was left. Daud's two brothers, induced by bribes, surrendered themselves, and gave information respecting the revenue papers that had been concealed; and one of them received as a recompense the Zemin-dary of Jessore.

Daud himself was betrayed by his Khansamah to Amra Sing, who cut his head off. Vikramaditya then obtained a firman to be Raja of Jessore, and went and settled there. He gave on his arrival a lac of rupees to the poor, and fed a lakh of Brahmans. Many Kayastas came and lived in the place, who obtained large grants of land, extending from Dhakka to Hlishar; and the Raja established a Samaj, unequalled in the country for the number of learned men attached to it, while Chaubaris and Patshalas were formed in the different villages, as well as inspectors to dispense charity every month to the poor. To this king a son was born, named Pratapaditya, who, as the astrologers predicted, would revolt against his father. He was instructed in the Persian and Sanskrit languages, music, wrestling, &c.; but the king, becoming jealous of Pratapaditya, sent him to Delhi, where he received a khelat from Akbar on account of his skill in poetry. After a residence of three years there, the Raja of Jessore not paying his tribute, Akbar ordered him to be deposed, and Pratapaditya was appointed by Akbar as his successor. Pratapaditya finding Jessore too small, selected a spot at Dhumghat, south-west of Jessore, where he built a city on a magnificent scale, and a palace, furnished with every convenience of luxury, several miles in extent; the gates were so high that an elephant and howda could enter without stooping. At his inauguration, the nobles from Rarhi, Gaur, and all parts of the country, were present. There

came also hundreds of palankins, filled with high caste females from Jessore, attended by their dancing girls. An elaborate account is given of the magnificence of the city, and the munificence of its founder. Undeterred by the fate of his father, he too rebelled against Akbar. A Mussulman army was sent against him, which came as far as Sulkea: and Rajah Pratapaditya, being warned by his tutelar goddess, that destruction was near, surrendered himself to the Mussulman general, and was put to death. The work concludes with an account of his descendants.

On the list of early benefactors to Vernacular literature may be enrolled the name of a man, little known to fame, but whose deeds are recorded in the memory of thousands—the late John Ellerton of Malda. Though following an occupation (Indigo Planting), which at that time led men too generally to regard the natives as little better than a herd of cattle, he was the first European, who established Bengali Schools: and, as the Schoolmaster requires the press as his artillery, he commenced a translation of the New Testament into Bengali, which he discontinued for a time, on learning that Dr. Carey contemplated the same. In 1816, however, his translation of the Gospels was printed at the expense of the Calcutta Bible Society. The Gospel of John had been previously printed, at the expense of the Countess of Loudon, for the use of a School, founded and endowed by her Ladyship at Barrackpore. In 1820, Ellerton's New Testament was published, and has been greatly valued for the simplicity of its style; though the Bengali language has since that period acquired such a finish and polish, that his version has been superseded by that of Dr. Yates. Mr. Ellerton has rendered valuable service by his publishing a work called *Guru Shishya*, or conversations between a disciple and scholar, which has been very useful both for its matter and style. The author attained a standard of proficiency in Bengali, which very few Europeans have reached—he thought in the Vernacular.

Among the Institutions, which, by their employment of the press, and by pecuniary encouragement, gave an impetus to Bengali Literature and to translations, we would give a prominent place to Fort William College, founded the 4th of May in 1800, by the Marquis of Wellesley, whose masterly minute on the subject* points out the importance of an oriental training for the servants of Government, and its reaction on the Vernaculars; for, as the noble Marquis remarks, “the

* Roebuck's Annals of the College of Fort William.

Sanskrit dialect being the source and root of the principal Vernacular dialects prevalent in the Peninsula, a knowledge of the Sanskrit must form the base of a correct and perfect knowledge of those Vernacular dialects." Hence patronage was afforded to several eminent Pandits, among whom appears the name of Mritunjay Vidyalkar.

In the work, called *Primitiæ Orientales*, we have the theses of the students, delivered in Persian, Arabic, Urdu, &c. at the public disputations. We give an extract from one, delivered by Mr. Hunter in 1803, in Bengali, on the subject of caste :—

“অম্ম শাস্ত্র যদি ভাষাতে তজ্জমা করে তবে সংস্কৃত শাস্ত্রের গৌরব হানি প্রযুক্ত তাহার অখ্যাতি হয় যেমন মহাভারতের তজ্জমা ভাষাতে কাশী দাস নামে এক শ্বশ্রু করিয়াছিল সেই দোষেতে ব্রাহ্মণেরা তাহাকে শাপ দিয়াছিল, সেই ভয়েতে অম্ম কেহ এখন সে কস্ম' করে না।

“হিন্দুলোকেরা যদি ও আপন শাস্ত্রের নিশ্চয়েতে থাকে তবে অম্ম দেশের বিজ্ঞা ও শবহার যদি ভালও হয় তবু তাহা গ্রহণ করিতে পারে না যদি অম্ম দেশের বিজ্ঞা ও শবহার দেখে কিছা স্থানে তথাপি কুছ করিয়া আদর করে না অতএব অম্ম লোকের শবহারেতে তাহারদের জ্ঞান লাভ হইতে পারিবে না।

“অম্ম দেশের গমন ও অম্ম দেশের শবহার দর্শন ও অন্য দেশের বিজ্ঞাভাসেতে লোকের বুদ্ধি বৃদ্ধি হয় হিন্দু লোকেরদের শাস্ত্রের মতে পশ্চিমে আটক নদী পার হইলে জাতি যায় উত্তরে ভোটাস্তর এবং স্লেচ্ছদেশে ও সেই মত এবং ব্রহ্মপুত্র পার হইলে পুৰ্ব্বদক্ষিণ নষ্ট হয়. দক্ষিণে সমুদ্র পথে জাহাজে থাকিয়া ভোজন পান করিলে জাতি জায়. হিন্দু শাস্ত্রের মতে গোখাদকের সংসর্গ করিলেও দোষ; হিন্দু ছাড়া যত লোক সকলেই গোমাংস খায় অতএব হিন্দুরা তাহারদের সহিত সহবাস করিতে পারে না এবং যেমত নির্জন উপদ্বীপে কোন ব্যক্তি একাকী থাকে সেই মত এই একসাড়িয়া রীতিতে তাহারদের বুদ্ধিপ্রতিভা জড়িত হইয়াছে এবং তাহারদের উদ্বেগ শিথিল হইয়া অবিনীততা ও স্তব্ধতা হইয়াছে; এই ইয়ুরোপীয়েরদের মধ্যে দক্ষ্য প্রভৃতি অধম লোক হইতে ও অধম; কেননা ইহারা স্বস্থান ত্যাগ করিয়া স্বক্রিয়ান্বিত হইলে তাহারদের অখ্যাতি পুনরায় হইতে পারে কিন্তু ইহারা কখন ভাল হইতে পারে না হিন্দুরা শাস্ত্র শবস্থা কিছা মান্য লোকেরা যাদৃচ্ছিক আশ্রয় লব্ধন করিলেই অপার দক্ষ্য সাগরে পড়ে” ॥

The following is a translation of this passage :—

“ Again, the Hindu, who translates any part of the Shastras, is considered as insulting the sacred Volumes, and is punished accordingly. It is well known, that a Sudra named Kasi Ram Das, translated the Mahabharat, and that the Brahmans immediately issued a curse against him and his family to all eternity. This has proved sufficient to deter any other from following his example.

Further, no Hindu can appropriate to his use the sciences and customs of another country ; since his Shastra not only prejudices his mind against any thing foreign, but absolutely shuts up from him that fund of improvement and knowledge, which might be obtained from travelling. It confines him on the West by the River of Attock ; on the North by Bhutan and the country of the Mlechas ; to the Eastward by the Brahmaputra, and to the South by the Great Ocean. It also forbids all intercourse with the eaters of beef ; though they are found in every other country in the world. And in this unsocial state, like a solitary being in a desert isle, his energies are cramped, his industry becomes relaxed, and apathy and indifference naturally succeed. More wretched than the most guilty criminals of European nations, who expiate their crime, and often retrieve their character, by a salutary absence for a given period from their mother country, the Hindu, who has committed no crime, but only transgressed the laws of regularity, or the injunctions of arbitrary power, must undergo an endless banishment, and be for ever tantalized by the sight of those, who were once his equals or inferiors.”

The Visitor of 1815, in remarking on the encouragement held out by the College to the study of the leading Oriental languages, observes, that, previously to the foundation of the College, “ the language of Bengal was generally neglected and unknown.” And even in its early days, as we have already observed, the Bengali language was so despised, that Dr. Carey could scarcely form a class ; however, in 1816, Lord Moira congratulated the College on an altered state of things ; attributing as one reason for the change the attention paid at Hertford to the Bengali. In fact, Persian and Urdu had been the languages studied, to the most unwarrantable neglect of the language of thirty millions of people ; and this neglect has hung as an incubus over our Mofussil Courts in Bengal ever since. The Civilians, from the tone given to their education, interlard all their documents and phraseology with Persian terms, to such a degree, that the language of the Courts is not now the language of the peasantry, but has become a jargon suited to the purposes of the Amlas, who wish to mystify every thing for their own advantage.

A list of Oriental Books, published under the patronage of Fort William College between 1800 and 1818, comprises, besides thirty-one in Urdu, twenty in Arabic, twenty-one in Persian, and twenty-four in Sanskrit, the following Bengali works—Carey’s *Bengali Grammar and Dictionary* ; *Pratāpāditya Charitra*, the last Raja of the Island of Sagar, by

Rámram Basu, 1801; *Rajah Krishna Chandra Ray Charitra*, by Rájib Lochan, 1801; *Rájávali*, by Mritanjay Vidyálinkar; *Hita-padasha*, by Goluk Natna, 1801; the same work, by Ramakishori Tarkalankar, 1808; *Batrish Singhásan*, by Mritanjaya Vidyálinkar, 1808; *Totá Itihás*, by Chandi Charan, 1805; *Purush Parikhá*, by Hara Prasad Ray, 1815; *Lipi Málá*, by Ramram Basu, 1802; *Bengali Dialogues*, 1801. In 1808, Mr. Serjeant, a student of the College, translated the first four books of the *Æneid* into Bengali: Mr. Monckton, another student, translated the *Tempest* of Shakespear. The First book of the *Mahabharat* was printed in 1802, and the *Ramayan* in 1801. Various works, such as Carey's Dictionary, &c. &c. were issued from the Serampore Press, which would never have seen the light, were it not for the liberal patronage afforded by the authorities of Fort William College; though, in consequence of the indefatigable exertions of Dr. Gilchrist, Urdu works obtained an undue share of patronage.

In 1811 the Calcutta Bible Society originated. This Society, by the stimulus it gave to the cause of vernacular translation and verbal criticism, elicited at an early period the well-merited eulogium of the Asiatic Society of Paris. It issued from its Calcutta Depository (between 1811 and 1849,) 602,266 copies of *Vernacular Scriptures*, in whole or in part; of which about one-fourth were in the Bengali language. Whoever compares Ellerton's and Carey's Bengali New Testament, published and circulated by this Society, with the finished and elegant composition of Yates, will see the important influence of Bible Criticism on a language generally: while the ideas of the Bible elevate the notions of the readers, the languages of it accustoms them to the disuse of a vulgar *patois*. What Wicliffe has done for the English language, and Luther for the German, in point of craning up their respective tongues to a certain status, the patronage of the Bible Society has done for Bengali. In Campbell's Preliminary Dissertations, and Henry Martyn's Journals, we see the philological qualifications required in a good translator, involving the highest critical powers on intricate questions relative to the standard of style; to interpretation; to the transferring or translating technical terms; the spelling of proper names, &c. All the resources of a language, grammatical and lexicographical, are called out, in order to express ideas so foreign to the Bengali mind, as those of the Jews: the language itself is elevated along with the new ideas it has to express; new words have to be coined, and thus a larger infusion of Sanskrit terms takes place. It was thus, that Luther by his

version of the Bible raised a provincial dialect to be the language of Germany. Typography has of late been improved; and prices also have been very much cheapened: a Bengali Bible cost in 1811, 24 rupees; in 1849, only six.

With a Vernacular Education, such as is represented in Adam's Reports, we could expect little from a Vernacular Press; to use the language of Douglas of Cavers, "without education, printing can effect nothing; the former is to the latter, what the female deities of India (Shaktis) were to the Gods with whom they were mated; the recipients of their power, and the medium by which their energy flowed into operation." The following ratio, deduced from Adam's Reports, shews the proportion, which the various classes of readers in Bengal bear to one another:—

"The proportion of Musalman to Hindu youths under instruction is as 1 to about $10\frac{1}{2}$. Of the educated (i. e. *reading*) adult population, the proportion of Musalmans to Hindus is about 1 to $7\frac{1}{2}$. Taking the mean of these two data, we find that, in Bengal generally, there are to every educated Musalman about 9 educated Hindus.*

The proportion of readers of the Persian character to readers of the Bengali is about 1 to $12\frac{1}{2}$, or $12\frac{1}{2}$ †

The proportion of Musalman readers of Persian to Hindu readers of Bengali is as 1 to 19, or $19\frac{1}{2}$.

The proportion of Musalman readers of Bengali to Hindu readers of Bengali is as 1 to $23\frac{1}{2}$, or 24.

The proportion of Musalman readers of Persian to Hindu readers of Persian is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

The proportion of Musalman readers of Persian to Musalman readers of Bengali is as $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.

The proportion of Hindu readers of Persian to Hindu readers of Bengali is as 1 to about $31\frac{1}{2}$, or $32\frac{1}{2}$."

The dawn of improvement in this respect dates from 1814, when Mr. May had flourishing Schools around Chinsura, for the support of which the Marquis of Hastings allowed 600 Rs. monthly—the *first* grant made by Government in Bengal

* The Report does not afford data for estimating the entire proportion of these two great classes of the community to each other throughout Bengal. In page 105, Mr. A. gives the following table:

In the city of Murshedabad there are 100 Hindus....	to 48.4	Musalman.
In thaná Daulat bázár (Murshedabad Zillá).....	to 86.8	ditto
In thaná Nángliá (Bírbhúm Zillá).....	to 20.5	ditto
In thaná Culiná (Burdwan Zillá).....	to 23.9	ditto

"These proportions," however, he adds, "must be considered as strictly limited to the localities mentioned—because the proportions differ, not only in different districts, but in different thanás of the same district."

† This latter estimate is on the supposition that the *Hindu* readers of Persian are also acquainted with Bengali; which is very likely, as it is their own vernacular.

for the promotion of Vernacular education. In 1816, the Serampore Institution for Native Schools was formed.

The Press and the School both stood in need of each other :—

“ Most disastrous would it be, if the schemes of education now on foot should serve only to create readers for idolatrous publications, from a lack of more useful works ; yet this is likely to be the case, if we permit year after year to elapse without multiplying treatises, which may serve to fill the vacant hours of students after the season of elementary instruction is closed. We owe it therefore to the consistency of our character ; we owe it to our superior civilization, and to the plans of improvement, which have been commenced under British influence, not to suffer minds, which have been partly enlightened at school, to relapse into the grossness of superstition. * * * * * In four years more, perhaps thirty thousand additional volumes will be thrown into circulation, and unless their influence be corrected by books of a higher description, the thousands of youth, to whom the numerous schools are now imparting the faculty of reading, will have gained little by our efforts, and must grow up with an increasing attachment to idolatry.”

The Calcutta School Book Society, which has contributed so much to infuse a healthy tone into native literature, was established in 1817,* chiefly by the Marchioness of Hastings;† who herself prepared and sent to press several elementary works, at a period when it is stated that “ the country itself could not supply a single native child’s book, although schools in almost every considerable village had existed for ages.” This is too sweeping a remark ; as we have now before us a list of sixty-five indigenous works, which had issued from the native presses previous to 1819 : half of these are on mythological and amatory subjects, but the other half contain matter for more useful reading. Works of fiction are of benefit to Society in a certain stage ; indeed, one of the greatest Orientalists of the time, the late Dr. A. Clarke, acknowledges how much he was indebted to the reading of “ the Arabian Nights.”

Among the early contributors to the book list of the Society was Captain Stewart, the founder of the Burdwan Church Mission. He compiled *Elementary Bengali Tables*, the *Upadesh Kathá*, and contributed very much, by his example and influence, to raise the standard of Vernacular education in the Burdwan district, by the introduction of such subjects as Natural History and Geography into the Schools.

* The year 1817 was a memorable year: while, on the one hand, this Society then came into existence ; on the other hand, the Hindus, in order to avert the pestilence of Cholera, which broke out for the first time that year, added *Ula Bibi*, or the goddess of Cholera, to the catalogue of their Divinities.

† The Marquis of Hastings gave a donation of 1,000 Rs. and subscription of 500 Rs. to the Institution ; and patronised it in other ways also.

Mr. May, the active superintendent of Vernacular Schools at Chinsura, wrote Arithmetical Tables for the Society. He laboured enthusiastically in the cause of popular education in the villages on the banks of the Hugly ; and very probably the desire for studying English, which is now so strong there, received its first stimulus from his labours. Mr. Pearson, also of Chinsura, compiled for the Society a collection of easy Bengali Lessons, and the *Bakya Bali*: the latter work has been one of very great utility to those anxious to acquire the colloquial idioms of Bengal.

The name of Ram Komul Sen stands foremost, as one of the early co-operators with the School Book Society, and as a warm friend to Vernacular Translation. His Dictionary—the result of 20 years labour—will long remain as a monument of his diligence and critical acumen, and entitles him to the epithet of the Johnson of Bengal. He commenced his studies, at a period when “the Tales of a Parrot,” and the Arabian Nights, were the chief class books in schools. He began his career, as compositor, on a salary of eight rupees a month, in the Hindustani Press of Dr. Hunter. At the close of life he was in the receipt of 1500 Rs. a month, as Dewan of the Bank of Bengal,* and bequeathed ten lakhs to his family. Brougham like, he was a most zealous friend to the diffusion of useful knowledge. He planned the Sanskrit College, and the Patshalá; and, with the view to diffuse medical knowledge through the Vernacular, he composed, and published at his own expense, the *Ausadabali*. Rajah Radhakant Deb also compiled a Spelling Book, part of the *Niti Katha*, and a treatise on Female Education. In common with several other leading natives, he was a warm friend to the institution. Out of 200 subscribers in 1818, no less than eighty were Babus: but, a few years subsequently, there was a great falling off in this respect.

Previously to 1821, the following works in Bengali had been printed by this Society :—

- “ Stewart’s Elementary Tables, 10 Nos. in sets, 3,850 copies.
- Pearson’s ditto, or Introductory Lessons, (cards,) 3,000 ditto.
- Keith’s Bengali Grammar, (by Question and Answer), 500 ditto.
- Pathsalár Bibaran, or Pearson’s School-master’s Manual, 500 ditto.
- Bengali Vocabulary, of Ram Chandra Sarma, (Abhidhan,) 4,400 ditto.
- Pearson’s Familiar Letters, (Patrikaumádya,) 1,000 ditto.
- Arithmetic, Native model, (May’s Ganita,) 2,000 ditto.
- Harle’s Arithmetic, (mixed model,) 1,000 ditto.
- Nitikatha, or Moral Tales, Part I., 7,000 ditto.

* The Babus of Calcutta are generally *parvenus*, and have, for the most part, risen from humble circumstances. One of our *millionaires* began life on a salary of 10 rupees monthly; and the father of another on 5!

Nitikatha ditto, Part II. (Pearson's Reading Lessons,) 4,000 ditto.
 Nitikatha ditto, Part III. (Ram Comul Sen's ditto,) 5,000 ditto.
 Tarachund Dutt's Pleasing Tales, (Manaranjan Itihas,) 2,000 ditto.
 Stewart's Tales of History, (Apodes-katha, &c.,) 2,000 ditto.
 History of England, (Goldsmith's) by F. Carey, 500 ditto.
 Pearce's Geography, in Nos. (1 to 5 printed—6th in press,) long form,
 10,000 ditto.
 Account of the Lion, &c. (Singher Bibaran,) 2,000 ditto."

It has taken the lead in being *the* society for diffusing useful knowledge among the Bengali speaking population. To appreciate the value of its labours, it is only necessary to examine Adam's Reports on Vernacular Education, or to look into the class of books, which have been used by Hindus, either as translations from the Shastras, or adapted for the occupiers of a bazar.

In 1818, the *Digdarshan* in Bengali was commenced at Serampore. Its plan was similar to that of the Penny and Saturday Magazines of late days. It embraced subjects of the following kind ; the discovery of America ; the Load Stone and Compass ; Columbus ; the Commerce and Productions of India ; Ancient History ; Sketches ; Steam ; Notices of England ; Metals ; Natural History, &c. It was continued for 3 years ; and has proved a very useful work, calculated to open and expand the minds of young Hindus. We have at present no work of a similar class.

When we contrast the improvement in euphony and expressiveness, that has taken place in the Bengali language within the last thirty years, though it has had no Dante to raise it at once to its full powers—we must ascribe much of this progress to the Periodical Press, which has afforded such scope to young writers. Compare the *Pratāpaditya Charitra* of 1802, and its semi-Persian style, with the exquisite beauty and elegance of the *Betāl Panchabingsati*, published by a Pandit of Fort William College, and one would scarcely suppose that it is the same language : or contrast the Grammars of Halhed and Yates, and a similar observation can be made. In the days of Halhed, people "scarcely believed that Bengal ever possessed a native and peculiar dialect of its own, distinct from that idiom, which, under the name of *Moors*, has been supposed to prevail over India." And to the perpetuation of this error the influence and untiring advocacy of the Urdu language by Gilchrist greatly contributed. He published his Urdu Dictionary in Calcutta in 1787 ; and, by editing a series of useful works, he gave the impression that the Bengali was a mere patois, and that the Urdu was to be the only medium of literary and social intercourse between natives and Europeans.

The present may be characterised as the age of "the Press,"

as contrasted with former days, when in Bengal, as well as in Europe, knowledge was doled out to a few through the costly channel of MSS.: and so scarce had even these become in this country, that of the *Rajtarangini*, which enshrines so much historical information concerning the early settlement of the Brahmans in *Ariavarta*, only two copies escaped destruction. The days of Vikrámaditya and of Raja Krishna Ray—though called an Augustan age,—were, like the oasis of the desert, or the time of Louis Quatorze, surrounded by blackness and desolation as far as the masses were concerned. We look therefore to the Vernacular Press as a grand means for working on the *masses* in this country, and quite concur in the following sentiments of Douglas in his *Advancement of Society* :—

“ Newspapers communicate to a whole country the advantage, which was formerly peculiar to a city ; and spread the same impulse from province to province with as much rapidity, and more precision, than it could formerly have been circulated from one quarter of a large town to another. But the power of Newspapers consists, not only in the rapidity of the transmission, but in the reiteration of their statements. Burke, thirty years ago, had the sagacity to perceive, that they, who can gain the public ear from day to day, must, in the end, become the masters of public opinion : and the rapid increase of the numbers, and of the influence, of Newspapers more than justifies his prediction. It was no bad observation of Fletcher of Salton, that, whoever made the laws of a nation he cared not, provided he had the making of their ballads. But now that nations are less addicted to ballad-singing, and more to the reading of Newspapers, the high office of moulding institutions, and amending manners, is devolving upon the editors of daily or weekly journals.”

When we consider that the Vernacular Press continues the instruction of the School ; that it is, in fact, an adult School-master ; that even in the poorest of the Bengali Newspapers there is a considerable amount of geographical, political, and historical information imparted, which must form an intellectual link between Hindustan and the land of the Mlechhas ; and that the editorials, though very feeble, yet, by the process of perpetual reiteration, are producing a strong and deep impression on the native mind, and are moulding the opinions of thousands of intelligent and influential Hindus ;—we cannot consider it an uninteresting subject to trace the rise and progress of this new power, which seems destined hereafter to play an important part on the stage of Indian Society. It presents no stirring events, such as the cases of Buckingham and Arnott, who, in defence of what they considered the freedom of the Press, braved the strong arm of Government. The Editorials of the Native Papers are never noticed by the authorities ; yet they work their own way quietly and gently, forming a public opinion among na-

tives, but : we must say this there has been far less of personality, railing against Government, scandal, and scurrilous remark in the Native Press of Calcutta, than there has been in the Calcutta English Journals.

We believe the Native Newspaper Press is destined to have a mighty influence hereafter in this country, and that the language of Bulwer will be applicable to it; "The Newspaper is the chronicle of civilisation—the common reservoir into which every stream pours its living waters, and at which every man may come to drink. The Newspaper informs legislation of public opinion, and it informs the people of the acts of legislation. The Newspaper is the familiar bond that binds together man and man—no matter what may be the distance of climate, or the difference of race. The Newspaper is a law-book for the indolent, a sermon for the thoughtless, and a library for the poor. It may stimulate the most indifferent: it may instruct the most profound."

The first Bengali Newspaper, that broke in on the slumber of ages, and roused the natives from the torpor of selfishness, was the *Darpan* of Serampore, which began its career on the 23rd of May, 1818.* The Marquis of Hastings, instead of yielding to the imaginary fears of the enemies to a free Press, or continuing the previous policy of Government by withholding political knowledge from the people, gave every aid to the *Darpan*.† On the publication of the first number, he wrote a letter with his own hand to the Editor, expressing his entire approval of the paper; a considerable number was subscribed for, and sent, at the public expense, to different native courts; and the Editor was encouraged to publish a Persian Edition to circulate for one-fourth of the postage charged to English papers. The Marquis avowed in public, that "it is salutary for the Supreme authority to look to the control of public scrutiny."

The plan of the *Darpan* embraced news (both Indian and English) likely to be interesting to natives, as well as local descriptions. The Bengali style was simple. When we consider the

* The year 1818 was remarkable in various respects. The School Society was formed, which introduced a new class of Vernacular books into its Schools; and Serampore College was founded. As long as it continued in operation, it gave a considerable stimulus to the study of Bengali, by making it the medium for conveying information on various subjects.

† Under the regime of the Marquis, the first impulse was given to the Vernacular Newspaper Press. He himself afforded every encouragement to native education, as he was not one of those who thought the safety of British India depended on keeping the natives immersed in ignorance. He was a man that did not shrink in 1816, when addressing the students of Fort William College, from avowing the noble sentiment, "It is humane, it is generous to protect the feeble: it is meritorious to redress the injured: but it is a godlike bounty to bestow expansion of intellect, to infuse the Promethean spark into the statue, and waken it into a man."

amount of historical, political, and geographical information, that this, along with other Bengali papers, poured in on the Hindu mind, which previously seldom extended its range of inquiry beyond the affairs of the neighbouring Pergunnah, or at furthest beyond the land bounded by the Indus, and “within the antelope’s range,” we must assign a very prominent position to the native Newspapers, and to the *Darpan* in particular, in having roused the adult mind from its long continued state of apathy. We have perused the *Darpan* with much pleasure, and quite concur in the following eulogium passed on it: “through means of its correspondence, it elicited a great deal of valuable information regarding the state of the country in the interior. An aggrieved man felt half his burden removed, when he had sent a statement of the oppressions he lay under to the *Darpan*, and thus brought them to the knowledge of the public. The native officers of Government felt it as a check on their misconduct, and dreaded its exposures. It was also the only channel of information to the natives in the interior, and has in its day done some service to Government, by counteracting unfavorable rumours, and strengthening the principle of loyalty.” Religious controversies were avoided.

In the early volumes we have various topographical notices as a specimen, we insert the following account of Sagar island. We give the original, in hopes that some of our antiquarian friends may be able to throw light on this difficult but interesting subject:—

“গঙ্গাসাগর উপদ্বীপ ।

পূর্বে সমাচার দর্পণে লিখাগিয়াছে যে গঙ্গাসাগর উপদ্বীপে লোক বসতি ছিল এমত অসম্ভব হয় । এইক্ষণে পদ্ম পুরাণের অন্তর্গত ক্রিয়াযোগসারে দেখা গেল যে গঙ্গাসাগরে চন্দ্রবংশীয় অশ্বথ নামে রাজা রাজধানী করিয়াছিলেন । তাহাতে দিঘন্তী নামে নগরের গুণাকর রাজার কন্যা আলোচনা দায়প্রসূ হইয়া ঐ রাজার আশ্রয়ে পুরুষ বেশে কাল ক্ষেপণ করিয়াছিল । পরে তালধ্বজ নগরের রাজা বিক্রমের পুত্র মাধব পূর্ব স্বত্র ক্রমে সেই স্থানে আসিয়া আলোচনাকে বিবাহ করিয় এবং চন্দ্রবংশীয় অশ্বথ রাজার এক কন্যাকে বিবাহ করিয়া ঐ রাজ্যের অর্দ্ধ প্রাপ্ত হইয়া ঐ গঙ্গাসাগরে রাজধানী করিলেন ও অনেক কালপর্যন্ত বসতি করিয়া পরে পুত্রাদি রাখিয়া মরিলেন” ॥

The meaning is to the following effect; that Ganga Sagar was formerly inhabited; that the Padma Purana mentions that Sushen, a King of the Lunar race, erected his metropolis on it;

and that Sulochona, the daughter of the king of Dibyanti, being oppressed with misfortune, disguised herself as a man, and went there; where she afterwards married the son of the king of Táladjya, who also made it his residence.

Ram Mohun Roy commenced in 1821, a Bengali Periodical, the BRAHMANICAL MAGAZINE. "Its career was rapid, fiery, meteoric. And both from want of solid substance, and through excess of inflammation, it soon exploded, and disappeared." It was mainly an attack on Missionaries; thus p. 10 it states—"that it is ungenerous to do, as Genghis Khan and the Arracanese did—abuse the religion of the conquered. In consideration of the small huts in which Brahmans of learning generally reside, and the simple food such as vegetables, &c. which they are accustomed to eat, and the poverty which obliges them to live upon charity, the missionary Gentleman may not, I hope, abstain from controversy through contempt of them; for truth and true religion do not always belong to wealth and power, to high names, or lofty palaces." He endeavours to argue for human responsibility on the following grounds. "As the reflections of the sun, though without light proper to themselves, appear splendid from their connexion with the illuminating sun, so the soul, though not true intellect, seems intellectual, and acts as if it were real spirit, from its actual relation to the universal intellect: and, as from the particular relations of the sun to the water placed in different pots, various reflections appear, resembling the same sun in nature, and differing from it in qualities; and again, as these cease to appear on the removal of the water, so, through the peculiar relation of various material objects to one supreme spirit, numerous souls appear, and seem as performing good and evil works, and also receiving their consequences; and, as soon as that relation ceases, they at that very minute cease to appear distinctly from their original. Hence God is one; and the soul, although it is not in fact of a different origin from God, yet is liable to experience the consequences of good and evil works; but this liability of the soul to reward or punishment cannot render God liable to either." He next proceeds to argue, that though God created the world by *máyá*, as the wind raises the bubbles on the water, yet that God is not subject to *máyá*: for "though God pardons the sins of those that sincerely repent through his attribute of mercy, this cannot be taken as an admission of the Deity's subjection to his own mercy. The followers of the Vedant say that *Máyá* is opposed to knowledge; for when a true knowledge of God is obtained, the effect of *Máyá*, which makes

‘ the soul appear distinct from God, does immediately cease.” He then reasons that the Hindu incarnations are as little opposed to our notion of God, as the Christian incarnation; and that “if we admit that the worship of spirit possessed of a material body (i. e. of Jesus Christ) is worship in spirit, we must not any longer impute idolatry to any religious sect.”

The lamentable defects of the Native Vernacular Schools excited the attention of various friends of education, and gave rise to the Calcutta School Society. The following remarks of one, who well knew the state of the country, will shew the need for such a Society; he observes respecting the Hindus :—

“ If they can *write* at all, each character, to say nothing of orthography, is made in so irregular and indistinct a manner, that comparatively few of them can read what is written by another, and some of them can scarcely wade through what has been written by themselves, after any lapse of time. If they have learned to *read*, they can seldom read five words together, without stopping to make out the syllables, and often scarcely two, even when the hand-writing is legible. The case is precisely the same with their knowledge of *figures*.”

The first Annual Meeting of the Calcutta School Society was held in 1820; the report was read both in English and Persian. At that period the total number of indigenous schools in Calcutta amounted to 188, containing 4,146 children; the subscriptions and donations reached 15,910 Rs. The Society continued in operation for several years.

The *Friend of India* gives the following list of works that were printed previously to 1821 :—

“ *Ganga-bhakti-tarangini*, History of the descent of Gunga.

Jaya deva, History of Krishna.

Annada-mangal, Exploits of several of the gods.

Rasa manjari, Description of the three kinds of men and women in the world.

Rati-manjari, On the same subject.

Karana nidan bilas, Account of a new god recently created by an opulent native.

Vihva mangal, Exploits of Krishna.

Daya bhag, A treatise on law.

Jyotish, An astronomical treatise.

Chanakhya, A work containing instructions for youth.

Sabda-sinda, A Dictionary.

Abhidhan, ditto.

———A treatise on the materia medica of India.

Rag-mala, A treatise on music.

Batrish-singhasan, The thirty-two-imagined throne.

Betal Pachisi, Account of Raja Vikramaditya.

Vidya-ninda, A treatise ridiculing physicians.

Bhagavat gita, A translation in Bengali of the work formerly translated into English by Wilkins.

Mahimani-stava, The praises of Shiva.

Ganga-stava, The praises of Gunga.

Shuchi charitra, The duties of men.

Santi satuk, On contempt of the world.

Shringar-tilak, A treatise on women.

Usuha-panchali, A treatise on the days termed impure by the Smṛiti.

Adi ras, A treatise on women.

Chandi, The praises of Durga, &c.

Chattanya-charitamrita, Account of Chaitanya."—*Quarterly Friend of India*, vol. 1, p. 124.

He makes the following observations on the subject :—

"If we admit that 400 copies have been printed of each of these works, including the second and third editions of some (and this will be considerably within the mark), we shall have *Sixteen Thousand volumes printed and sold among the natives within the last ten years*—a phenomenon, to which the country has been a stranger since the formation of the first, the incommunicable, letters of the Vedas. Many of these works have been accompanied with plates, which add an amazing value to them in the opinion of the majority of native readers and purchasers. Both the design and execution of the plates have been exclusively the effort of native genius; and had they been printed on less perishable materials than Patna paper, the future Wests, and Laurences, and Wilkies of India, might feel some pride in comparing their productions with the rude delineations of their barbaric forefathers. The figures are still and uncouth, without the slightest expression of mind in the countenance, or the least approach to symmetry of form. They are in general intended to represent some powerful action of the story; and happy is it for the reader that this action of the hero or heroine is mentioned at the foot of the plate: for without it the design would be unintelligible. The plates cost in general a goldmohur, designing, engraving, and all; for in the infancy of this art, as of many others, one man is obliged to act many parts. Thus Mr. Hari Har Banerjya, who lives at Jorasanka, performs all the requisite offices, from the original outline, to the full completion; but though he, with true eastern modesty, styles himself, in one corner of his plates, the best engraver in Calcutta, we doubt his ability, when left to his own resources."—*Quarterly Friend of India*, vol. 1, pp. 125-6.

These books serve as an index to the popular taste, and, as such, though composed chiefly of tales, they are not to be despised; as straws they pointed out the course of the current: nor must we forget that, even in England itself, the press in its early days multiplied principally copies of the old Romances.

"The taste for works of this description," continues the editor, "was then in its maturity, and successive editions were printed, till a superior taste, produced by the operation of that very press, transferred them from the libraries of the people to the shelves of the antiquary. We may fairly expect a similar regeneration in India; more especially when we consider the approximation of that great body of scientific and philosophical knowledge possessed by the European community, and their anxiety to bring it fully to bear on the natives.



"The very increase of mythological tales has a tendency to stifle the avidity for them. Being now placed within reach of the great body of the people, they lose much of that veneration, with which they were invested by their being scarce; and, though the flame may for a time burn with

increasing ardour, this very circumstance naturally leads to its final extinction. Printed works will gradually constitute a powerful source of influence ; works of real utility will be brought into the lists to combat with those of vain amusement,—and the issue cannot be doubtful. Even in the infancy of the Indian press, it has not been exclusively occupied with works of trifling value ; two dictionaries of the Bengali language, a treatise on the law of inheritance, another on the materia medica of Bengal, one on music, two or three almanacks, and a treatise in Sanskrit on astronomy, which have all issued from the press within the last ten years, are indications of improvement not to be despised, if we consider the darkness and ignorance of the community, among whom they have found patrons."

These works are all *sold*; and the observations on this point we commend to the notice of the friends of Bible and Tract Societies in this country :—

"One work of real utility, purchased by the natives, will produce a greater change than five distributed gratis. What a native purchases, he wishes to read ; and thus his very avarice is turned to the account of general improvement. A work, obtained without any pecuniary sacrifice, he is disposed to underrate and neglect ; but such is the reluctance with which he parts with his money, that he is anxious to draw an equivalent value from every book it procures him."

In 1823 a book was published in Calcutta, called the *Prán Toshana*, being a compilation of the precepts and doctrines of the Tantras, selected from eighty-four works, by Pran Bishwas of Kharda. We give our readers the following extracts in order to shew what the nature of the Tantra Doctrines is :

"The vowel , is an astonishing letter. It is bright as the shell of Vishnu ; it is full of the three gods, and of the five souls ; it is in fact Bhagavati herself. Of the letter , the stroke on the left is Brahma ; the lower stroke is Vishnu ; the perpendicular line Shiva ; the horizontal, Saraswati ; the curve is Bhagavati. The space in the centre is Shiva. The color of the left stroke is red, like the Juba flower ; the right is the color of the moon in the month Ashwiní ; the lower stroke, the color of the great Múni Mahamurkut ; the horizontal line is white, like the pubescent jasmine flower ; the curve, resembling the hook used in guiding the elephant, is like ten millions of flashes of lightning ; the vacant space is brilliant as ten millions of moons. It bestows liberation ; it produces wealth and holiness ; it is the root of all letters ; it is the feminine energy of nature, and the mother of all gods. In the upper angle resides the wife of Brahma ; in the middle angle Vishnu's wife, Jaistha ; in the lower, Shiva's wife, Rudri. It is the soul of all knowledge ; the soul of the four castes ; the origin of Brahma's power to desire, of Vishnu's power to know, and of the active energy of Shiva ; therefore it is to be perpetually praised. * * * * *

"Write not letters on the earth, or the muntras in books ; never leave a volume open, nor receive one open from another person. He whose books or letters happen to be on the ground at the time of an earthquake, or of an eclipse, becomes ignorant through every future transmigration. He who writes with a bamboo pen, will undoubtedly suffer. He who uses a copper pen, will enjoy undecaying splendor ; a golden pen procures prosperity ; a Brahman nul, ensures wisdom and knowledge ; a wooden

pen, ornamented with figures, bestows children, grand children, and wealth. He, who writes with a brass pen, obtains immortal prosperity; but the use of a kasa* pen, occasions death. The pen must be either eight or ten fingers in length; he, who uses one only four fingers long, loses as many days of his life as he writes letters. A manuscript, written according to the directions of the Shastras, will secure knowledge. It must be in length either one hand (equivalent to a cubit), or one hand deducting the fingers, or a whole arm; and either twelve or eight fingers in breadth, but never less. * * * *

"He who studies a volume of the Veda, which he himself has copied, commits a sin equal to the murder of Bramha; and he, who having copied a work himself, deposits it in his library, or keeps it at home, his dwelling will be struck with lightning."



His analysis of the name of Guru equals in absurd refinement any thing penned by the Jewish Cabalists:—

"Of this word, the *g* is the cause of fruition; the *r* destroys sin; the *u* is Shiva himself; the whole word *guru* is the eternal Brahma, excellent and inexplicable. He, whose lips pronounce the sound "guru," with what sin is he chargeable? The articulation of *g* annihilates the sin even of killing a brahman; the sins of birth are removed by pronouncing *u*; of ten millions of birth by the pronunciation of *ru*. Parasarama murdered his mother, and Indra destroyed a brahman; yet they both obtained absolution by pronouncing the word *Guru*.

And yet, as a writer in the *Friend of India* remarks respecting this Guru:—

"This religious guide, invested with so awful a responsibility, on whom the Tantra shastras have devolved the task of piloting men through the sea of this world, and conducting their steps to final bliss, the only teacher of men, is allowed five kinds of wives. He is permitted to seize a female in open day, and detain her at his house; he is allowed a plurality of prostitutes, and even to revel in a brothel, without the least diminution of his spiritual authority; and to complete this system of morals and virtue, which Shiva sent down to the holy sages by his son Ganesh, for the benefit of the human race, the woman, whom the spiritual guide has debauched, or the prostitute, whom he retains, is to receive from the disciples that adoration and worship, which is due to God alone."

He directs that the letters of the Alphabet should be worshipped:—

"The first vowel , is to be adored as a female divinity, of the color of the Ketuki flower, with two hands, the one elevated, as though with the intention of dispelling fear, the other stretched out as in the act of bestowing a blessing, adorned with a necklace of pudma flowers, and clothed in white garments made of hemp, with a serpent for a pita. The letter , is to be worshipped, under the form of a woman of the colour of blood, with four hands, three eyes, her bosom swelling like the bud of the kudumba flower, and her person ornamented with precious stones."

He further directs that the cat should be adored, and also the jackal:—

"On the day of the new moon, let the disciple catch a jackal, and strike him dead with one blow; then seat himself on the carcase, and continue

in divine meditation, repeating the holy text, appropriated to the jackal, till he return to life, and the goddess, who was the object of worship, manifest herself in bodily shape. He may then ask and receive whatever he desires, even a beautiful wife; and hear of past, present, and future events, and above all, understand the meaning of every howl of the jackal."

In contrast to this mass of literary rubbish, in the same year 1823, a Society, which exercised a beneficial influence on Native Literature, and which will ere long, we trust, provide a Christian Vernacular Literature for Bengal—the Calcutta Tract Society—came into existence. In 1823, it had published the following tracts in Bengali:—

"Memoir of Phutick Chand.
Mental Reflection, and Enquiry after Salvation.
Christ's Sermon on the Mount.
Harmony of the Four Gospels, Part III.
_____ Part IV.
_____ Part V.
_____ Part VI.
Life of William Kelly.
Dialogue between a Durwan and Mali.
History of Christ, the Saviour of the World.
Dialogue between Ramhari and Shaddha.
On the Nature of God.
Dialogue between a Scotchman and a Native Gentleman.
Extracts from the Gospel Magazine, No I.
_____ No II.
Reward Book for Schools.
Scripture Extracts—Parables.
The Picture Room.
Catechism, First.
_____ Second.
Watts's First Catechism."

But, in the same year, the cause of Bengali translations sustained a severe loss in the death of Felix Carey, who was one of the best Bengali scholars of the day, and edited the following works:—

Vidyahara Vali, in Bengalee, a work on Anatomy, being the first volume of a Bengali Encyclopædia, in octavo, with plates. A large Bengali Dictionary in the press, edited by Mr. Carey and Sri Ram Komul Sen. A work on Law, in Bengali, not finished. Translation into Bengali of an Abridgement of Goldsmith's History of England, printed at the Serampore press for the School Book Society. The Pilgrim's Progress, translated into the Bengali, and printed at Serampore. Translation into the Bengali of a Chemical Work, by Rev. John Mack, for the students of Serampore College. Translation into Bengali of an Abridgement of Mill's History of British India, for the School Book Society.

We give the following statistics of the number of tracts and other publications, printed and published by the Calcutta

Tract Society, between 1823 and 1835,* in the Bengali, Urdu, Hindui, and Uriya languages:—

"It extends from 1823, when the first Tracts were printed, to June 1835, the date of the last Report; and, including second or third editions of the same publications, gives a total of *A Hundred and Thirty-one* publications, containing *Four Thousand Eight Hundred and Eighty-two* pages, and printed in editions, which give an aggregate of *Four Hundred and Eighty-four Thousand Three Hundred and Fifty* Tracts, and *Eleven Millions, Five Hundred and One Thousand Four Hundred* pages of letter-press, in the following proportions:—

	Tracts.	Pages.	Copies.	Pages.
In Bengali,	78	3,222	331,700	7,593,500
„ Hindustani,	30	1,003	100,000	3,043,000
„ Hindi,	10	265	42,150	591,300
„ Uriya,	2	92	5,500	154,000
Total,	120	4,532	579,350	11,381,800"

ALMANACS form a class of works, that were compiled at an early period in Bengali. The Almanac, issued from the Court of Raja Kristna Ray of Nadiya, was the one held in highest repute; next to that, the Bali one. There were Almanacs published also at Gunpur, Khanakul-Krishnaghur, Digsui, Bikrampur, Bakla, Chandra dwip, Berhampur and Bagri. Previous to 1820, those Almanacs were in manuscript, and were copied and sold by the Daivagya Brahmans, for two annas each: but they have been superseded by the printed Almanacs, though the latter often sell for one rupee a number. These Daivagya Brahmans are a kind of itinerant astrologers, who vend their knowledge of futurity, as the bards of old derived a profit from

* For the following account of the Press between 1820 and 1835, we are indebted to certain data in the *Quarterly Friend of India*. The native newspapers had increased from one to six, viz. four in Bengali and two in Persian, the latter "chiefly occupied with extracts from the pithless Ukhbars, or papers issuing from the native courts, and detailing with minuteness the daily uninteresting and unimportant actions of the native princes." These six papers had probably about 100 subscribers, and five readers to each paper, with a subscription of one rupee monthly. The following books were printed:—*Panchanga Sundari—Din Kaumadi—Ananda Lahari—Rati Manjari—Tarpan—Radhika Mangal—Ganga Bhakti Tarangini—Padanka Dut—Milakshara Darpan—Batrish Singdsun—Chanakya Tutti Nama—Kakharitra—Bidya Sundur—Nala Damayanti—Kalanka Bhanjan—Prabodh Chandraday—Gydn Chandrika—Pran Toshan*.—Other works of the same class, to the number of thirty-one, were published: of these eleven works were of a useful kind, that would afford profitable reading: the rest were mythological, astrological, &c.—

"The number of copies, which have been printed of each, is not so easily ascertained. Of some more, of others less, than a thousand, have been sold; but if we take that number as the general average, we shall be near the truth. It is a general remark among the printers and publishers of the native press, that no work remains long on hand; and we have reason to believe that they have in no instance suffered a loss by the printing of any of the works above named. Nearly Thirty Thousand volumes have thus been sent into circulation within the last four years."

It is calculated that, in 1822, thirty works were published, 1,000 copies of each of which were sold, giving 30,000 volumes in Bengali in one year.

their skill in song. They may be known by their having under their arm an Almanac wrapped in cloth. They receive contributions from the poorest, and are admitted even into the recesses of the female apartments—as the women, true daughters of Eve, are very fond of prying into the future.

We find that the Hindu Almanac for 1825 was printed by one Gangadhar at Agardwip (where the first press was established that was conducted by natives) and is dedicated to the Raja of Krishnaghur. It gives the events of the year in the following proportions; Rain 8, Corn 6, Grass 4, Cold 5, Heat 7, Wind 5, Kings 11, Diseases 15, Cures 6, Flies 9, Musquitoes 17, Poison 13, Holiness 3, Unholiness 15, Truth 2, Falsehood 12. Among the presiding regencies of the year are *Mars*, who will cause war, bad crops, and disease; *Venus*, who will multiply the number of subjects; *Sambarta*, the ruling cloud, which will increase the fruits of the earth; *Kulera*, presiding among snakes, who will cause men to be destroyed by their poison; *Pundurika*, the regent of elephants, through whose influence men will be destroyed both in the West and East; *Nakula*, the regent of doctors, “and under his influence the words of men will be excellent as the waters of immortality.” An account is next given of the *Satya Yuga* “when the principle of life resided in the brain: men died when they wished: their stature was $31\frac{1}{2}$ feet: they lived to the age of 100,000 years, and dined off golden vessels.” In the *Treta Yuga* “the principle of life resided in the bones: the human stature was twenty-one feet; men lived to the age of 10,000 years, and dined off silver dishes.” In the *Dwapar Yuga*, “the principle of life resided in the blood; the human stature was reduced to $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet; men lived a thousand years, and dined off copper dishes.” In the *Kali Yuga*, “the principle of life will reside in food; men will be $3\frac{1}{2}$ cubits in stature, live a hundred years, and dine from dishes without rule.” There are twenty-seven Nakshatras,* or lunar mansions, given in the Almanacs. By ascer-

* Respecting those Nakshatras in the Almanacs, the *Quarterly Friend of India*, vol. iv., pp. 196, 199, 200, 201, states:—

“The figure of a man is rudely sketched, and the twenty-seven different lunar mansions allotted to its different members; hereby any one is enabled to ascertain the monthly complexion of his destiny, and to avert the approach of misfortune. In the first month of the year, seven stellar mansions are allotted to the head; three to the mouth; five to the heart; three to the right hand, three to the left; three to the right foot, and three to the left. These seven portions of the body have the following significations during that month: the head betokens the enjoyment of happiness; the mouth, excellence; the heart and the right hand denote the obtaining of wealth; the left hand signifies great distress; the right foot, moderate gain; and the left, a disposition to wander. The enquirer turns to the figure; and, having found to what member of the body his natal mansion is attached, and what that member predicts, ascertains the fortune which is to befall him for that month. To avert the calamities, which some portions of the body presage, he is directed to make a ball composed

taining the natal mansion of the enquirer, the astrologer professes to tell his fortune; thus the third mansion denotes poverty, to avert which the Brahmans should be presented with umbrellas; the sixth indicates death, which is to be avoided by giving the Brahmans a donation of rice, ghí, and a golden kulsí.

A man's Nakshatra is to be known by the initial letter of his name: "if he has two or three names, that, by which he may be waked from sleep, is to be used on such an occasion."

In the year 1825, according to the Almanacs, the auspicious days for marrying were 22: for feeding an infant with rice, 27: for commencing the building of a house, the 10th of Baishaka: for bringing a bride home, the 14th of Baishaka: for putting the chalk first into a boy's hand to teach him to write, the 17th of Baishaka, and the 7th and 14th of Asarha: for boring the ears, the 7th and 14th of Asarha.

of múrumangsi, buch,* kúr.+ bitumen, turmeric, darhuridra, dried ginger, chumpuk,† and mútha; in this ball, the universal remedy against misfortune, the proportion of the ingredients must be equal. It is to be dissolved in water, in which the enquirer is to bathe, after having mixed with it some dhústúr,§ and pronounced two sacred texts. The number of stellar mansions affixed to each member of the mysterious body, as well as the signification, differs monthly."

"There is a great serpent in the universe, although we cannot perceive it, which continues for three months of the year reposing with its head to the east, its tail to the west, its back to the north, its belly to the south: in the second quarter, its head is turned to the south; in the third, to the west; in the last, to the north. Its quarterly movements direct the natives in the erection of their houses. The Hindoo houses are, with few exceptions, built round an open square, the different sides being placed at right angles with each other. When therefore a new house is to be erected, it is necessary to consult the position of the serpent, to ascertain on which side the architect is to begin. The sides, to which its tail and belly are turned, are auspicious; and a commencement is therefore made in either of those quarters. But if a single house be erected, or if the four sides of a quadrangular mansion be commenced at the same time, the position of the serpent signifies nothing."

"To regulate the journeys of the natives, the brahmans, or the shastras, have called into birth Yogini, a goddess of celestial power, who resides in the eight quarters of the universe on different days; in the east on the first and ninth of the moon, and thus respecting the other quarters. It is reckoned auspicious to commence a journey with this goddess situated either towards the back, or on the left hand."

"The duration and malignity of fevers depend on the solar and lunar days, and lunar mansions on which they commenced; if a fever begin on either of five nakshatras which are mentioned in the Almanacs, the patient will die; if on six others, life will be preserved with difficulty; if on four others, the fever will continue four days; and thus do all the lunar mansions influence a fever. The lunar days are still more inauspicious than the mansions; for a fever will always continue twice as many days, as the number of the lunar day on which it commenced; thus, if it came on the eleventh, it will remain twenty-two days; if on the day of the full moon, one month; if on the day of the new moon, two months. But if the moon be at an inauspicious distance from the natal mansion on the commencement of a fever, not even the waters of immortality can preserve the patient's life. A fever beginning on Sunday will continue seven days; on Monday, nine; on Tuesday, ten; on Wednesday, three nights; on Thursday, it will occasion great danger for twelve days; on Friday,

* Zinziber Zedoaria. † A drug said to be the dried root of *Costus speciosus*.

‡ *Michelia Champaca*. § *Datura Metel*.

Few of our readers are perhaps aware of the ceremonies, which weigh so heavily on the Hindu, and of which details are given in various Bengali works. We mention a few. The first day of the month Baishaka (April) is inauspicious for travelling, because Agastya Rishi on that day reached the banks of the Nerbudda, when the Vindya mountains bowed their heads to him as a sign of respect. On the same day the followers of Krishna bring calves and cows before the image of their God, and feed both them and the Brahmans, as Krishna on this day played with cows. In the worship of Annapurna, during this month, the women adore the Asoka-tree, and eat seven of its flowers as a charm against snakes. At the end of Baishaka, the women worship the Kasandi, a favorite Indian pickle; half a dozen families worship it at the river, while the priest blows the *cancha*, or shell, to bring the Gods to the spot. In *Jaista* (May), widows offer to a Brahman a pair of shoes, an umbrella, a fan, food, and a waterpot, to preserve them from disease. In the same month is a ceremony for deceased ancestors, when a Hindu is not allowed to speak or work before its completion. A few days subsequently, Hindu women worship their sons-in-law, in order to be certain of having grand-children. At the *Snan Jatra*, it is prohibited to cook on the ground, to plough it, or even to touch it, as it is then considered unclean for four days.

In Aswin is a great feast, the origin of which is thus stated :—

“ In this iron age, sins had multiplied to such an extent as to give birth to a *pāp pūruṣh*, or a monster of iniquity, every member of whose body consisted of some sin; his head and neck consisted of the sin of slaying brahmans; the stealing of gold constituted his hands; drinking wine formed the heart; the loins arose from the sin of injuring the wife of the spiritual guide; the two feet consisted of those who have been accessory to the crime; all the toes and fingers were distinct sins, and the hairs little peccadillos. This is of course metaphorical. Vishnú, having ordered all mankind to fast on this first day of his slumbers, and promised exemption from sin to the obedient, it is on record that all men fasted and became sinless; whereupon this monster came to Vishnú in a doleful mood, saying, Since thou hast created me, where am I to reside? for all men are become sinless. Vishnú directed him to enter into food, during this one day of universal innocence. Hence, on this day, all the sins, that man can commit, reside in food, and he who eats, is guilty of every sin, and incurs every curse.”

The whole genius of Hinduism (forming a strong contrast with the encouragements to popular instruction among the Chi-

it will continue seven or three nights; on Saturday, fourteen days. The day and night are also severally divided into eight portions; of which some are auspicious, others the reverse; on those which are unfavourable, no undertaking whatsoever is to be commenced.”

nese) is anti-social. No contact with Mlechas is its motto. A vernacular newspaper therefore, which enlarges the circle of the social sympathies, found no place in its system. The Courts of the Great Mogul, and of the Chinese Emperor, employed men on high salaries to chronicle the events of the empire: but we have no account of any such plan among the Hindu Rajahs. There was not even a graduated scale of a hierarchy among the Brahmans to centralize their operations. Hence when the *Chandrika*, as the orthodox exponent of Hinduism, sprang into existence, it must have seemed as strange to the venerable pandits of Nabadwip and Santipur, as the following account now does to a Musalman, of what occurred on a recent occasion at Peshawur, on the celebration of the Mohurram. "Among the taziahs, the laskars of the Fusilier regiment paraded a model steam boat, with sails set, and smoke issuing from the funnel." This steam boat was as much a type of revolution among the Moslems, as a Bengali newspaper is with the votaries of Vyás and Valmiki. Since the days of Raja Krishna Ray of Nadiya, little had occurred to produce any excitement in Hindu Society: battle-fields had been won, and Europeans had come as birds of prey in flocks to India: but these things produced little effect on the Hindus. It was the press, the fourth estate, which began to ruffle the stagnant surface of Hindu life.

The *Chandrika* started in 1821. It has ever proved to be the consistent advocate of thorough-going Hindu Orthodoxy, and has been the enthusiastic friend of the Dharma Sabha—a Society which was founded in order to defend the *right* of the Hindu widow to be roasted alive on the pyre of her deceased husband.

The *Chandrika*, in marked contrast with many of its contemporaries, is now (1850) in the twenty-ninth year of its existence; while the generality of Native Papers have their short day of popularity, and then burst like a bubble on the stream.

We give a few extracts from some of the early numbers of the *Chandrika*, as a specimen of the general nature of the contents.

1822.—A woman's husband died near Gya. The judge forbade the widows burning with him; on which she thrust her finger into the fire to shew that she had no dread of pain; she was then permitted to offer herself.—A correspondent asks, if the cause of an earthquake be owing to the snake Vasaki, who supports the earth, changing sides to ease himself of its weight, why all countries have not the earthquake at the same time, as the snake agitates all at once?—A girl in the twenty-four Pergunnahs, sixteen years old, the daughter of a Brahman, has half

her body of a black, and half of a white, colour.—In making the new road by Pataldanga, a number of trees were found by the Golpukur : they crumbled to dust on the touch, and were so low down that the soil must have risen considerably.—A Sipahi cut his tongue off at Kali Ghat, as a sacrifice to Kali.—At the inundation in Burisal, several women brought forth children on the trees to which they had fled.—The *Padanka Dut* is advertised at one rupee, with the promise annexed that all the *bhadra lok* (gentlemen), who keep it in their houses, will hereby have their sins destroyed.

1823.—A correspondent complains of a babu, who attended a public auction, dressed in women's clothes.—A meeting of the Gaurya Samaj was held, and addressed by Ram Komul Sen : the object of it was to investigate ancient Hindu literature and history.—A Brahman's wife, in the Burdwan district, finding that her husband spent all his time with a courtesan, determined on revenge : accordingly she invited this courtesan to dine with her, providing several savoury dishes, and while she was in the act of eating one, the wife came behind her, and cut her nose clean off with a large knife !—A person bathing at Errada was dragged into the water by an alligator ; but, raising loud cries, his neighbours came to his help, and holding him by the hand, succeeded in snatching him from the monster's jaws, after however he had lost the flesh of his side.—Such an inundation took place in Bengal, that the pandits of Nadiya had to abandon their colleges, which were soon occupied by alligators, and tortoises ! About the same time a snake, twenty-two cubits long, was seen near Santipur.—Kali Shankar Ghosal advertises that he has published at his own expense a book called the *Byabazar Mukur*, which he will give gratuitously to any person applying for it :—but shortly after he puts in another advertisement, that he will charge four annas for each copy, because people do not value a book they receive for nothing, and even imagine that some injury would arise from the reading of it.—A Kulin Brahman died, who had twenty-two wives living separately in their father's houses : on hearing of his death, four of them were burnt on the funeral pile.

1824.—A meeting was held in Calcutta for the purpose of encouraging the reading of the Vedas by paying professors and scholars. Radhakanta Deb, and Dwarkanath Tagore took an active part in the proceedings.—Seven persons died, in a village in the Burdwan district, from the bites of a jackal.—In Puri they have the peculiar practice in a Sati to dig a pit containing the corpse and the wood : when the latter is fully ignited, the woman, encircling the pile three times, throws herself in ; she is

soon dead. Then they extinguish the fire, and consume the bodies separately on another pile, having previously taken a bone to be thrown into the Ganges.—At Putkhali, near Budge Budge, a woman was brought to bed of three children: one of them had its hinder parts like those of some unknown animal.—At Mulgher, a woman, seventeen years of age, hearing of the death of her husband, determined to burn herself with his shoe, as the corpse had been previously consumed. Her relations resorted to every means to prevent her; but all was of no avail.

1825.—A Musalman boy near Calcutta has two left hands.—Bishop Heber gave a party to the elite of Calcutta. Many of the native gentry, the Malliks, the Raja of Andul, &c. were present. Mrs. Heber gave with her own hand atar and rose-water to the babus, who, after some agreeable conversation with the ladies, retired.—A good account of the different Zillahs in Bengal is given.—Kashikanta Goshal, with the aid of pandits, is preparing a translation of the *Smritis* into Bengali, price 100 Rs.—“A boy was born lately in Katak having two heads, a subject of rejoicing, as the English say, two heads are better than one.”—A work is advertised at Nilkanta Halder's Press, Serampore, on Astrology, price eighty rupees.—A subscription list has been made by Europeans and natives at Chitpur, for conducting a series of weekly wrestling matches during the season.

The *Kaumadi* Newspaper was first published in 1823. It was the organ of Ram Mohan Ray's party, and was designed to counteract the influence of the *Chandriká*.*

The following are the heads of the leading articles in the first eight numbers of the *Kaumadi*. No. 1 contains an appeal to Government to establish a Native Charity School, with an account of a Prince, who was a miser. No. 2. The advantage of Newspapers to natives. The propriety of a subscription for watering the Chitpur road. Faith in the Guru. Suggestions for having twenty-two, instead of fifteen, years of age, fixed as the period for succeeding to an inheritance. Ridicule of these babus, who never give any money in charity, but on their death immense sums are lavished. No. 3. An appeal to Government to grant more ground for a ghat to burn the dead bodies at—the Christians having such a space of ground for burials. No. 3. An appeal to Government to prohibit the exportation of rice, the chief article of Hindu food. An appeal to Government to grant European medical aid to poor natives. A remonstrance of the furious driving of Europeans, when idol processions are passing. No. 4. An exhortation to native Doctors to have their sons instructed

* “The Literary Chronicle,” a monthly magazine got up by some natives in Calcutta, gives a notice of the present state of the Vernacular Press.

by European physicians. The evil of Kulin marriages. The sums lavished by babus in folly, and the little given for education. No. 5. The evil tendency of the dramas lately invented. A certain class of babus, called captains, and their evil practices. No. 6. A nach and supper given by Chandra Kumar Tagore, in honour of the departure of the Chief Justice. The extraordinary proficiency of a Hindu boy, five years old, in English and Bengali. Essay on the advantages of learning. Account of the Taj at Agra. Essay on truth. On apprenticing native youths to English doctors. On raising a fund to burn the dead bodies of the poor. On establishing a fund for destitute Hindu widows. No. 7. A thief robbing a corpse at a burning ghat. On certificates given to servants. On the high price of fire-wood, ten mands of wood when could be had, a few years previously, for a rupee. On the importance of boys knowing Bengali Grammar, before they study English. No. 8. An infant carried away by a bird. The importance of the Hindus practising some mechanical art. A new drama called Kali Raja's Jatra is being performed. Abhoy Charan Mittri gave 50,000 rupees to his Guru. The adventures of a Brahman, learned in the Shastras, among the wealthy babus of Calcutta.

1824.—The Editor is surprised at the wife of a *shoemaker* having three sons at a birth, while so many rich Hindus, after all their vows and pilgrimages, have none, and are obliged to *adopt* a son.—The Raja of Burdwan's wife being near her confinement, the Raja supported two astrologers in the house, who professed to predict the time of the birth of a son, though each foretold a different day.—An account is given of a woman, at Chitpur (according to the custom of Sanyasis) being buried alive with her deceased husband, who was a Sanyasi.—A native woman, eighteen years old, swims across the river at Nimtala ghat.—A Brahman came to Serampore, pretending to predict a gentleman's fortune: he also offered to discover treasure hidden in his house, for which he was to get 20 Rs. reward: while the gentleman went out for a moment, the Brahman hid a brasspot in the earth, and pointed it to the Sahib as the treasure: the other discovered the trick, and had him bound hand and foot, and flung out into the street.—A snake was caught in Hatapur pergannah, whose roaring was so loud as to shake the trees.—A Sanyasi at Tarakeswar killed a man, who had intrigued with his mistress.—At Jagannath ghat, Calcutta, where Sanyasis usually assemble, a Sanyasi performed the penance of holding his right foot in the air, and standing silent in this position, day and night.

The *Timir Násak* Newspaper (destroyer of darkness) ill answered to its name. Its chief object seems to have been to pander to Hindu credulity to the utmost extent,

though it acknowledged itself the offspring of the Serampore Darpan.

The *Banga Dut* commenced on *Sunday*, the 10th of May, 1829: but, in the next number, the day of publication was altered to *Saturday*. It is singular how with respect to newspapers, and schools, so much deference is paid to the Sabbath, by natives who are hostile to Christianity. It was seen, even in the early days of the French revolution, that a day of rest is required on physical and mental grounds. This newspaper started under the management of Mr. R. Martin, Dwarkanath Tágore, Prasanna Kumar Tágore, and Rammohan Roy. It was written in two languages, Bengali and Persian; as the latter would be understood by the mahajans of the Bara Bazar.

The length, to which this cursory notice of the early Bengali Press has run, forbids us from entering on an account of the newspapers published since 1830.

We have now before us a list of the Bengali Newspapers, published in Calcutta at the present time, which comprizes sixteen, viz. three dailies, the *Prabhákar*, *Chandraday*, and *Mohájan Darpan*; one tri-weekly, the *Bháskar*; two bi-weekly, the *Chandriká*, and *Rasaráj*; seven weekly, the *Gyáandarpan*, *Banga Dut*, *Sadhúrnanjan*, *Gyán Sancháriní*, *Rasaságur*, *Rangpur Bartábahu*, and *Rasha Mudgar*; two bi-monthly, the *Nitya Dharmánaranjiká* and *Durjan Daman Mahá Nabam*; and last, though not least, the monthly publication, *Tatwa Bodhini*, which, both for the excellency of its language, and the literary talent displayed, is highly to the credit of its conductors, who have employed the powerful agency of the Bengali language to convey European ideas.

All these publications have a decided Anti-Christian tone, and must produce a considerable sapping effect on the minds of their 20,000 readers, who shew the value they attach to them by *paying* for them. Though the Serampore *Darpan* was the *first* Bengali Newspaper, and was started under Missionary auspices—yet, strange to say, Missionaries have at present no organ in Bengali to exercise an influence over the native mind, and reply to the various misrepresentations that are given on Christian subjects. We hope that ere long we may see a Bengali Newspaper started under Christian influence. The Native Christians are feeling the Athenian curiosity for the “*τι καιρον*,” and (in several cases we know) receive injury from the perusal of these papers. Missionary Schools are well; but the present Bengali Newspapers in many cases destroy much of the prospective fruit from them.

ART. VI.—1. *A Penal Code, prepared by the Indian Law Commissioners, and published by Command of the Governor-General in Council Calcutta, 1837.*

2. *Report on the Indian Penal Code. Calcutta, 1846.*

3. *Report on a Scheme of Pleading and Procedure, with Forms of Indictment adapted to the Provisions of the Penal Code. Calcutta, 1848.*

4. *The Code of Regulations for the Government of the Presidency of Bombay, with notes, shewing the alterations made by subsequent enactments, a Key, Index, Interpretations, and Epitome of the Acts of the Legislative Council of India. Edited by William Henry Harrison, Esq., Bombay Civil Service, and late Register of the Suddur Adawlut at Bombay. London. Pelham Richardson. Cornhill, 1849.*

5. *Evidence, forming a title of the Code of legal Proceedings, according to the plan proposed by Crofton Uniacke, Esq. By S. B. Harrison, Esq., of the Middle Temple. London. Henry Butterworth. 1825.*

THE Presidency towns have of late been ringing with indignant declamation, through every local organ, for the expression of opinion, at certain Acts,* now before the Legislative Council, for bringing British-born subjects under the jurisdiction of the East India Company's Courts, and the laws administered by them; and we feel ourselves called upon, as members of the free Press of India, briefly to express on this opportunity our first impressions, reserving (if need be) for a future occasion a more full and deliberate discussion. We must then state that we concur, to a certain extent, in the opposition to the measures alluded to, but only partially on the popular grounds: while at the same time—what may seem paradoxical—we concur with the Government in the objects desired to be attained through these Acts; and, under proper conditions, after fit preparation by means of various reforms of the law and courts, we should generally and cordially approve them. On reference to the local annals of past time we find, that a party, including some of the popular leaders, has ever op-

* Draft of an Act for abolishing exemption from the jurisdiction of the East India Company's Criminal Courts.

Draft of an Act, declaring the Law as to the privileges of Her Majesty's European Subjects.

Draft of an Act for the protection of Judicial Officers.

Draft of an Act for trial by Jury in the Company's Courts.

posed the various reforms, which the Indian Law Commissioners have proposed in order to improve the law and administration of justice, and fit the Courts of the East India Company for their important functions, and, amongst these, for the extended jurisdiction now proposed to be given to them. As respects this party, essentially an anti-reform party, we see in these measures their *nemesis*: they have hitherto succeeded in giving pretences for rejecting the best half of the measures devised by Macaulay, Amos, Cameron, and their colleagues of the Indian Law Commission; and now, the East India Company contents itself with insisting on the *other* half, which those enlightened men never contemplated passing alone; and this it is, which makes our difference, if we may be permitted the expression, with the Government. It is carrying out, only one-half of the views of the Law Commission, and setting at nought one-half of the manifest intentions of Parliament. This, we think, admits of an easy demonstration, from that Section of the Charter Act, (S. 53) which warranted, or commanded, the appointment of the India Law Commission. The Enactment alluded to, (we give it below*), begins with a recital—not a very usual thing in a Clause—and therein legislatively declares the objects to be attained and attended to by the Commission. It directs the formation of a general system of judicial establishments, within whose jurisdiction should be comprized all persons whatever, as

* The enactment is as follows; see Charter Act, Sec. 53.

“ And whereas it is expedient, that, subject to such special arrangements as local circumstances may require, a general system of judicial establishments and police, to which all persons whatsoever, as well Europeans as Natives, may be subject, should be established in the said territories at an early period, and that such laws, as may be applicable in common to all classes of the inhabitants of the said territories, due regard being had to the rights, feelings, and peculiar usages of the people, should be enacted; and that all laws and customs having the force of law within the same territories that should be ascertained and consolidated, and, as occasion may require, amended: Be it therefore enacted, that the said Governor-General of India in Council shall, as soon as conveniently may be after the passing of this Act issue a commission, and from time to time, commissions, to such persons as the said Court of Directors, with the approbation of the said Board of Commissioners, shall recommend for that purpose and to such other persons, if necessary, as the said Governor-General in Council shall think fit—all such person not exceeding in the whole at any one time five in number,—and to be styled “ the Indian Law Commissioners,” with all such powers as shall be necessary for the purposes hereinafter mentioned; and the said commissioners shall fully inquire into the jurisdictions, powers, and rules of the existing Courts of Justice and Police establishments in the said territories, and all existing forms of judicial procedure, and into the nature and operation of all laws, whether civil or criminal, written or customary, prevailing and in force in any part of the said territories and whereto any inhabitants of the said territories, whether Europeans or others, are now subject; and the said Commissioners shall, from time to time, make reports in which they shall fully set forth the result of their said inquiries, and shall from time to time suggest such alterations, as may in their opinion be beneficially made in the said Courts of justice and police establishments, and forms of judicial procedure and laws, due regard being had to the distinction of castes, difference of religion, and the manners and opinions prevailing among different races, and in different parts of the said territories.”

well Europeans, as natives, subject nevertheless to such special arrangements, as local circumstances might require. It further directs such laws, as might be applicable in common to all classes of the inhabitants, to be enacted. Evidently new laws here are contemplated; and the following wise, and just, and necessary condition is added; that, in making these laws, due regard should be had to the rights, feelings, and peculiar usages of the people. Moreover, the existing laws and customs having the force of law, are directed to be ascertained and consolidated, and, as occasion might require, amended. The enacting part of the clause reinforces the recital. Such were the noble objects which Parliament contemplated in establishing the Indian Law Commission. And the first Governor-General under the Charter Act, and successive Law Commissioners down to the departure from India of Mr. Charles Hay Cameron and Mr. Daniel Elliott, appear to have had a just conception of their duties. They laboured assiduously for all those objects, but carried scarcely any of them.

Our charge against the proposed Acts is, that though in the main in principle just and unobjectionable, yet, brought in alone, they violate every one of the conditions which Parliament, as above shewn, has indicated to be its intentions. No general system of Courts, in the sense of the Act of Parliament, has been established: nor has the model Court, proposed by the Indian Law Commissioners, been experimentally adopted. The Courts exist as they did; and British-born subjects are now to be pitchforked into them. Instead of laws made applicable to all classes of the people—laws, reported by the Indian Law Commission in its most palmary state to be unfit for many classes within their range, are, by these Acts, extended to one class more—and that a class, for whom they must be less suited than for any other class of persons. Then, again, as to respect for rights, feelings and peculiar usages; one of the Acts, the Jury Act, is a mere burlesque of that justly venerated institution, and made conspicuously so, by a very striking departure from the scheme of a Jury, recommended by Messrs. C. H. Cameron and D. Elliott of the former Indian Law Commission. In their scheme, British subjects were entitled to claim on the Jury a majority of their fellow countrymen; and the Jury List was carefully confined to persons of a certain social standing, and having a certain property qualification. These provisions partially redeem the scheme of Messrs. Cameron and Elliott; but none corresponding are to be found in the new Draft Jury Act, which is framed on the supposition of pretty nearly the whole nation's being fit for jurymen.

But, leaving these peculiar grounds of opposition, surely it is a very great evil that British inhabitants, except for trifling assaults, and except also a liability to be put under recognizances,* and to suffer the forfeiture of them, should, as is the state of the Law at present, only be triable in the Supreme Courts, which never leave the Presidency towns. At the same time we admit, that the British inhabitants cannot too highly value this privilege, as respects the justice secured to them. But what are some of its consequences? An offender of British race and origin has to be brought perhaps fifteen hundred miles or more, and any intermediate distances, throughout the length and breadth of the land, to be tried, in all, except the above mentioned cases: and this is but a part of the evil; for, at the same time, and from the same distance, the witnesses usually, and all other necessary evidence, have to come;—to bring the culprit alone would be of no avail. It is mere trifling, unworthy of men of sense, to deny that this necessity gives an immunity from punishment, and operates as a license to do wrong. In this important point of view, therefore, the measures in question are desirable; they abolish an inconvenient privilege, and place the British-born class, at most consisting of a few thousands of people, in the same relations to the authorities and to the local laws, as the natives consisting of a hundred millions. On the other hand, the British inhabitants may very justly entertain a strong antipathy to the change; and they dwell much on the following considerations. First, the state of the Courts: secondly, the corruption of a class, which, for the sake of brevity, we will call the hangers-on, or non-official retinue, of these Courts: thirdly, the laws and procedure established in them; and lastly, the intentions of Parliament. In this enumeration of their objections, we pass over all that has been said about the inherent and constitutional rights of the British people; the power of Parliament to abrogate those rights; and the want of authority in the Legislative Council. The first serious objection is, that the Judges in these Courts have no proper professional qualifications, want that independence, which to British minds is indispensable, and (what is worse) are often treated in such a manner, as tends to make them, when occasion calls, sycophantic, and whenever government is interested, servile. All this cannot but be obnoxious to a civilized people like the British, especially familiarized, as they are, with institutions free from these faults, and in extreme contrast with them.

* The Mochalka Act, Act 5 of 1848; respecting which see *Calcutta Review*, vol. XI., p. 64.

And, to our mind, it is no fair reply to say, that it is submitted to by the whole native population. It is neither regarded nor felt by natives, as it is by civilized Europeans. Nor do they regard or feel as we do, what forms another more serious objection still to the East India Company's Courts; that the amlahs of the Courts are all powerful, and are the most artful and corrupt of mankind: while at the same time, except for the abuse of justice and the abusive use of official powers, they are even less qualified than the Judge himself, by all the difference which there is between them and him, in character, in the theory of morals, in religious ideas, and general cultivation of mind.

This state of the Courts is as notorious as the sun at noonday; and it is this, which makes it a calamity to the British race to be made criminally amenable to them. But, further, these courts have a retinue, out-door and in-door, of their own; the agents and representatives sometimes of the amlahs, sometimes of the rajahs and zemindars, whose existence is essential to the thriving trade carried on in litigation—we now allude to the gangs of forgers, false witnesses, informers, bribers, personators, thieves and tricksters of every kind, who find employment in these Courts, to the exclusion of truth, and honesty, and all fair dealing. The British inhabitant naturally regards with aversion Courts, where, as he well knows, he will be under the sad necessity of employing these means and appliances to secure a just acquittal, and where they will assuredly be brought against him to obtain a conviction, equally whether just or unjust; if *just* at all a deserved conviction can be called, when obtained by such means: and, if it cannot, then there is no justice at all in these courts, or in the whole circuit of the East India Company's institutions. Such considerations make respectable men predict that the extension of the jurisdiction of these Courts will drive out British settlers and British capital: an opinion, which we by no means entertain; for, capital has laws of its own. But it is scarce, and dear, and will so remain, in this country, even though there be a plethora at home; while property and rights are insecure, by reason of the bad state of the Courts of the Mofussil: an army of three hundred thousand sepoys and forty thousand British soldiers does not, and cannot, give that security, which would make capital abundant.

The kind of law administered forms another head of objection on many grounds; chiefly, from its inferiority in every respect to the substantive part of the English criminal law, on which British ideas of penal justice are formed, and which would be just as applicable to the British in the Mofussil, as in

the Presidency towns : while the law, under which they are to be brought, is that which has been condemned by the Indian Law Commission, as unfit for the natives. How much more unfit must it be for the Europeans, as a wholly *foreign* system—foreign even in Hindustan—and intended for men of a different race and different religion? for, though it has undergone modifications, the foreign groundwork remains. Besides, great rigour in the punishments, and great laxity in the procedure, are generally the characteristics of the Mofussil criminal system.

The last objection, which we have noted, is founded on what we have supposed to be the intention of Parliament : and this we need not here dwell upon, as we have already proved it by the most authentic and satisfactory of all evidence, the declaration of Parliament itself, and its special provisions for the appointment and the employment of the Indian Law Commission. But it may be useful here to corroborate our views by briefly referring to some of the grounds which influenced Parliament ; and which will be found in the reports of evidence taken before the Houses.

We shall not attempt here to go into details. We refer in part to the evidence of Mr. Empson, Mr. Mill, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Holt Mackenzie, and other witnesses. We feel sure that it made too great an impression to be forgotten. Mr. Empson's evidence fully revealed the utterly delusive character of the legal education of Hayleybury ; its utter inutility as a preparation for the exercise of magisterial and judicial functions ; his own opinion of its worthlessness ; and the struggles of mind, which he had undergone, (and which required some rough handling on the part of other professors who were better broken in,) in order to reconcile his duty, or what he was expected to do, with his conscience, in passing his pupils, and lending his respectable name, and giving his official sanction, to the idea blazoned at each annual Hayleybury exhibition by the Chairman of the Court, that its alumni are in any degree qualified, by what they acquire at that institution, for the administration of any sort of law, English or foreign, Christian or Pagan. The evidence of others also proved that, in India, of legal education and any proper training for judicial office there is none. Official communications from the Indian Governments to the Court were printed, which revealed their dissatisfaction with the qualifications and condition of the young men placed at their disposal for public employment. At the same time, remedies were gently touched upon : and Mr. Holt Mackenzie and others suggested some means of bringing about a

reformation. This very subject, we believe, has been reported upon by Mr. Cameron. The state of the law also was fairly laid open, so far as it could be without a commission; and the want of all sorts of reform avowed and explained. Parliament, we should say, must have felt itself to be overwhelmed with the magnitude and diversity of the objects requiring consideration, and the amount of necessary reform: and, as we believe and hope, in order to commence a new era, which should be distinguished by all sorts of wise and well considered change, it established the Legislative Council and the Law Commission. Referring to all this, and to its own express declaration, we do not hesitate to say, that to pass the Acts in question, without any previous adaptations of the law and procedure, is contrary to the manifest intention of Parliament.*

* By a few extracts we will satisfy our readers that this statement of our impressions, is fully warranted by the evidence. It will be sufficient for the purpose to take the evidence of Mr. Empson, the learned Professor of Haileybury. He is asked:—

Q. 1094.—Is there any thing in the present system, which makes it obligatory on the Professors to send out young men, who, in their opinion, are not qualified to go?

A.—“I should say, certainly, there has been felt to be in the College a moral obligation of that description.”

[We should say a very immoral one, and so Mr. Empson thought, for his evidence proceeds as follows:—]

“I have unfortunately, much to my suffering, acted upon it.”

[Now, mark what he says, as to the influence exerted by other Professors to quiet his conscience!]

“When I came to the College, it would have been very misplaced in me to act on ‘crude notions of my own; I talked with the Professors of long standing, to get, as it were, a map of the country. Their account to me was:—‘We have been for twenty years raising the standard in the College, both in respect of conduct and attainment.

We have now got it to a point, which, if not answering entirely to our wishes, is nevertheless one, comparing it with what it was in the beginning, highly satisfactory.’ You must not expect too much..... The system is one of qualified patronage. The unfitness, which is to disqualify, must not be tried by too severe a scale. In all our exercises of this authority, when a discussion has arisen between us and the parties concerned, the public has taken this view of it, and sided with the individual, whose appointment was endangered. Your predecessor observed that the College, on these occasions, have every thing against it, except justice.” Consequently, I adopted and maintained as a minimum, as near as I could, the common standard. The dilemma, in which the College is placed, is one of great hardship. If we exercise the power, which we ought to exercise on the part of the public, a storm of indignation is let loose upon the College, such as no other place of education ever was exposed to..... Our only support is in the individual Directors, who happen to know the merits of the case. In case we do not exercise the power, and young men, imperfectly qualified, go out, remonstrances come home from India, that the College does not answer the purpose.”

The next question and answer shew from what quarter this storm of indignation came: from persons connected with the present Indian system; by system, meaning obviously, system of patronage. In other words, the people who “set up the cry,” and “raised a storm of indignation,” were the East Indian Stock Proprietors, and their patronage brokers of Leadenhall Street.

Q. 1095.—Do you mean to say that the general opinion and feeling of persons connected with the present Indian system, are such that the Professors cannot opportunely exercise that power of selection, which, by theory, you possess?

A.—“I certainly say so. Their experience unfortunately convinces them of it.”

Q. 1096.—In what way? “By finding the extreme unpopularity, the extreme odium, to which they were subject; the cry that was set up over London, and the apparently

Our readers will not require from us any apology for making these remarks the preface to an article on the Penal Code of the India Law Commission, because to our mind a new Code is essential in the Mofussil Courts, for the fair and just exercise of a jurisdiction over Europeans.

In these prefatory remarks we have shewn both the parliamentary origin of the India Law Commission, and that the preparation of a complete body of law was specially pointed out by Parliament among the objects to be attained through its appointment. Accordingly, in June 1835, orders, but of the precise terms of which we are not informed, were issued by the Governor-General in Council to the first Law Commissioners: and, in about two years afterwards, they submitted a Draft of a new Penal Code, with a letter, to which we find subscribed the names of T. B. Macaulay, J. M. Macleod, G. W. Anderson (a Bombay Civilian, now the Governor of the Mauritius,) and F. Millet (a Bengal Civilian, now retired, and late a member of the Legislative Council.) From this letter we collect the motives, which induced them to prefer one general Code to amendment, or consolidation, or any other form of legislation: and it is necessary for our purpose to state these motives, which we shall proceed to do both by description and quotation.

Their Code, they remark, is not a digest of any existing system of law in India; nor formed on the groundwork of any existing system; but they wish it not thence to be inferred, that they had neglected to enquire, as commanded to do by Act of Parliament, into the present state of the law; or, that in other parts of the law, as in this, they were likely to recommend unsparing innovation, or the entire sweeping away of ancient usages. Such an inference would do them great injustice: for, though there are not the same objections to innovation in penal legislation, as to innovation affecting vested rights of property, yet if they had found India in possession of a system of criminal law, which the people regarded with partiality, they would have been inclined to ascertain

worse than indifference of the *public*; every body joining in the observation, it is extremely hard that young men should lose their appointments for indiscretion of a certain description; very hard that parents should be put to the necessity of an additional year's education, and so forth In my own department, I have constantly let young men pass, who, I think, ought not to have passed If we are to be of any use, it is as a check; if we do not take issue with young men, on a certain degree, either of stupidity, idleness, or vice, &c., no establishment, whether at Haileybury or elsewhere, can answer the object."

it, to digest it, and moderately to correct it, rather than, to propose a system fundamentally different. These, to our mind, are unexceptionable principles,—a true practical philosophy. The Commissioners next proceed to shew that none of the systems of penal law established had any claim to their attention, except what it might derive from its intrinsic excellence. “All those systems,” say they, “are foreign. All were introduced by conquerors, differing in race, manners, language, and religion from the great mass of the people. The criminal law of the Hindus was long ago superseded, through the greater part of the territories now subject to the Company, by that of the Muhammadans, and is certainly the last system of criminal law, which an enlightened and humane Government would be disposed to revive. The Muhammadan criminal law has in its turn been superseded, to a great extent, by the British Regulations. Indeed, in the territories subject to the presidency of Bombay, the criminal law of the Muhammadans, as well as that of the Hindus, has been altogether discarded, except in one particular class of cases; and, even in such cases, it is not imperative on the Judge to pay any attention to it. The British Regulations, having been made by three different legislatures, contain, as might be expected, very different provisions.” And they proceed to verify this general description by specific instances. All these prevailing systems being proved thus faulty, they proceed to consider whether there is any one, deserving a preference for their purposes; and not one of them can they recommend, as furnishing even the rudiments of a good Code. The penal law of the Bombay presidency had one recommendation and claim on their attention; that it is all contained in the Regulations, and is almost all to be found in one extensive Regulation: but they reject it for very sufficient reasons. “We regret to say that it has, over the penal law of the other presidencies, no superiority, except that of being digested. In framing it, the principles, according to which crimes ought to be classified, and punishment apportioned, have been less regarded than in the legislation of Bengal and Madras.” Specific instances follow, in support of these general observations. “But these errors,” say they, “the effects probably of inadvertence, are not, in our opinion, the most serious faults of the Penal Code of Bombay;” and they proceed to describe the yet more serious ones alluded to, and which it is “impossible to excuse on

the ground of inadvertence; enactments, the language of which shews that, when they were framed, their whole effect was fully understood, and which appear to us to be directly opposed to the first principles of penal law." And on this subject they conclude with the following sentence:—

"We have said enough to shew that it is owing, not at all to the law, but solely to the discretion and humanity of the Judges, that* great cruelty and injustice is not daily perpetrated in the criminal Courts of the Bombay presidency."

Such being the state of the penal law in the Mofussil, the Commissioners came next to consider the case of the presidency towns, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. They comprize a very large native population; in number, out of all proportion to the Europeans; perhaps, at times, in the proportion of seven hundred, or more, to one. Within these towns the Supreme Courts have an exclusive local jurisdiction; and native criminal law and the criminal regulations of Government, which every where else prevail, have no operation. The criminal law is the English criminal law, or, more correctly speaking, law of merely English origin; and it was made for British people; thus, Nundcoomar, as being under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, was hanged for forgery. In many less striking instances, English penal law must greatly shock, and be ill adapted to, the native population. The Commissioners characterize it, as a very artificial and complicated system: as "a foreign system;" a "system formed without the smallest reference to India": and it had just been pronounced by a commission, composed of able and learned English lawyers, to be so defective, that it could be reformed only by being entirely taken to pieces, and reconstructed. In these circumstances the India Law Commissioners find a strong additional reason for preparing a new Code, or one comprehensive and entire system, which should apply to the natives in the presidency towns, as well as in the Mofussil: and they sum up their reasons as follows:—

"Under these circumstances we have not thought it desirable to take, as the groundwork of the Code, any of the systems of law now in force in any part of India. We have, indeed, to the best of our ability, compared the Code with all those systems, and we have taken suggestions from all; but we have not adopted a single provision, merely because it formed a part

* Instead of "that" read "if" to preserve the euphemism, more in consistence with the fact and truth; for we utterly disbelieve, that such Judges as the E. I. Company's, with such Amlahs as they generally have, can rectify or mitigate materially the vicious operation of such a Code.

‘ of any of those systems. We have also compared our work
 ‘ with the most celebrated systems of Western jurisprudence,
 ‘ as far as the very scanty means of information, which were
 ‘ accessible to us in this country, enabled us to do so. We have
 ‘ derived much valuable assistance from the French Code, and
 ‘ from the decisions of the French Courts of Justice on questions
 ‘ touching the construction of that Code. We have derived
 ‘ assistance still more valuable from the Code of Louisiana, pre-
 ‘ pared by the late Mr. Livingston. We are the more desirous
 ‘ to acknowledge our obligations to that eminent jurist, because
 ‘ we have found ourselves under the necessity of combatting
 ‘ his opinions on some important questions.”

It is in some points of view fortunate, that this proposal to introduce an entirely new body of laws—new in form at least—was not without a precedent.

On the introduction of the so-called “Bombay Code,” the previously existing systems were abrogated: and that, without exciting a murmur on the part of the native population. The Commissioners advert to this fact, as a proof of the groundlessness of any apprehension of danger from the repeal of ancient systems. “Throughout,” they say, “a large territory, inhabited to a great extent by a newly conquered population, all the ancient systems of penal law were at once superseded by a Code; and this, without the smallest sign of discontent among the people.” “The course, which we recommend to the Government, and which some persons may perhaps consider as too daring, has already been tried at Bombay, and has not produced any of those effects which timid minds are disposed to anticipate, even from the most reasonable and useful innovations.”

The reasons, which we have thus quoted, to our mind, are unanswerable and abundantly sufficient; and the India Law Commission would have failed in its duty to the Crown and Parliament, if it had not acted upon them. And now let us see in what spirit they presented the Code to Government. It will appear that it was the furthest from justice to treat them, as if they were actuated by pride and arrogance, and made a new Code from an overbearing assumption of the superiority of their ideas of law, to all established systems. The real modesty and ingeniousness of the following remarks to the Governor-General in Council must be apparent to all unprejudiced men:—

“It is hardly necessary for us,” say the Commission, “to
 ‘ entreat your Lordship in Council to examine with candour
 ‘ the work which we now submit to you. To the ignorant
 ‘ and inexperienced, the task, in which we have been engaged,

‘ may appear easy and simple. But the members of the Indian
‘ Government are doubtless well aware, that it is among the
‘ most difficult tasks in which the human mind can be employ-
‘ ed; that persons, placed in circumstances far more favourable
‘ than ours, have attempted it with very doubtful success;
‘ that the best codes extant, if malignantly criticised, will be
‘ found to furnish matter for censure in every page; that the
‘ most copious and precise of human languages furnish but a
‘ very imperfect machinery to the legislator; that, in a work
‘ so extensive and complicated as that on which we have been
‘ employed, there will inevitably be, in spite of the most
‘ anxious care, some omissions, and some inconsistencies; and
‘ that we have done as much as could reasonably be expected
‘ from us, if we have furnished the Government with that,
‘ which may, by suggestions from experience and judicious
‘ persons, be improved into a good Code.”

By those especially, who recollect the circumstances to which we have adverted, this passage will be read with great satisfaction and interest. If philosophy might justly aspire to be the handmaid of legislation (and surely Parliament was entitled to ask her assistance) it was impossible for her to present her offering, with more deference to authority and a juster estimate of the importance of practical wisdom. And this was correctly understood and appreciated by the Government. The Code was printed and circulated among all classes of official persons, who were invited to give, and many of them did give, opinions and suggestions. In 1845, seven years having elapsed, the Government took up the Code again, and referred it back to the India Law Commission, with all the letters, essays, reports, minutes, and papers, which during that long period had been sent in. They included the opinions and criticisms of two Chief Justices, and four Puisne Judges of the Queen's Courts, of the Advocate General at Madras, and the acting Company's Counsel at Calcutta, and of several of the East India Company's Judges and Magistrates. We shall endeavour to give our readers a fair idea of the nature of these communications, to shew how full a discussion the Code has undergone, and the nature and amount of labour bestowed on its improvement by Mr. Cameron and Mr. Elliott: but we will first give some account of the Code itself.

What the Commissioners have designated, as the “Penal Code,” is the Code only of crimes and punishments, and embraces only one of the four parts, into which Mr. Livingston's system of Penal Law is divided. But in the year 1848, a

second part, containing a "Scheme of Pleading and Procedure with forms of Indictment" was added by Messrs. Charles Hay Cameron and Daniel Elliott. A Code of Evidence, and perhaps a Book of Definitions, remain to be supplied, and, though not essential, will be needed for completeness.

The Penal Code is divided into twenty-six chapters,* the titles and order of which we give below. At the end of the Code is a body of notes, exceeding in bulk the Code itself, explanatory of the legislative motives. In these notes we trace the discursive and philosophical genius of Mr. Macaulay, displayed with a fearlessness, which belongs to such talent as his, and which brought up controversies, which a man of law-craft, or more forensic experience, would have avoided. But the Code is exactly on that account the better entitled to confidence; it contains no ambushes; and the Commissioners are chargeable with no suppressed designs, no intentional reticences. These notes, in which everything is thus laid bare, are for the public the most attractive portion of the volumes before us: but we must reserve them for future consideration; as what remains beside will more than fill the space or time, which we can at present devote to the subject; and we shall proceed with our description of the Code itself.

Each chapter of the Code is divided into paragraphs, which are numbered, and contain the substantive rule; to many of the paragraphs are added explanations; and besides these, to many of them "illustrations," the latter being of the nature, for the most part, of law cases, hypothetical in the Code, but

- Chap. I.—General Explanations.
- II.—Of punishments.
- III.—General exceptions.
- IV.—Of abetment.
- V.—Of offences against the state.
- VI.—Of offences relating to the Army and Navy.
- VII.—Of offences against the public tranquillity.
- VIII.—Of the abuse of the powers of public servants.
- IX.—Of contempts of the lawful authority of public servants.
- X.—Of offences against public justice.
- XI.—Of offences relating to the revenue.
- XII.—Of offences relating to coin.
- XIII.—Of offences relating to weights and measures.
- XIV.—Of offences affecting the public health, safety, and convenience.

- Chap. XV.—Of offences relating to religion and caste.
- XVI.—Of illegal entrance into, and residence in, the territories of the East India Company.
- XVII.—Of offences relating to the press.
- XVIII.—Of offences affecting the human body.
- XIX.—Of offences against property.
- XX.—Of offences relating to documents.
- XXI.—Of offences relating to property marks.
- XXII.—Of the illegal pursuit of legal rights.
- XXIII.—Of the criminal breach of contracts of services.
- XXIV.—Of offences relating to marriage.
- XXV.—Of defamation.
- XXVI.—Of criminal intimidation, insult, and annoyance.

really derived from the experience and records of Courts of Justice. Of the several component parts, the illustrations, if not wholly new, are peculiar and characteristic; and our first extract from the Code shall be made to exemplify them.

“OF DEFAMATION” :—

“Whoever by words, either spoken, or intended to be read, or by sign, or by visible representations, attempts to cause any imputation concerning any person to be believed in any quarter, knowing that the belief thereof would harm the reputation of that person in that quarter, is said, except in the cases excepted in the nine clauses next following, to defame that person.”

Then comes a series of explanations :—

“*Explanations.* An imputation is not defamatory, unless it be such as, if believed in that quarter in which it is intended to be believed, would harm the reputation of the person, concerning whom it is intended to be believed.

“Hence an imputation, when directed against one person, is not necessarily defamatory, when directed against another person; and an imputation, which is defamatory when intended to be believed in one quarter, is not necessarily defamatory when intended to be believed in another quarter.

“Also it may be defamation to repeat, or circulate an imputation, which it was not defamation originally to make; and it is not necessarily defamation to repeat or circulate an imputation, which it was defamation originally to make.

“A deceased person may be defamed. A collection of persons cannot, as such, be defamed. But an individual may be defamed, by means of an imputation thrown on a collection of persons, of whom he is one, or by means of an imputation made in the form of an alternative.

“If the imputation be such that, if it were believed in the quarter in which it was intended to be believed, the reputation of the person concerning whom it is intended to be believed, would not be harmed, then, though that person may suffer in his interest, he has not been defamed.

“Harm the reputation.” “No imputation is said to harm a person's reputation, unless that imputation, directly or indirectly, lowers the moral or intellectual character of that person, or lowers the character of that person, in respect of his caste, or of his calling, or lowers the commercial credit of that person, if he is engaged in trade, or causes it to be believed that the body of that person is in a loathsome state, or in a state generally considered as disgraceful.”

And after these, comes a series of illustrations, thus :—

(a) “A says Z is an honest man; he never stole B's watch; intending to cause it to be believed that Z did steal B's watch. This is defamation, unless it fall within one of the exceptions.”

(b) “A is asked, who stole B's watch? A points to Z, intending to cause it to be believed that Z stole B's watch. This is defamation, unless it fall within one of the exceptions.”

(c) “A draws a picture of Z running away with B's watch, intending it to be believed that Z stole B's watch. This is defamation, unless it fall within one of the exceptions.

(d) “A says of Z, that Z drinks wine. Here the question, whether A has defamed Z, may turn on the question, whether Z is a Mussulman, or a Christian, and so on.

The Commissioners, anticipating that the apparent novelty of this method would give rise to carping, submitted a justification on this point; which we commend, not only as a defence of this Code, but as excellent reasons why other learned persons, engaged in code-making or consolidation, should follow the same method.

“One peculiarity,” they say, “in which this Code is framed, will immediately strike your Lordship in Council. We mean the copious use of illustrations. These illustrations will, we trust, greatly facilitate the understanding of the law, and will at the same time often serve as a defence of the law. In our definitions we have repeatedly found ourselves under the necessity of sacrificing neatness and perspicuity to precision, and of using harsh expressions, because we could find no other expressions, which would convey our whole meaning, and no more than our whole meaning. Such definitions, standing by themselves, might repel and perplex the reader, and would perhaps be fully comprehended only by a few students after long application. Yet such definitions are found, and must be found, in every system of law, which aims at accuracy. A legislator may, if he thinks fit, avoid such definitions, and by avoiding them, he will give a smoother and more attractive appearance to his workmanship; but in that case he flinches from a duty, which he ought to perform, and which some body must perform. If this necessary, but most disagreeable, work be not performed by the lawgiver once for all, it must be constantly performed in a rude and imperfect manner by every Judge in the Empire, and will probably be performed by no two Judges in the same way. We have therefore thought it right not to shrink from the task of framing these unpleasing but indispensable parts of a Code. And we hope that, when each of these definitions is followed by a collection of cases falling under it, and of cases which, though at first sight they appear to fall under it, do not really fall under it, the definition, and the reasons which led to the adoption of it, will be readily understood.”

In the work of Mr. Harrison, the title of which is prefixed to this article, an analogous plan was adopted under the direction of Mr. Uniacke: and it was intended as a specimen of the manner, in which the latter gentleman proposed, that the whole body of the common law should be codified. Wanting the legislative sanction, this private Code, of course, contains references throughout to the decisions of the Courts in support of every proposition, as well both of the general rules, as of the

examples : but still it is a Code, and with verbal alterations might be adopted by the Legislature. It is the production of a practical lawyer: and to its utility as a law book, merely by reason of its peculiar method, we have heard lawyers testify.

Our readers have seen the reasons given by the Commissioners for using illustration by cases: and for what good reason to the contrary, we beg to ask, should the law-giver be deprived of the right of explaining the intended import and operation of his law by this method? These illustrations are for the most part law cases, and nothing else; so peculiarly so, that many of them may be found in such books, as the Term reports and Crown cases; only in their pages not generalized. The first of them, for example, would probably run in the Reporter's marginal abridgment, supposing it was a civil case, as follows:—

“ Acción on the case for words, which were proved to have been spoken by the defendant of and concerning the plaintiff. A (the plaintiff) is an honest man; he never stole B's watch; *inuendo*, that the defendant meant to cause it to be believed, that he, the plaintiff, did steal B's watch. *Held*, that these words were actionable in the absence of any circumstances to shew that they were *bona fide* spoken on a proper occasion: Johnson J. *dissentiente*.”

Now such would be a proper law case, according to the most approved pattern, and would of course be transferred from the Reporter's pages to every treatise on the law of defamation, and in foot notes to the Code, in editions republished by the learned commentators of Westminster Hall; and succeeding Judges would respect it, or not, as an “authority,” or “precedent,” according to their view of its conformity with the Code, and such rules of interpretation as they might apply to it: and the case might never afterwards be shaken. But this is certain, that as Mr. Justice Johnson was, according to the report, “dissentiens,” it would have to be litigated over again, between other persons; and the comity of the Courts would concede such licence and latitude of argument, in favour of a view, which had a learned Judge's sanction, and perhaps other Justices would have other doubts, so that probably the law of defamation would, by the variety and mass of subtleties brought against it, be involved in uncertainty, and become what it is without a Code, but what it never could become under a Code illustrated after the manner of the Penal Code of the India Law Commission.

“Thus the Code,” say the Commissioners, “will be at once a statute book, and a collection of decided cases. The decided

‘ cases in the Code will differ from the decided cases in the English law books in two most important points. In the first place, our illustrations are never intended to supply any omission in the written law, nor do they ever, in our opinion, put a strain on the written law. They are merely instances of the practical application of the written law to the affairs of mankind. Secondly, they are cases decided not by the Judges, but by the Legislature, by those who make the law, and who must know, more certainly than any Judge can know, what the law is which they mean to make.

“ The power of construing the law, in cases in which there is any reason to doubt what the law is, amounts to the power of making law. On this ground the Roman jurists maintained that the office of interpreting the law in doubtful matters necessarily belonged to the Legislature The decisions on particular cases, which we have annexed to the provisions of the Code, resemble the Imperial rescripts in this, that they proceed from the same authority from which the provisions themselves proceed.....

“ The publication of this collection of cases decided by legislative authority will, we hope, greatly limit the power which the Courts of Justice possess of putting their own sense on the laws.”.....

We now come to the consideration of the report upon the Code and papers referred, as we have already mentioned by Government, in 1845, to the then India Law Commissioners. The duty, which these gentlemen had to perform, will be understood from the following extract from the letter of Mr. Bushby, the Secretary to the Governor-General in Council, containing in fact their instructions:—

“ The Governor-General in Council is desirous that some step should be taken towards a revision of the Code, with a view to its adoption, with such amendments as may be found necessary, or to its final disposal otherwise. For this purpose, I have been instructed to refer to you, for examination, all the opinions received from the several presidencies, as per enclosed list, and to direct your attention to the act of crimes and punishments contained in the seventh Report of the Commissioners on the Criminal Law of England, with a view to comparison, and the detection of any omissions, or other imperfections, that may exist in the Code. With these materials, the Governor-General in Council trusts that you will be enabled to frame such a report, as may assist the Government of India in forming a judgment on the merits of the Code, at no distant date.”

To these instructions, after the lapse of a few months, the Commissioners replied by a report on one portion of the Code, and in about a year after, on the remaining portion; and in 1848, they added to the Code an important and valuable supplement, called a Scheme of Procedure and Pleading, which is wholly the production of the last Commissioners. Never was labour more unflinchingly and carefully bestowed; and never on an object more worthy of it. The Commissioners are entitled to be heard in their own language, as to their conception of their duty, and the manner in which they have performed it.

“We have with great pains and care examined, compared, and digested, the voluminous papers, containing commentaries and strictures on the Penal Code, transmitted to us with Mr. Bushby’s letter; and, having reviewed the Code generally with reference thereto, we have directed our more particular attention to the chapters of the greatest importance, namely, those treating “of offences affecting the human body, and of offences against property,” and to those of a general nature governing the whole, namely, the chapter of ‘General Explanation,’ the chapter of ‘General Exceptions,’ and the chapter of ‘Abetment.’

“Having studied the definitions of crimes, and the rules and penal provisions contained in those chapters, with the aid of the lucid and able expositions of the principles upon which they are framed, which are afforded in the valuable notes appended to the Code, we turned to the instructive Reports of the Commissioners on the English Criminal Law, and to the digest of crimes and punishments contained in their seventh Report, and carefully compared the two systems, with reference occasionally to the Penal Code of France and Mr. Livingston’s Code for Louisiana, and with a constant regard to the laws actually administered by the Company’s Courts under the several presidencies. Thus prepared, we proceeded to revise the chapters, taking clause by clause, and considering particularly the criticisms, objections, or suggested amendments, which we had previously noted as worthy of remark. Our work, performed in this manner, has necessarily occupied a great deal of time: and the observations, we have thought it proper to offer, have extended to a greater length than we anticipated.”

For us, to give a general idea of the contents of the Reports on the Code, and papers relating to it, is a task of considerable difficulty from the very nature of the Report, but not therefore to be left unattempted; though we are sensible that the

manner of our performance must be inadequate to the merit of the object. We trust however we shall attract to this work a considerable degree of attention; rouse the friends of good Government; and call forth other more able and felicitous advocacy, which may secure the Code, and the other labours of the India Law Commissioners, against the fate designed for it by the selfish stand-still policy of the Leadenhall Street oligarchy.

The Commissioners had judicially, we may say, to investigate and report, and to do this they had to classify and analyze, the papers. The first place, given in their report, is to those papers sent in by the Judges of the Queen's Courts; and the first question treated of is the general one, of the propriety of making a new Code, and the general success of the one in question. Three of these learned Barristers, Sir J. P. Grant, Sir E. J. Gambier, and Sir H. Compton, were of nearly the same opinions. Sir J. P. Grant declined to enter into a particular examination of the Code, on the grounds of want of time—of a doubt as its being consistent with his judicial duties to do so, and of some alleged distrust of his learning and capacity to undertake so vast a task in so untried a path of speculative jurisprudence and legislation;—a modesty, we may characterize this, which none who knew Sir John Grant would give him credit for. A vast task undoubtedly it was, but all comprised within the limits of Sir John's own daily judicial functions. Sir E. J. Gambier declined to enter into the consideration of the different parts of the Code, from an entire disapprobation of the making of a Code. He sees much danger in this comprehensive philosophical method, and has the strongest doubts of the propriety or expediency of promulgating any Code, which professes to be more than a compilation and better arrangement of existing enactments. Sir Edward brought these opinions to India, and kept them; remaining stationary while the national mind of his country has been moving, and that in favor of code-making; and he appears not to have given the slightest attention to the facts and reasonings, which distinguish the penal law in India from, we may say, all other collections of law, and which make it simply absurd to talk of compilation and better arrangement. However let Sir E. Gambier speak for himself:—

“Sir E. J. Gambier says—‘I have always entertained the strongest doubts of the propriety or expediency of promulgating any Code of law, which professes to be more than a compilation and a better arrangement of those enactments which have previously been in force, and which former experience has sanctioned and approved; and I have always thought that

such a body of laws should be modified by those additions and alterations alone, of which the same experience has evinced the utility or the need. To do more than this—to put forth a body of laws, which is not even founded upon any previously existing system, and to clothe enactments in language which is as new to those who are to dispense the law, as to those who are to live under it—appears to me a mode of proceeding, irreconcilable with the maxims of practical wisdom, and one calculated to introduce a degree of confusion and difficulty, which has never yet been found in administering the criminal justice of any civilized country.’

“Such (he adds) being my general opinion on the Code in question, I do not enter into the consideration of the different parts of it.”

Sir Edward was scarcely entitled to call this an opinion on the Code at all: it is an opinion quite beside the Code, made up of mere fallacies and common places, which might be as well delivered of any other Code, but applied to the Indian Penal Code are mere absurdities. Doubtless Sir Edward is entitled to entertain them: and we can hardly suppose that they are intentionally sophistical. Common place the first is, in favour of opinions long entertained (Sir Edward says “always entertained”) and therefore, in this instance, of opinions formed by Sir E. J. Gambier, when a young man—perhaps for a debate at some forensic society—respectable opinions, but they reject philosophical method and scientific principles. Common place the second is, in favor of compilation and better arrangement; which no one will deny to be improvements; but the recommendation in this instance is practicably inapplicable. We should like to know how Sir Edward Gambier would compile and better arrange *omissions*. For example, the Commissioners stated in their letter to the Governor-General in Council:—

“Many important classes of offences are altogether un-
 ‘ noticed by the Bombay Code: and the omission appears to
 ‘ us to be very ill supplied by one sweeping clause, which arms
 ‘ the Courts with almost unlimited power to punish, as they
 ‘ think fit, offences against morality, or against the peace and
 ‘ good order of society, if those offences are penal by the
 ‘ religious law of the offender. This clause does not apply to
 ‘ people, who profess a religion, with which a system of penal
 ‘ law is not inseparably connected. And from this state of
 ‘ the law some singular consequences follow. For example
 ‘ a Muhammadan is punishable for adultery; a Christian is at
 ‘ liberty to commit adultery with impunity.”

Now we ask Sir Edward, how, out of this, he could make a compilation and better arrangement. We will give Sir Edward credit for frankness and common sense, sufficient to say, “It is impossible; my suggestion does not apply;” which

is exactly our objection to Sir Edward's criticism: it is a mere common place and inapplicable.

For want of a Code, the law in Bombay remains, to the present day, as it was when described by the Commissioners. They describe the omissions alluded to only in general terms: but the regulation, which they also refer to, as intended to supply them, is quite a curiosity in its way, and we will quote it from the work of Mr. Harrison: *—

“ *Seventh.*—Offences, declared penal by the religious law of the person charged, provided they be not included among those for which punishment is enacted in the Code of Regulations, but nevertheless constitute a breach of morality, or the peace, or good order of society; they shall be liable to such punishment, as may be prescribed by the religious law of the convict, if it be of a nature authorized in section 111 of this Regulation; otherwise it shall be commuted to such of the punishments therein authorized, as may be deemed equivalent and appropriate, by the authority taking cognizance of the case.”

The Commissioners have said that this clause does not apply to people who profess a religion with which a system of penal law is not inseparably connected; which probably is a correct construction. At the same time it is not clear what is its meaning, and with such Judges and Magistrates, as those of the East India Company's Courts, the Regulation appears to us eminently adapted to create confusion. It is a blind Regulation, passed in mere ignorance; and even qualified by construction, as the Commissioners propose, exceedingly vicious, as we deem, in principle.

Sir J. C. Compton is the next of the Supreme Court Judges, to whose opinions we shall advert. He professes not to attempt a criticism on the work of the law commission, or of its arrangement, or particular provisions, but to state the grounds upon which, *a priori*, he is of opinion that the Code, they have prepared, should not be adopted: and he endeavours to shew that in preparing the Penal Code, in the manner in which it has been prepared, as a general system of Criminal Law for India, to be substituted for all the systems which now prevail, “ the Law Commissioners have done what was not intended by Parliament, while they have omitted to do what was contemplated and commanded by Parliament; and that if, in taking this course, they were guided by instructions from the Governor-General in Council, such instructions were unwar-

* For the title of the work see the head of this article.

ranted, for the Governor-General in Council had not legal power to dispense with the directions contained in the Act of Parliament, which in fact created their own authority."

If Sir J. Compton had attended to what the Commissioners said on presenting the Code to Government, he would have seen that his premises, as respecting them, were incorrect. The Commissioners left it to Government to decide, "to what places and to what classes of persons" the Code should apply: and therefore not they, any more than the Government, are chargeable with exceeding the powers conferred by Parliament. If on consideration, the Government wished to establish the Code, but thought it wanted powers, of course it would send its recommendation to the proper authorities in England; but that the preparation of a Code came strictly within their province we have shown by the very words of the Act of Parliament.

Respecting the Code, he says, that similar attempts to simplify Codes have failed, and that it is no longer useful to attempt to render them perfect by the introduction of all possible cases, which after all is an impossibility.

From the opinions just animadverted upon, we come to a class, in which a far different spirit is manifested. On the question of the expediency of framing a Code, the late Sir H. Seton, a Judge in the Supreme Court of Calcutta, makes the following sensible observations:—

"The best justification of it seems to be found in the necessity of some system: the absence of any satisfactory one; and the hopelessness of constructing a more perfect one, except by means of successive improvements upon this:" adding, that "if the attempt were to be delayed, until all the information, which theoretically might be considered desirable, were obtained, it would never be made."

But Sir Henry Seton thought that the Penal Code ought not to be brought into operation without the intended Code of procedure; and he contemplated the preparation of a civil Code, as important or necessary to the penal branch; for he speaks of the completion of the *whole design*, as likely to lead to the extension of civil rights and remedies, and the modification of many provisions of the Penal Code.

Sir R. Comyn is the next English lawyer, whose opinions are reported upon; and they are not unfriendly towards the Code; but, singularly, he recommended that it should first be brought into operation in the Presidency towns; for what reason, does not appear; probably on account of the superior qualification of the Queen's Courts for administering a new system; and yet he, at the same time, intimated it as his

opinion, that the Code could not be administered in the Supreme Courts with their system of criminal procedure.

From Sir R. Comyn, we proceed to Sir J. Awdry, then Chief Justice of Bombay. Contrary to Sir R. Comyn, he observed that "the procedure of the English law seems fully adequate to the working of the Code:" and Sir John adds, that "he could easily leave to the Jury almost any charge it contains." Scarcely more could be said of any system. With or without a Code, there must be constantly occurring difficult questions. The Code does not create them; and we should be glad to know how, with all their accumulated experience, ability and learning, the English lawyers could administer their own system, without the help of the Chittys and Archbolds, and a numerous host of minor but less known fags of Westminster Hall. Let the English Criminal Law and the Penal Code be first put, or supposed to be, on equal terms; and then let any impartial Judge decide. If the advantage of facility for administration be not pronounced to be greatly on the side of the Penal Code, we are very much mistaken. Sir J. Awdry's opinion goes to this point. The first impression, he says, which was made upon him by the perusal of an early draft of the Code, without the preface or notes, was, how simple and practical the whole scheme seemed to be, and how little (with certain grave exceptions) departing from the substantial principles of the law of England. "This impression," he proceeds to say, "has been confirmed by the perusal of the complete work, and to it has been added a sense of the general comprehension of its plan, and of the sound reason of large classes of its enactments." Again he remarks, "the enactments are generally so conformable to the sound and universal principles of this branch of law, which is, or ought to be, less artificial than the civil, that I should see no great inconvenience and no injustice in its introduction."

The above, he observes, is "almost the highest praise of which he conceives the draft of such a work capable, as long as it is not matured by those amendments and interpretations, which, in the course of time, will supply its defects, correct its errors, and authenticate the sense of every line. The present involves a bold, and, to a certain extent, a successful attempt to mitigate the unavoidable evils of the sudden introduction of a mass of enacted law."

On the whole, he says, he "views this work as an admirable attempt to comprise, in a single statute, the definition of crimes and their punishments, but no more; and considers that those who, because they can point out numerous and

‘ important defects in it, think they shew that it is not entitled to that praise, only betray their ignorance of the extreme difficulty of sound legislation.”

The next English lawyers, whose opinions are noticed, are Mr. Norton, the Advocate General of Madras, and Mr. Cochrane, the Company’s standing Counsel at Calcutta. Both of them are opposed to codification : the former objects to the Code, as a *whole*; and the latter, in the several chapters which he examines, finds provisions that appear to him highly objectionable. The merits of the former gentleman, as a critic, we shall endeavor to illustrate in the course of this article, and give our readers the means of forming their own opinion.

From the opinions of Supreme Court lawyers, the Commissioners proceed to those of Judges of the Company’s Courts, and other officers in the Mofussil. We can only make a selection from these, and shall begin with Colonel Sleeman, whose intellectual character, which is that of great independence, reputation, which is European, and pervasive knowledge of the country, the people, their habits, the laws, the state of crime, and the Courts of the Mofussil, give great weight to his opinion. The following is the paragraph, in which the Commissioners have reported Colonel Sleeman’s opinion :

“ Colonel Sleeman, Commissioner for the suppression of Thuggee, whose opinion was specially called for by Government, on account of his great practical experience, says, ‘ I have read the Code over several times very carefully, and honestly say that at every reading it has grown more and more upon my esteem. I am persuaded that it might be put immediately in force, with great advantage to the people of India; and that it would soon become all that could be desired, under the fostering care of the Legislative Council and Law Commissioners, in the manner pointed out in the 25th paragraph of the letter of the Law Commissioners to the Governor-General of India.’ ” Colonel Sleeman suggests certain alterations and additions as likely to be useful. We may note in particular, that he proposes to add clauses for the punishment of seduction and adultery, and making it penal to sell or buy human beings, in order to put an end to slavery in India : the latter indeed has been partially done.

Much to the same effect is the opinion of Mr. Thomas, a judicial officer of great experience, and afterwards Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras. “ Looking upon the Code as a whole, I consider it,” he says, “ chiefly valuable as a compendium of the latest and most enlightened views of penal jurisprudence, applied with much judgment

‘ to the circumstances and wants of India.” He praises particularly the comprehensiveness of the definitions of offences, as putting an end to the very great evil of arbitrary punishment (*ākūbut*), under unknown provisions of the Muhammadan system as at present existing. He adds, “the entire ‘ abrogation of the Mahometan law, relieving the criminal ‘ jurisprudence of the country from a barbarous encumbrance, ‘ will also be found a most important improvement; and I consider the Code, on the whole, well calculated to form the basis ‘ of a greatly improved system. It is, I am of opinion, capable ‘ of being at once made law in the provinces, and substituted, ‘ with but little modification, for the present regulations of ‘ Government.”

Opinions, founded on this comparative view, appear to us particularly valuable; and in this respect the testimonies of such persons, as Colonel Sleeman and Mr. Thomas, ought, rationally considered, greatly to outweigh those of the Nortons and Supreme Court Counsel. Gentlemen of the latter class pass their lives in the Presidency towns, in contented ignorance, generally, of the manners, the language, the religion, the customs of the country, the native criminal law, the people, and of every thing, in short, but what is indispensable in their own Courts: they consequently want almost every qualification for making a comparison between the Code, and all that the Code would displace, every where except in the Presidency towns: and exactly that very qualification, which the English lawyers in India want, is possessed by the Company’s servants.

The remaining testimonials, on the general question, are from the Company’s Sudder, or Chief Courts. The Commissioners, from whose Report alone we derive our information, have disposed of their opinions in three paragraphs, and made no extract from them. The Sudder Court of the N. W. Provinces expresses a doubt, whether the plan, followed in the preparation of the Code, is the best that could have been adopted; but at the same time recognizes its comprehensiveness, and speaks of its execution as generally successful: the officers subordinate to this Court delivered similar opinions. The majority approved the Code; only one gave an unqualified disapprobation. In Bombay, some approved absolutely, and others expressed approbation with reserve and qualifications.

In Madras, opinions appear to have been more divided, but are of a quality, which weighs little on either scale. The Sudder Courts, we need hardly observe, are the highest Courts of the East India Company. As Courts of Justice, they are only Courts of appeal: but they have correctional powers

over all the Courts of original jurisdiction. That Courts of such eminent rank should take such inferior standing, on the great question of giving a new body of laws to India, is a remarkable phenomenon.

From the general question of the expediency of making a Code, the Report proceeds to discuss, chapter by chapter, but not in the order of the Code, the various criticisms on its provisions. We shall now proceed to shew how full a discussion the Code has undergone in this way, and what great pains have been bestowed by the Commissioners in the critical appreciation of remarks submitted to them. Certainly the ordeal, it has passed through, entitles it to legislative consideration and, in our opinion, we shall add, to adoption.

The first chapter of the Code is entitled, and consists of, "General Explanations;" and it is also the first brought under consideration in the Report. A few extracts will be necessary to make the discussion intelligible:—

"1. Throughout this Code every definition of an offence, every penal provision, and every illustration of every such definition or penal provision, shall be understood subject to the exceptions contained in the chapter, entitled, "General Exceptions," though these exceptions are not repeated in such definition, penal provision, or illustration.

"*Illustration.* 'Clause 294 contains the following definition of an offence: Whoever does any act, or omits what he is legally bound to do, with the intention of thereby causing, or with the knowledge that he is likely thereby to cause, the death of any person, and does by such act or omission cause the death of any person, is said to commit the offence of voluntary culpable homicide.' Here, it is not expressed that a child under seven years of age cannot commit voluntary culpable homicide; but the definition of voluntary culpable homicide is to be understood subject to the general exception contained in Clause 64, which provides that nothing shall be an offence, which is done by a child under seven years of age.

"5. The pronoun 'He' is used of any person, whether male or female.

"6. The word 'Man' denotes a male human being of any age; the word 'Woman' denotes a female human being of any age.

"7. The word 'Party' denotes collections of persons, as well as persons.

"*Illustrations.* The Government of India, the Bank of Bengal, the Union Bank, the Asiatic Society, are parties.

"9. The words 'Government of India' denote the Executive Government of India, unless it be otherwise expressed."

The reader will readily perceive what scope an uncandid opponent may find here for the indulgence of malevolence; and what temptation is offered to mere vanity, to assume the chair of criticism: and many, doubtless, who had imbibed vulgar prejudices against codification, when the name was new, and denoted (so to speak) an abstraction, would take up the code eager to verify their preconceptions. The report before us exemplifies the truth of these anticipations. Nearly half of this chapter on the General Explanations is employed on the criticisms of

the Advocate General at Madras :* and indeed so numerous and adverse are they, that if they were to any considerable extent tenable, this important part of the code must be deemed a failure.

Mr. Norton makes a general attack on the chapter of explanations : "It," says he, "appears to me to exemplify vagueness and uncertainty of language;" and, "to contain many incorrect positions, and some that are arbitrary and inconsistent." Greater faults than these could not be imputed; "explanations," which are themselves vague and uncertain, fail in their office. "Arbitrary" meanings may, or may not, be defensible: some such may have been inevitable: each must be weighed on its own merits, and they should have been stated and shewn to be unnecessary. Inconsistencies of course are vices wholly indefensible. But remarks, unsupported by proofs, are merely like the speech of Counsel: and Mr. Norton has enabled us to form some opinion of this, his general verdict, from the particular proofs which he has given. For example, upon the 9th clause quoted above, explaining the words "Government of India" to mean "the Executive Government of India," Mr. Norton remarks, "I do not know what is meant by the 'Executive Government of India,' unless it be otherwise Expressed." The Commissioners reply to this by referring to the constitution of the Government of India, and express a just surprise that that officer should have any difficulty in understanding the phrase in question. The reply of the Commissioners is as follows:—

"That the constitution of the Government of India, for *legislative* purposes, is different from its constitution for all other purposes; that, for legislative purposes, it consists of the Governor-General and a Council of four Ordinary Members; and for all other purposes, of the Governor-General and a Council of three Ordinary Members, the fourth Ordinary Member not being entitled to sit and vote in Council, except at meetings for making Laws and Regulations; and that it is enacted that 'all Laws and Regulations shall be made at some meeting of the Council, at which the said Governor-General and at least three of the Ordinary Members of Council shall be assembled; and that all other functions of the said Governor-General in Council may be exercised by the said Governor-General, and one or more Ordinary Member, or Members of Council.'"

Here then is a very intelligible distinction, very clearly and expressly drawn between the legislative powers and other powers of the Governor-General: and, knowing this,—as Mr. Norton surely must—it is difficult, say the Commissioners, to conceive that Mr. Norton can be in earnest, in saying that he does not know that the Governor-General in Council, exercis-

ing 'all other functions,' except the function of legislation, is what is meant by the Executive Government of India."

The 14th clause of the same chapter is as follows:—

"14. The words 'public servant' denote a person falling under any of the descriptions hereinafter following: namely, first, every covenanted servant of the East India Company," &c. &c.

To this Mr. Norton objects, that this class may be taken to describe covenantees by charter-party: and assuming that it could not possibly be meant to apply to them, the term, used to explain the larger term, is objectionable. The Commissioners reply:—"This is a mistake, which, considering the positive sense that the term 'covenanted servant' bears in the Company's territories, we deem to be most unlikely." True: but we are not quite so satisfied with this answer: because, suppose a charter-party did clearly, by special term, constitute the covenantee a servant of the Company; the definition would still be right, and Mr. Norton wrong, while generally the usage would prevent the application of the term to ordinary covenantees by charter-party.

Clause 4 of the Explanations is as follows:—

"4. Whenever the causing of a certain effect by an act, or by an omission, is an offence, it is to be understood that the causing of that effect, partly by an act, and partly by an omission, is the same offence.

"*Illustration.* A voluntarily causes Z's death, partly by illegally omitting to give Z food, and partly by beating Z; A has committed voluntary culpable homicide."

On this Mr. Norton says, he cannot see why starving a man to death is considered no act, but an omission. The Commissioners reply:—"In the illustration, the effect supposed is death, partly occasioned by an act, beating; partly by an omission, not supplying food. The word 'starving' used by Norton does not occur. As far as we know, Mr. Norton is singular in his inability to see the distinction between act and omission so illustrated; and we do not apprehend that there will be any difficulty generally in discovering it." As complete an answer this, as can be given, and strictly confined to the particular objection; the Commissioners might, if it had come within their plan, have justly taken the opportunity of pointing out, that while the Code is free from the objection taken by Mr. Norton, it provides for the offence of starving a man to death, whether that offence consists of an act, as it may, or of an omission, as it equally may, or be composed of both act and omission; as by omitting to give food, and preventing food, either by direct or indirect means, from being given by other persons. It is disingeniousness, and quite unworthy of Mr. Norton, to

change the terms of the Code for supposed equivalents, and then raise objections, to which the equivalents are, but the actual terms of the Code are not, open. Such depreciating methods are either intentional, or not; but, on either supposition, imply a great want of proper qualification for philosophical decision,—the defect in the one case being moral, in the other intellectual.

We will next refer to the criticism of a friendly and candid person on the 7th clause of the Explanations; that clause is as follows:—

“7. The word ‘party’ denotes collections of persons, as well as persons.

“*Illustration.* The Government of India,” &c.

Sir H. Seton questions the use of the word ‘party’ for ‘person.’ The word ‘party’ in a legal sense, he observes, signifies a person, who is a party in a cause, or to a deed, &c. “It implies the existence of a person of a particular description.” Very well; then it does mean *person*; and it sufficiently appears from the illustration, that the object of the explanation was not to enlarge it, so as to comprise all common individuals, but to apply it to collections of persons, as well as other ‘particular descriptions’ of persons.

The reply of the Commissioners is as follows:—

“The intention is not that the word ‘party’ shall be used for person generally, but simply to explain that it may comprehend a body, such as the Government of India, the Bank of Bengal, &c., as well as an individual. It seems to be used in this Code only in some such particular sense, as is indicated by Sir H. Seton, and as it is used in the Digest of the English Criminal Law Commission.”

The Code contains a chapter, entitled “The abuse of the powers of public servants;” and the General Explanations give a description of the classes and persons who shall be deemed public servants. It is questioned by one officer, whether Juwabnevisseys, Gomastahs, and other servants of that class, come under any of the descriptions enumerated, so as to be subject to the provisions of this chapter on abuse of powers by public servants. The question is considered and met, and the Commissioners in reply point out the explanations, which would clearly comprise these as public servants.

Clause 2 of the General Explanations relates to the word “document,” and gives it a more restricted signification than the technical word ‘writing’ bears in the Digest of the English Criminal Law Commission, or in Mr. Livingston’s book of Definitions. Sir H. Seton questions the propriety of this meaning; Mr. Norton calls it arbitrary; and Mr. Greenhill shews that it would exclude papers, bearing the seal or stamped sig-

nature, commonly used in India without hand-writing. The Commissioners, stating and reporting upon these objections, admit their validity, and propose to remove them by making certain amendments. Questions in like manner raised upon the explanations of the terms, "valuable security," "illegal," "intelligent consent," "person of Asiatic blood," and some others, are stated, discussed, and disposed of, in a similarly candid spirit.

The next chapter in the report is on the title "General Exceptions." From two or three short specimens, which we will give, any reader, to whom the subject may be new, will comprehend the object and nature of these exceptions.

"*General Exceptions.* 62. Nothing is an offence, which is done by a person, who is, or in good faith believes himself to be, commanded by law to do it.

"*Illustrations.* (a). A (a soldier) fires on a mob, by the order of his superior officer, in conformity with the commands of the law; A has committed no offence. (b). A, an officer of a Court of Justice, being ordered by the Court to arrest Y, and being led into a belief that Z is Y, arrests Z, believing in good faith that, in arresting Z, he is obeying an order, which he is commanded by law to obey. Here A may, under certain circumstances, be liable to a civil action, but he has committed no offence.

" 63. Nothing is an offence which is done by a person in the exercise, to the best of his judgment exerted in good faith, of any power given to him by law.

"*Illustration.* A sees Z commit, what appears to A, to be a murder. A, in the exercise, to the best of his judgment exerted in good faith, of the power, which the law gives to all persons of apprehending murderers in the fact, seizes Z in order to bring Z before the proper authorities. A has committed no offence.

" 64. Nothing is an offence which is done by a child, under 7 years of age."

Now let us turn to the Report; and we will first notice the remark of Sir Robert Comyn, which applies to the above propositions. "Sir R. Comyn," says the Report, "notices, as an objection to a variety of clauses, that the commission, or non-commission, of an offence is made too much to depend upon what may be passing in the mind of the party offending, at the time of his committing the act laid to his charge." Again, Sir R. Comyn says, "The mistake seems to be in making the question of crime, or no crime, depend upon the want of good faith, &c., so as to throw upon the prosecutor the burden of averring and proving the absence of good faith, or misconception." The Commissioners observe, that, after making these remarks, Sir R. Comyn himself anticipates the answer to them, by suggesting that "the Code of Procedure may perhaps remove part of this difficulty, by simply requiring averment and proof of the criminal act, and leaving the party accused to satisfy the Court that he acted from such motives or impressions, as, according to the Penal Code, may negative his being

guilty at all." The Code of Procedure was not then prepared ; but the Commissioners adopt this suggestion of Sir R. Comyn : and we may ask, what more can be desired, than that, if an offence has been committed and is proved, the offender shall be entitled to divest it of the quality of criminality, by shewing that good faith, which means the absence of malice, or any other criminal moving quality ? and where can be the danger of his failing, or succeeding unjustly, though his defence may turn on proof of mental qualities ? Obviously, good faith, to be an excuse for an offence must stand *simpliciter* ! as, for instance, a soldier fires without an order, killing a man in view of him, by aim, in circumstances, in which he might expect the order to fire ; and then, on his trial, alleges a defence under the first General Exception in the Code, that he fired in good faith, believing the order was given ; but it appears in evidence, not only that no order was given, and that the next man did not fire, but also that the man shot was his personal enemy :—the question of guilt or innocence, in such a case, might be one of great difficulty ; but not by reason of the terms of the Code at all, but of the circumstances connected with the offence, and which would render it necessary to consider the state of mind of the offender. The case would be just as difficult, without a Code as with it, and more so, to many judges, who would want its aid to explain wherein guilt or innocence consisted.

It is a well known principle that ignorance, or mistake of facts, is generally an excuse under the law of England ; but not ignorance of the law ; as, for example, if a man in war shoot a comrade, mistaking him for an enemy, the mistake would be an excuse, because one of fact. Sir R. Comyn having deemed the first General Exception, stated above, to be a violation of this maxim, contrary, as the Commissioners think, to the intention of the Code, they have proposed to add a provision, which shall remove this objection. " Provided that this exception shall not extend to any person, who, by reason of a misconception of law, and not by reason of a misconception of fact, believes himself to be commanded by law to do any thing."

The criticisms on those provisions of the Code, which relate to the right of private defence, have undergone an elaborate consideration ; and the Report establishes on the whole, with reference to this part of the Code, that it does not materially differ from the law of England ; that its terms are adequate to express the intention ; and that most of the objections, which have been made, apply rather to the inherent difficulties of the cases supposed, than to the terms of the Code, and

some of those objections, they shew, arise from oversight, imperfect views, or want of a comprehensive consideration of all the passages, which are pertinent to the matter in question. In this branch of the discussion we have another instance of candid concession. The Code says, "The right of private defence of property commences, when the danger to the property commences. The right of private defence of property against theft and robbery continues, till either the offender has effected his retreat with the property, or the property has been recovered." The expression "till the offender has effected his retreat" was objected to, as very indefinite; and the whole clause, as much too restrictive of the right, considering the circumstances to which it would apply in India. "The natives of this country," it was argued, "seldom recover from the panic caused by an attack, or think of resistance, till a robbery has been completed; they cannot indeed assemble in sufficient numbers soon enough: if therefore a village has been attacked and robbed by a gang, who have effected their retreat with the property to a neighbouring jungle, the villagers ought not to be precluded from attempting its recovery, and the seizure of the robbers, even at the risk of killing any of them:" and it was suggested that the privilege of this clause should operate, till the offender is taken and delivered to an officer of justice.

The Report, after quoting from Russell on Crimes, the English law of justifiable homicide, proceeds to say:—

"We think with Mr. Blane, that the 2nd paragraph of clause 81 is not sufficiently definite. We are not sure of the meaning intended by the expression 'till the offender has effected his retreat with the property;' we know not certainly when he is to be considered as having effected his retreat; probably it is when he has once got clear off, having escaped immediate pursuit, or pursuit not having been made. We presume, that the protection of parties pursuing robbers, &c., for the recovery of property, which they have succeeded in carrying off, or for bringing them to justice, was thought not to be within the scope of the provisions touching the right of private defence; we apprehend that, under the Rules which will be laid down in the Code of Procedure, parties will be protected on such occasions under clauses 62 and 63." Now first, if the substantive part of the Code did not provide immunity or protection for homicide committed on such occasions, the Code of Procedure would exceed its province, if it provided such protection; and secondly, the Code of Procedure does not appear to us to provide such protection. The objection therefore remains, that such protection, as is given, depends on

words of too uncertain meaning. On substituting others for them, however, we should incline to adhere to the English law of homicide in the case of pursuit of felons. The native character cannot be raised by conceding to its cowardice, what is denied to a braver race of men.

Many of the discussions in this chapter are too abstruse for our pages. One of the most interesting, to our mind, because of great practical moment, is on the distinction which the Code makes between "intent" and "knowledge of likelihood." For example, let us take the case of a surgeon and a quack doctor; each performs a particular operation with the knowledge of the likelihood of its ending in the death of his patient; but neither of them with the intent to kill him; both, with the patient's consent; and the surgeon, at all events, under the sanction of scientific reasons; while the quack doctor wants that sanction, not having science. The man dies. By the English law, the quack doctor would be charged with the intent to kill him, and his conviction would be obtained on a legal presumption or construction. The surgeon would, in the same case, be indicted in the same manner, and acquitted, from the absence of the usual legal presumption. By the Code, on the other hand, neither would be charged with intent; but the surgeon would be acquitted, because he performed the operation, not only with the patient's consent, but under the sanction of scientific reason, and after all proper educational preparation, and according to professional art—therefore with the least possible likelihood of destroying the patient: whereas the quack doctor would have performed it, with the greatest likelihood of failure, and with knowledge of that likelihood, as would appear by his own knowledge of the difference of qualification between himself and the regular surgeon.* To this distinction we are disposed to attach a much higher degree of importance even than the Commissioners do.

On this subject they remark:—

"In general we have made no distinction between cases, in which a man causes an effect designedly, and cases, in which he causes it with a knowledge that he is likely to cause it. If, for example, he sets fire to a house in a town at night, with no other object than that of facilitating a theft; but, being perfectly aware that he is likely to cause people to be burned in their beds, and thus causes the loss of life, we punish him as a murderer. But there is, as it appears to us, a class of cases, in which it is absolutely necessary to make a distinction. It is often the wisest thing that a man can do, to expose his life to great hazard. It is often the greatest service, that can be rendered him, to do what may very probably cause his death. He may labour under a cruel and wasting malady, which is certain to shorten his life, and which renders his life, while it lasts,

* We ought to state that this illustration is ours, and not taken from the Report.

' useless to others, and a torment to himself. Suppose, under these circumstances, he, undeceived, gives his free and intelligent consent to take the risk of an operation, which in a large proportion of cases has proved fatal, but which is the only method by which his disease can possibly be cured, and which, if it succeeds, will restore him to health and vigour.

"We do not conceive that it would be expedient to punish the surgeon, who should perform the operation, though, by performing it, he might cause death, not intending to cause death, but knowing himself to be likely to cause it. Again if a person, attacked by a wild beast, should call out to his friends to fire, though with imminent hazard to himself, and they obey the call, we do not conceive that it would be expedient to punish them, though they might, by firing, cause his death, and though, when they fired, they knew themselves to be likely to cause his death.

"We propose therefore that it shall be no offence to do, even what the doer knows to be likely to cause death, if the sufferer, being of ripe age, has, undeceived, given a free and intelligent consent to stand the risk, and if the doer did not intend to cause death, but on the contrary intended in good faith the benefit of the sufferer."

"Duress" is a term, of course, familiar to many of our readers; we may describe it generally as meaning the compulsion, which arises from the fear of bodily harm. In what cases it should form an excuse has undergone a very interesting discussion. Some cases, excused on this plea by the law of England, are totally unprovided for in the Code: such as the case of a smith, seized by a gang of dacoits, who force him to take his tools, and break open a door for them; and the case of piracy, committed by an accomplice acting under terror of his companions. The Indian Law Commissioners have considered such cases proper to be dealt with by Government, but not to be the subject of special legal exemption. We find it difficult to agree with them. If the case may happen of a person, engaged without his own fault in a piratical adventure, and acting from the sole motive of duress, this plea, we should say, ought to be permitted to him; and for this reason; that Government would be but too apt to let the law take its course, and then, merely owing to a defect in the Code, an innocent man would lose his life; or, which is the same thing, a man, who had a plea, which though not available in a Court of Justice, ought to succeed with Government.

The Commissioners give the following exposition of reasons:—

"We long considered whether it would be advisable to except, from the operation of the penal clauses of the Code, acts committed in good faith from the desire of self-preservation; and we have determined not to except them."

They observe that, "it would be mere useless cruelty, to hang a man for voluntarily causing the death of others, by jumping from a sinking ship into an overloaded boat. The suffering, caused by the punishment, is considered by itself an evil, and ought to be inflicted only for the sake of some

‘preponderating good. But no preponderating good, indeed
‘no good whatever, would be obtained by hanging a man for
‘such an act.” Again, “a gang of dacoits, finding a house
‘strongly secured, seize a smith, and, by torture and threats
‘of death, induce him to take his tools, and to force the door for
‘them. Here it appears to us that to punish the smith as a
‘house-breaker would be to inflict gratuitous pain. We can-
‘not trust to the deterring effect of such punishment.” They
then say, “If all cases, in which acts, falling under the defini-
‘tion of offences, are done from the desire of self-preservation
‘were as clear as the above, we should, without hesitation,
‘propose to exempt this class of acts from punishment. But
‘in both these cases, the person in danger is supposed to have
‘been brought into danger without the smallest fault on his
‘own part, by mere accident, or by the depravity of others.”
On the other hand, they remark, that “nothing is more usual
‘than for pirates, gang robbers, and rioters, to excuse their
‘crimes, by declaring that they were in dread of their asso-
‘ciates, and could not act otherwise. Nor is it by any means
‘improbable that this may often be true. Nay it is not im-
‘probable, that crews of pirates and gangs of robbers may
‘have committed crimes, which every one among them was
‘unwilling to commit, under the influence of mutual fear.”
“But we think it clear,” they say, “that this circumstance
‘ought not to exempt them from the full severity of the law :”
and the reasons, they give for this opinion, are that, “though
‘we cannot count on the fear, which a man may entertain
‘of being brought to the gallows at some distant time, as
‘sufficient to overcome the fear of instant death, yet the fear
‘of remote punishment may often overcome the motives, which
‘induce a man to league himself with lawless companions, in
‘whose society no person, who shrinks from any atrocity that
‘they may command, is sure of his life.”

In fine they say, “we should think it, in the highest degree,
‘pernicious to enact, that no act, done under the fear even of
‘instant death, should be an offence. It would *à fortiori* be
‘absurd to enact that no act, under the fear of any other evil,
‘should be an offence. There are, as we have said, cases in
‘which it would be useless cruelty to punish acts done under
‘the fear of death, or even of evils less than death. But it ap-
‘pears to us impossible precisely to define those cases. We
‘have therefore left them to the Government, which, in the
‘exercise of its clemency, will doubtless be guided in a great
‘measure by the advice of the Court.”

From the chapter, now under consideration, we will give one
other instance of the exercise of an independent judgment, on

the part of the authors of the Report, ending with the recommendation of an amendment. It relates to the provisions of the English Criminal Law in favour of a married woman, who commits an offence in the presence of her husband. The Code contains no similar provision in favour of the wife.

The report states :—

“ It is laid down in the Digest of the English Criminal Law, that, ‘ a married woman, charged with the commission of any criminal act, shall, in case her husband shall be present at the time of the commission of such act, be presumed to have acted under his coercion, and shall be entitled to an acquittal, unless it appear that she did not so act. Provided that no such presumption shall be made in case of any charge of treason or homicide.’ By Mr. Livingston’s Code, ‘ a married woman, committing an offence by command or persuasion of her husband, shall suffer no greater punishment than simple imprisonment for one-half of the term to which she would have been sentenced, if she had committed the offence without such command, or persuasion.”

On this the Report remarks :—

“ There is no provision in favour of the wife under such circumstances in the Code under review. The point is not adverted to in the Notes ; we have therefore no explanation of the reasons, upon which the framers of the Code determined not to allow the plea of coercion by the husband to avail in favour of the wife, either to the extent of excusing her, or in the way of extenuation. It seems to us, considering how much the women of India are under the power of their husbands, that such a plea may more properly be allowed in this country than in England.”

After all, this is but a qualified approbation of the law of England. On the other hand, it is to be regretted that the authors of the Code did not give their reasons for not following it. We should surmise that they doubted to a great extent the fact of the superior force of the husband, and thought it, at all events, not sufficiently universal, to form a just ground of a general excuse, or presumption. We are ourselves inclined to think so too ; certainly the presumption is a mere *fictio juris*, when, as must often happen, the cause of the wife’s crime is any thing else than the superior force of the husband, though he be present ; and all, as appears to us, that the wife could justly claim, according to the principle of the English law, would be, to be permitted this defence, whenever she could establish it by evidence ; and this we think would be as applicable to India as to England.

The next chapter, reported upon, is that “ of Abetment,” or aiding and abetting the commission of the crime : a very considerable portion of this chapter is employed on the criticisms of Mr. Advocate General Norton. We will first give a specimen of this chapter of the Code, and then proceed to the report upon it.

“ OF ABETMENT.”

“ 85. Abetment is of two kinds, previous Abetment, and subsequent Abetment.

" 86. A person is said previously to abet the doing of a thing, who
 " *First*—Instigates any person to do that thing ; or,
 " *Secondly*—Engages in any conspiracy for the doing of that thing ; or,
 " *Thirdly*—Aids by any act, or by any illegal omission, the doing of that thing ; or,
 " *Fourthly*—Conceals, by any act, or by any illegal omission, the existence of a design to do that thing, intending or knowing it to be likely that he may be likely, by such concealment, to facilitate the doing of that thing.
 " *Explanation*.—A person may previously abet the doing of a thing in any one of the four ways hereinbefore mentioned, though the thing abetted be not done.

" 87. A person is said previously to abet an offence, who previously abets the doing of a thing which is an offence, not being under any misconception, such that if a person, being under that misconception, did that thing, the doing that thing would not be an offence.

" *Illustration* —A aids B to take a horse out of Z's possession. Here, if B took the horse fraudulently, B is guilty of theft. But if A aided B, believing that B had a right to take the horse, A is not said to have abetted the theft committed by B, though he has abetted the taking of the horse.

" 88. Whoever previously abets any offence, by instigating any person to commit that offence, shall, if that offence is committed by that person in consequence of that instigation, be punished with the punishment provided for that offence.

" *Explanation*.—Such instigation, as is hereinbefore described, being an offence, the successful instigating to such instigation is also an offence, punishable in the same manner.

" *Illustration*.—A instigates B, to instigate C to commit a theft : C commits the theft in consequence of the instigation : A and B are liable to the punishment of theft."

Mr. T. F. Thomas considers the chapter of Abetment as a great and highly valuable improvement : but improvement upon what ? We presume upon the Mofussil existing system. On the other hand, Mr. Norton says, " this chapter appears to me to confound and perplex the English Criminal Law of principal and accessories, which here, I conceive, to be very clear and rational." After quoting these opinions, the Report briefly shews what is the English law thus praised, and the law of the Code thus condemned by Mr. Norton : and the result appears to us to be, that, though the Code deviates from the old common law on this subject, so too the English Criminal Law Commissioners propose to deviate from it : and their authority, to our mind, outweighs that of Mr. Norton.

We could continue these discussions with much satisfaction to ourselves, as respects the elucidation and vindication of the Code, but we have other calls upon our time. We have gone far enough to prove the want of a Code, and the merit of that, which has been prepared ; but our views are at present only partially developed. There still remain to be considered more than half the first Report, the whole of the second, and the supplementary scheme of Pleading and Procedure by Mr. Charles Hay Cameron and Mr. Daniel

Elliott—a work second in importance and merit only to the Code itself: and to these several papers, we hope to return on an early occasion. In the meantime, we trust, the subject of this article will attract the attention it deserves from British Statesmen in England; and especially we would appeal to such of them as still survive (shall we name, as chief among them, Lord Brougham?), who took a part in the arrangements of the last Charter Act, and may, in a certain sense, be regarded as sponsors for the India Law Commission. We have no hesitation in saying that its Code and its other labours justify its institution. But it may be useful to state that, for all great and original purposes, the Commission is at an end. It exists indeed, but only (as we deem) in seeming and in name. It has always been regarded with jealousy by the Court of Directors and the privileged service: and they have at last so managed that its power and independent vitality are gone. When Mr. Macaulay left, his principles survived in his able colleague, Mr. Charles Hay Cameron. Mr. Amos ably seconded the latter gentleman; and Mr. Elliott, by the share of the scheme of Pleading, and Procedure, which is reported to belong to him, proved himself to be the worthy associate and successor to those distinguished men. But they have all left India: and, we have reason to doubt, whether in the matter of the Code at least, and all the great measures of law reform proposed by them, the present Commissioner is altogether a representative of their principles: and it proves, to our mind, the nullity of the Commission, that its Secretary is the Secretary to the Governor of Bengal.*

Such a state of things, we trust, will not be allowed to remain: the public interests require an immediate change. In the Governor-General alone, can be placed any reliance for reform: but without a competent India Law Commission, which ought to be the head to plan, advise, and urge progress, that high functionary can do but little; and, unless well advised, there may be much mischief in that little.

* We speak from recollection of the announcements in the Gazette; but on referring to the Directory, we find the following:—

“INDIAN LAW COMMISSION.

The Honorable E. J. Drinkwater Bethune.....	<i>President.</i>
	<i>Member.</i>
	<i>Secretary."</i>

And the Legislative Council consists of

Sir John Littler	<i>President in Council.</i>
Sir Fred. Currie.	
The Hon'ble J. Lewis.	
The Hon'ble J. E. D. Bethune.	

- ART. VII.—1. *Account of the Rise and Progress of Ocean Steam Navigation, connected with the present system of contracting for the conveyance of the public Mails by private Steam Vessels; comparing the contract price, the particulars of expenditure or cost, and the receipts from traffic; with suggestions for the extension of Steam to the Cape, Mauritius, and Australian Colonies; by A. Henderson. London. 1847.*
2. *British possessions in Europe, Africa, Asia, and Australasia, connected with England by the India Australia Mail Steam Packet Company; prepared, at the request of the Committee, by the author of the History of the British Colonies (Montgomery Martin). London. 1847.*
3. *Steam to Australia, its general advantages considered; the different proposed routes for connecting London and Sydney compared; and the expediency of forming a settlement at Cape York, in Torres Strait, pointed out, in a letter to the Right Honorable Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies; by Adam Bogue. Sydney. 1848.*
4. *Steam to Australia. The Rival Routes; by XXX. London. 1850.*
5. *Colonization; a lecture delivered at the Windsor and Eton Literary, Scientific, and Mechanics' Institution; by the Rev. W. G. Cookeley, A. M., of Eton College, on Wednesday, December the 19th, 1849. Windsor. 1850.*

THE question of steam communication with Australia seems suddenly to have come to life again. In the journals brought from England by the few last mails, there are abundant signs of renewed vitality. Letters and leading articles on the subject are appearing in the morning journals; pamphlets are again beginning to fly about the social air, like butterflies on the return of summer; whilst further indications of a re-awakened interest in a question, which, considering its vital importance alike to the colonies and the mother country, ought never to have been suffered to sleep, have been afforded by a sickly attempt at a public meeting, ending, as such meetings commonly do, in the passing of resolutions, which, as far as all practical results are concerned, might just as well have been resolved at home. Better evidences still are reported. It is said, that, in expectation of obtaining the contract to convey the mails to Australia, the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Company are building new vessels; and, although we are not yet informed that the question has been decided in favor of the Singapore route, very little doubt

seems to exist in the public mind that such will be the decision, and that the great company which now works the line as far as the Eastern Archipelago, will shortly be called upon to extend it to New South Wales.

It would be a source of astonishment to us that the contract had not long ago passed into the hands of the Oriental and Peninsular Company, if we had not been acquainted with the manner in which such matters as these are quietly shelved by the Home Government. There has been, too, some departmental war upon the subject. It is understood that the Admiralty have favored the Singapore route, and that the Colonial Office, on the other hand, has had a leaning towards the Western line. Of all the different projects which have been started for the establishment of steam communication between England and Australia, we shall come presently to speak in detail. It is the very multiplicity of these projects, we presume, which has so long deferred the settlement of the question. For our own parts we find it difficult to conceive how any sane man, not biassed in any way by self-interest, could hesitate regarding the comparative advantages of the different lines which have been discussed. But whether there be, or be not, a real difference of opinion on the subject, no doubt the diversity of the published projects has been converted into a convenient pretext for the postponement of the official settlement of the question. There is no really intelligible reason why it should not have been settled two or three years ago. In 1847, all that could be said upon the subject was said, and very lucidly too, by Mr. Bogue and other writers. A large body of evidence had been collected; a public company was ready to reduce theory to practice; in fact, the matter was ripe for adjustment. But since that period, although the colonies have been deluded by promises of immediate steam communication; although this and that Governor has officially announced that the question was settled, or on the eve of settlement; although colonial agents have written out to inform their constituents that they had just seen Mr. A., or Mr. B., red-hot from the Colonial Office, with the encouraging intelligence that a contract had been completed with this or that company; although, we say, all these flattering tales have been told repeatedly to the colonists during the last two years, the question does not really seem to have been advanced a jot. Now, in 1850, the discussion is re-opened, and writer after writer launches into the midst of it, with as much energy and as much sense of originality, as though nothing had been written about it in 1847. All the old arguments are re-produced. There is nothing new to be said by the advocates either of the Eastern or Western lines.

The physical aspect of nature, by sea or land, is not changed. No "young volcanoes" have "come up Cyclops-eyed" from the depths of ocean, to present themselves for new insular coal depôts, and thus to give a new turn to the argument. The same winds are blowing—the same seas are heaving—the same islands are in the same places. Lord Grey is in no better position now than he was in 1847 to come to a decision on the subject. The chances are that, if anything, he is a little more bewildered and perplexed—a little more weary of the discussion. He has much more to do than he had in 1847. The Colonial Office has become, since that time, something much less resembling a bed of roses than "Damien's bed of steel." Colonies, in those days comparatively tranquil and contented, have since burst into a blaze. There has been no end of "colonial questions" since then; there has been no end of complaints; no end of accusations. The minister has had enough to do to defend himself. No statesman has ever been more abused by men of widely different parties. Protectionists and radical-reformers—all sorts of public men from Mr. Newdegate to Sir William Molesworth—have banded together to swell the loud chorus of "Colonial Reform!" It is plain that there must be a reform of our colonial system. When the last speech from the throne was delivered on the 31st of January, some astonishment—some indignation was expressed, because it contained no allusion to the state of the colonies, and no promises to adopt measures for its improvement. But on the first night of the session Lord John Russell announced his intention to bring, in the course of a few days, the whole question of colonial policy before the House. He did not fulfil his promise on the evening of the 4th of February, the day which he fixed for his revelations; but postponed the announcement to the 8th, when, after going into the details of the Australian Constitution's Bill, he took occasion to speak more generally of the colonial policy of his administration. We give him all due credit for a desire to promote the welfare of the colonies, and we accept as evidence of the good intentions of the ministry, the comprehensive bill to which we refer. It is an instalment of colonial reform, for which we have every reason to be thankful.

But although all these grave matters, doubtless, fill the mind of the Colonial Secretary, and occupy the time of the department; and, viewing the matter therefore in this light, it would seem that the settlement of the steam question were more remote than ever, we are convinced, that the greater impetus that is given to the discussion of colonial topics generally, the more hope there is for the speedy settlement of any individual ques-

tion. The time has come when it is clear to all the world that "something must be done for the colonies." Idle people, it is known to a point of proverbial certainty, have always the least time at their command. The more that is done, the more hope there is for something more to be a-doing. The something that must be done for the colonies is likely to take the shape of a good many somethings. New constitutions will not suffice: It matters little to the people of England what constitutions are established in Australia, so long as it takes four or five months to convey a letter from London to Sydney. What the colonies want is colonization. England is as yet quite unskilled in the art of colonization. To send out to a distant settlement the sweepings of the gaols and work-houses of Great Britain is not to colonise. Greece knew how to colonise. Rome knew how to colonise. But England has not that knowledge yet, or having it, has not yet reduced it to practice. England sends out bone and muscle, legs and arms, to the colonies—but sends neither money nor mind. The colonies want men of rank, men of capital, men of character, men of intelligence; England sends them paupers and felons. There is a great talk about the "accumulation of bullion in the Bank," and reduction of rates of interest. English capitalists do not know what to do with their money. They are embarking in all sorts of perilous and mischievous foreign loans.—"We present," says Mr. Cookesley, one of the masters of Eton College; who has been profitably beguiling the leisure of the last Christmas holidays by lecturing to the Mechanics' Institute at Windsor—"we present the shocking but admitted anomaly of enormous riches existing together with excessive, debasing, and grinding poverty. This anomaly arises from two principal causes: the first is the fact that your enormous capital has not space to work in; it is employed in too narrow and restricted a field. There is consequently an excessive competition of capital with capital; and the consequence of *this* is that men can get very little interest for their money. They are, therefore, induced to embark their capital in the wildest and most extravagant speculations. Very many millions of British capital have been thrown away in loans to foreign states, which states, without absolutely disowning their debts, nevertheless have not discharged, and moreover never had much probability of discharging, them. Millions have been sunk in Mexican mines, foreign railroads,—and all this capital which has been thus lost, might, if diverted into proper channels, have produced immense profits to the capitalist, and incalculable advantages to the Empire. It would seem hardly credible, but is nevertheless

' true, that our colonies present an almost boundless field for ' the profitable investment of capital, at the same time that ' capital is being so miserably and insanely wasted in other ' directions; yet such is undoubtedly the fact." It is, most undoubtedly, the fact. English capitalists will not go to Australia, nor will they place their capital in the hands of others to fructify upon Australian soil. The truth is they know little about Australia; they have no means of knowing, with any rapidity or any regularity, what is going on in that part of the world. It is a perilous thing to embark a large amount of capital in a speculation concerning which no intelligence can reach the proprietor that is not four or five months old, whilst his own communications of advice or enquiry take nine or ten months to elicit an answer. People in England have the vaguest possible notion of what is going on in the Australian colonies. The London journalist finds it difficult, if not impossible, to keep his readers acquainted, or even to acquaint himself, with the continuous course of events in those remote settlements. As in the old and dark times, when India and England depended upon sailing vessels for their tidings from each other, intelligence from Australia now necessarily comes in by uncertain fragments; the news of February often anticipates the news of January. There are gaps in the history of passing events which render the whole unintelligible. Letters arrive referring to others, despatched by some previous "departure," which have not yet come to hand; and there is no end to the bewilderment and perplexity, which this irregularity occasions. The remoteness of the Australian colonies—the tardiness of inter-communication between them and the mother country—the mist which seems to encircle everything that passes within them—the vagueness of the intelligence which reaches England from those distant outposts—here are the causes of the unwillingness of the English capitalist to invest his money in Australia, whilst he is not always able to obtain interest at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for it at home. In all this we see a cogent argument for the establishment of steam communication with Australia. It is the best—indeed the only remedy, that can stand by itself, for this admitted evil. Without it all other remedies must be incomplete. If we once bring the Australian colonies within two months' voyage of the shores of Great Britain, we may be pretty sure that all the rest will follow in due course.

This is not so patent to the classical mind of the Etonian tutor as it is to us, whose lot it is to vegetate far away from the long room, the chapel, and the pleasant playing

fields of old Eton. Mr. Cookesley supplies a different remedy; and his views of colonisation are not otherwise than sound. England has a superfluity of capital; and a superfluity of younger sons. All the professions are over-stocked. The colonies require an influx of rank and talent, no less than an influx of capital to keep them in a healthy state. But the younger sons of the aristocracy will not go out to Australia to be "buried alive." They will not submit to be sent, literally, to the Antipodes—to be severed by five months of horrid sea from the clubs of St. James's street and the preserves of Norfolk or of Kent. They dread the voyage—they dread the exile—they dread the isolation, which must be theirs at such a distance from home and all its cheering associations. To go to Australia is now-a-days what it was to go to India twenty years ago.

*When a man marries, dies, or turns Hindu,
His best friends hear no more of him;*

wrote Shelley to Leigh Hunt in the days when steam to India was not. A man "turns Hindu" in these times, and his best friends hear of him once a fortnight. But when he turns Bushman his best friends either hear no more of him, or hear so rarely and so irregularly that they soon lose their interest in their expatriated relative, and correspondence becomes 'small by degrees and beautifully less' until it dwindles into nothingness. There is an idea of remoteness—of savageness, associated with the Australian colonies, which appals the tenderly-nurtured aristocrat. If he makes his way to Australia and repents of his audacity, he has a four or five months' homeward voyage before him, and nine or ten months must elapse before he can receive an answer to his letters. The thought of this disturbs and deters him. Men will not make experiments, under such circumstances, in remote localities, if they can possibly manage even to exist at home. Now we are as much alive as Mr. Cookesley to the necessity of sending out some of our young aristocrats—some of his own stud of young thorough-breds, for example, from the Sixth Form or the Upper Remove—to leaven the mass of pauper population in these remote but splendid Australian settlements. There is a world of truth in what the Eton tutor says on the subject of colonisation. There can be no colonisation without this infusion of good blood. There can at best only be emigration. "You may 'remember,' says Mr. Cookesley, "that in speaking of the 'Phœnician and Grecian colonies, I laid particular emphasis 'on the fact that those colonies always *represented* the 'parent state, they were *copies* of the cities which founded

' them. A Greek colony presented a perfect image of Greek
 ' civilisation, Grecian art, religion, and social organisation.
 ' Hence it often came to pass that a colony outstripped its
 ' mother city, in all the attributes of a great community, within
 ' a very few years after its foundation. In fact some of the
 ' most insignificant towns of Greece Proper—Trezœne and
 ' Chalcis for instance—founded some of the most magnificent
 ' cities of the ancient European world. A Greek who left
 ' Corinth or Athens, to form part of a colony in Asia Minor,
 ' or Sicily, or Italy, changed merely his residence. His habits
 ' of life were not changed : he had the same society—the same
 ' government—the same religious ceremonies. He beheld
 ' the same sort of works of art—he frequented the same sort
 ' of temples that he had been used to at home. He was still
 ' connected with his original country ; the link which tied him
 ' to the dwelling-place of his forefathers was lengthened, not
 ' broken ; he was bound to the land of his birth, but it was by
 ' the strong cord of affection, not by the irritating and galling
 ' chain of *subjection* and of *law*. He sacrificed no feeling—
 ' lost no dignity—by becoming a colonist. He was as great
 ' a man in his new abode, probably a much greater than he
 ' would have been had he remained at home. His ambition
 ' had full play : his genius was cultivated : his tastes grati-
 ' fied ; and, in a word, the full power of the Greek—his social,
 ' intellectual, and physical nature—was as amply developed in
 ' a colonial as it could have been in a parent state. This ad-
 ' mirable and perfect organisation of system was, next to the
 ' wonderful spirit of enterprise and activity which so remark-
 ' ably characterised the Greek people—the main cause of the
 ' surprising prosperity of their colonies. Such was the Greek
 ' principle, and on no *other* can colonies flourish or answer
 ' their purpose."

All things must have a beginning. "Rome," as Mr. Cookesly
 knows, "was not built in a day," nor were any of the Greek co-
 lonies, with their temples, and amphi-theatres, their games and
 spectacles, their works of art and religious ceremonies, founded
 in a day by those energetic and adventurous athletes of the old
 time. The first colonists had to build and to establish all these
 things, as our early settlers have to clear the jungle and to build
 their own houses. But there is this difference between the Greek
 and the British settlers, that the latter are much more expansive—
 they spread themselves over a larger space. To found a city is
 one thing—to colonise such an island as Australia is another.
 Both systems have their advocates amongst us. Some contend
 for concentration—some for dispersion. The former has the

best of it in point of theory—but the latter is our almost inviolable practice. But before we come to this, we have made a mistake which is fatal to the entire enterprise. Of old it was the rule to send out all the raw material of a colony at the same time. The Greeks and Romans did not leave every thing to chance. They did not think it sufficient to export a certain quantity of human life. They took care that every part of the body corporate should be present—that head and limbs, trunk and extremities—and every vital organ should be there; that nothing should be wanting to render complete, and to give due effect to the working of the great social machine. But England, on the other hand, sends out only the *dissecta membra* of a colony, trusting to Providence to bring them together and to supply all deficiencies. If a clock-maker were to send out to a new colony a cargo of pendulums, or dial plates; or a card-maker were to send out a pack of deuces or knaves; with a vague idea that the other parts of the clocks, or the other cards of the pack, may find their way to the same port at some future time, we should incontinently treat both clock-maker and card-maker as aspiring candidates for Bedlam. But England tries to colonise after this fashion. She sends out packs of deuces in one ship; and packs of knaves in another. She thinks of sending the rest at another time, or hopes that they will go by themselves. As for despatching a complete pack of cards, that is an effort of reason beyond her. If a *colony* is to be founded, men of all ranks, all classes, all professions, all trades, all callings, must set forth together to found it. As it is, we have nothing but settlements—so called, *lucus a non lucendo*, because every thing is most unsettled there. “If a colony,” says Mr. Cookesley, “is to be sent out worthy of the English name, and fit to represent the dignity and majesty of the English empire, some person of the highest station and rank—if possible, a prince of the blood—should lead it. The Spanish kings—the proudest of monarchs—acted wisely so far that they sent members of the royal family to govern their colonies. This leader should go, accompanied by a body of noblemen, the future members of a colonial house of peers; and there can be no doubt that if a prince of the blood were to signify his willingness to lead such an undertaking, plenty of noblemen would be found willing to accompany him. Many noblemen whose importance is lost and obscured in the crowd of nobility at home, would gladly avail themselves of the opportunity of increasing their personal dignity and influence, with the hope of founding a powerful family—possibly a dynasty—in a remote colony. Many a noble would be willing to apply to himself the remark

' which James I. made to a peer who—his Majesty thought—was too often in London, ' My Lord, when you are up in London here, you are like a ship in a large fleet out at sea—no body takes much notice of you—you are overlooked in the crowd ; but when you are down in the country residing upon your estate, you are like a ship in a river, you occupy the whole space.'..... Thus as soon as the business of colonisation was made, as it ought to be, *honorable* as well as profitable, you would find abundance of men and women of the highest education and rank willing to embark in it. Men of all ranks in England are sufficiently embarrassed to know how to provide for the younger branches of their families : let the colonies hold out the lure of honorable distinction, and plenty of men will greedily clutch at it. But English noblemen and gentlemen will not dream of providing for children in a method, or by means, on which the world looks down as creditable or derogatory to the dignity of a man of honorable ambition. A colony ought to hold out to men of ability, wealth and character every inducement to embark in it, by having the power of conferring the highest rewards and distinctions on meritorious industry and superior genius. An Englishman ought not to feel himself debarred from any honor or any dignity, however exalted, because he is a colonist. There should be a colonial peerage and baronetage. The Church and the Law should be truly and adequately represented. Every profession, every art, and every trade should have as much encouragement and as splendid rewards offered to it, as it has in England. Do all this ; and *then* you will make a fair trial of what an English colony can do."

We should not have transcribed this passage, if we had not thought the matter it contains well worthy of consideration. We need not say that the suggestion is not a novel one : but it is well and forcibly expressed. The evil of suffering what ought to be our colonies to remain mere pauper emigration-fields—mere refuges for the destitute—cannot be too often declared. Our distant settlements have no attractions for the higher classes of society—for men of aspiring talent and honorable ambition. Such men look upon a colony as the grave of all their hopes of distinction—as a dark burial place, in which they will be forgotten by the world of home, shut out from every prospect of fame, denied the rewards of professional eminence, and utterly removed beyond the influence either of the smiles of the British sovereign or the applause of the British people. All this must be remedied—remedied before we send out princes of the blood royal to govern our distant

settlements. That good day may come in time. Princes of the blood royal, twenty years hence, are not likely to be very scarce. It is as well that we should make good use of them. As the world progresses it is not improbable that we may come to turn even princes of the blood to account. We cannot suffer them for ever to be mere cyphers—sent into the world only to spend the money of the nation. But in the meanwhile we must encourage the men of family and of genius to seek the colonies, by holding out to them hopes of honorable distinction—by proving to every settler on colonial soil that he is no less under the eye of the sovereign than under the British flag. It is certain that hitherto the services rendered to the mother country by good deeds done in the colonies have been imperfectly recognised and insufficiently rewarded. But there is reason to hope that England is now outgrowing this reproach of ingratitude. The British government has in the Civil Order of the Bath the means of gracefully acknowledging the services of its colonial subjects, and there would seem to be a reasonable prospect at the present time, of the power being exercised with good effect. There are many able, energetic, philanthropic men in the colonies, who have better earned such distinction than scores of men who are rewarded for trifling services, or perhaps for mere accidental introductions to royalty, at home; and this plainest of all plain truths is beginning to make its way in high places, and may soon be expected to bear good fruit.

But as we have already said, the first step must be to bring the Australian colonies nearer to the mother country. We do not believe that much progress will be made until this initial measure is brought into operation. Until this is effected the English nation will know little, and care little, about the exiles of the Antipodes. Until this is effected there is small chance of much of the good blood of England being infused into the veins of Australian society. Let us then devote a little space to this matter of "Steam to Australia." The pamphlets now before us supply abundant information on the subject. Others have been written to which we have not immediate access. We had intended to have given something of a history, condensed from Captain Henderson's pamphlet and other sources, of the efforts which have been made during the last three or four years to establish steam communication with Australia; but time presses; we are compelled to be brief; and, moreover, we have no desire to irritate old sores and revive old animosities. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum.*

Within the last few years no less than half-a-dozen routes to

Sydney have been proposed and advocated by different projectors. They are thus succinctly described by Mr. Boyd :—

1st.—The Route by the Isthmus of Panama, across the Pacific, and touching at New Zealand.

2nd.—The Route by the Cape of Good Hope, Swan River and South Australia.

3rd.—The Route from Ceylon, by the Cocos or Keelings, and Swan River.

4th.—The Route by Singapore, Sunda Straits, the Cocos, and Swan River.

5th.—The Route by Singapore, by Torres Straits to Sydney, and returning by Cape Lewin, or the Western Passage, &c. &c.

6th.—The Route by Singapore and Torres Straits.

Of these the 1st, the 2nd, and the 6th have longest maintained their ground. The intervening projects seem to have been quietly abandoned. The *third*, which was, we believe, originally a scheme of the Oriental and Peninsular Company, naturally disappeared on the extension of their line to Singapore. The steamers were to have stretched from Point de Galle to the Cocos, where a coal depôt was to have been established, and thence to Sydney, touching at Swan River, Adelaide and Port Philip. There was a comprehensiveness in this scheme, to recommend it to the minor settlements; but it has been shewn by Mr. Bogue that there is an objection to it of paramount importance—namely, that “to contend with the boisterous weather and seas on the south coast of New Holland, would require ships both of a larger tonnage and horse power, and would be attended consequently with much greater outlay, than perhaps would be convenient to the Company which would undertake it.” Captain Beaufort, the well-known hydrographer, asserts moreover, that the Keelings or Cocos “are so low and small that there would be a constant difficulty in finding them, and the continued surf would much impede the business of coaling.” The scientific mariner would probably assert that there can be no difficulty in finding any spot, however small, accurately laid down upon a chart, so long as the requisite observations can be taken; but these observations are not always to be taken; and the telescope is often called into play where the sextant is of no use. We have recently heard nothing of the claims of this route, and with these few passing remarks we may therefore dismiss it.

The fourth scheme requires no comment, it is so nearly akin to the last. The objections urged by Mr. Bogue and Captain Balfour to No. 3 are equally applicable to No. 4, and need not be re-stated.

The fifth is open to some of the same objections, with others that belong to itself. It was advocated by an experienced naval officer, Lieutenant Pascoe of the *Beagle*, and is recommended by the consideration of its being based upon an intimate acquaintance with the seasons and monsoons upon the coast of Australia. But it will occur to every reader that a project, which demands a resort to different routes, going and returning, cannot be a very good one. It calls for the establishment of additional coal depôts, and is objectionable upon other and very intelligible grounds. The advantages which it presents, are more than counter-balanced by the evils inseparable from it; and it seems recently, by common consent, to have passed out of the controversy.

The three routes, then, which remain to be considered, are the Cape route, the Panama route, and the Singapore-and-Torres-Straits route. The Cape route has some claim to consideration, because it *is* the Cape route. But it is to be remembered that we are now writing of Steam to Australia, not of Steam to the Cape of Good Hope. It is extremely desirable that there should be regular steam communication between the Cape and Great Britain; but we cannot say that we think it desirable to send our Australian steamers *viâ* the Cape. The question is, what is the best route to Australia? It may be very expedient to run a line of railway to Bristol, but it does not therefore follow that when we are laying down the line to Liverpool we should run it though the former town. The Cape route would be slow, irregular, and expensive. Mr. Bogue calculates that the first outlay for construction of vessels and establishment of coaling depôts would not fall short of £300,000; and that at some seasons of the year the steamers would take as long to effect their passage round the Cape, as some of the common sailing vessels take for the passage round Cape Horn. The establishment of a line of screw-propelled steamers by this route was advocated with much earnestness, by Captain Hayes; we remember that we read his pamphlet at the time of publication—but we have it not now before us on our table. The arguments adduced appeared to us by no means convincing, and Mr. Bogue has successfully demolished them. If cheapness, regularity and expedition be matters for consideration, we must not look for them in the Cape line. But it has the merit, we say, of embracing the important South-African colony, and of affording a duplicate route to India in the event of any interruption of our communication through Egypt.

The Panama route has recently been advocated with some zeal. It is contended, in the first instance, that the line to

the Isthmus is already established. The West India Mail Packet Company run their steamers from Southampton to Chagres—a distance of 5,850 miles, in thirty-six days. It is proposed to run another line of steamers from Panama on the western side of the Isthmus, to New Zealand, Port Jackson, &c. The Galapagos, the Marquesas, the Society and Friendly Islands lie along this route. It is estimated that the entire passage would occupy seventy days. The West India Packet Company is eager to obtain the contract for conveying the mails to Australia; but, certainly, in the present state of its resources, it has not the means of putting the project into prompt operation. "This line," says Mr. Bogue, "would convey quick intelligence to the numerous republics on the West Coast of America, with which an extensive commerce is carried on by England. But we have yet to learn upon what principle the Imperial Government would be induced to adopt a line passing nearly its entire length through foreign states, and over the wide expanse of the Pacific, in the midst of which a dépôt for coals might, with difficulty, be found in some insignificant isle peopled by savages under the control of a foreign European power, in preference to a route of which each stage would be within the limits of the British empire. And if we take into consideration that if it were even feasible to establish a dépôt in the centre of the ocean, the enormous expense of transporting fuel, either from New South Wales or from the mother country, to that distant spot, and to the starting point on the West Coast of America, would, of itself, be an insuperable objection to this route." The advocates of the Western route on the other hand, parade an immense array of geographical names, talk of the various localities which are to be brought into immediate communication with Great Britain, and dazzle our eyes with resplendent visions of the bullion traffic and the "diggings" of California. There is something of Homeric grandeur in such a catalogue as this—"Mexico (including Vera Cruz and Tampico) Mobile, Havana, St. Iago de Cuba, Hayti, Bermuda, the Bahamas, Honduras, Porto Rico, San Juan, Nicaragua, Carthagera, Santa Martha, Lagnayra, Chagres, Panama and the Pacific ports of the states of Chili, Bolivia, Peru, and Equador; the British colonies of Jamaica, Demerara, Trinidad, Tobago, St. Vincent, Barbadoes, Grenada, St. Lucia, Dominica, Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Kitt's and Tortola; the Danish islands (St. Thomas and St. Croix,) the French Antilles, Guadaloupe, Martinique, &c.; the colony of Cayenne viâ Demarara and Dutch Guiana." Following this epic catalogue we have imaginings of the gold

and silver trade—pictures of the mines of Chili and Peru, and the glittering freights of California; “as regards the conveyance of specie and bullion, which has always been, and must continue to be, one of the principal sources of revenue to the West India line, *it is easy*,” we are told, “*to imagine* that in future this portion of the traffic will greatly increase. Several streams of traffic of this nature will flow into the main line, and the produce of the mines of the whole Western hemisphere, intended for transmission to Europe, must of necessity be conveyed by these vessels. The gold and silver raised from the mines of Chili, Bolivia, and Peru, will be carried to Panama, and go thence by railway to Chagres for shipment to England. Those large freights of silver, hitherto collected by Her Majesty’s ships on the West Coast of Mexico, will in like manner be delivered at Panama, thence to reach London in twenty days, instead of being subjected to a voyage of four months round Cape Horn. The American line of steamers from San Francisco, terminating at Panama, will *bring great freights of gold, the product of the mines of California*; and as the majority of these remittances will, in course of business, be intended for Europe, they will assuredly be sent by the direct steamers. Then again, at St. Thomas, the homeward Atlantic ships will receive the large amounts of silver so regularly shipped from Tampico and Vera Cruz, and other steamers will bring up to the same point their *collections of gold, silver and precious stones from Santa Martha, Carthagena, and other parts of the West Indies and Spanish Main*. In place, therefore, of these vessels arriving at Southampton as at present, with freights of Spanish dollars 1,000,000 to 2,000,000, they will come home *laden like the Spanish galleons of old; bringing the mineral wealth of the Western World*, to the amount of Spanish Dollars 5,000,000, 6,000,000, or even 10,000,000 at a time.” The imagination reels under this gorgeous description of the “barbaric pearl and gold” of the New World. We know nothing that can bear comparison with it, save *Punch’s* picture of the accumulation of bullion in the Bank of England. When the advocate of the Western route says that “it is easy to imagine” all this, we confess it appears to us that he gives his readers credit for an extent of imagination which they may not all of them claim the credit of possessing. But we care little in this shining Orient about all the occidental treasures thus lavishly displayed before us. We confess that ours is an Eastern view of the question. We believe that if we were writing in any part of the globe, and were connected with any class of interests, we should still clearly

perceive the superiority of the Eastern over the Western route; but we must in candour acknowledge that all this business of the precious metals is nothing whatever to us, and that whatever force the argument may have in other quarters, it makes little or no impression upon us as residents in the Indian metropolis. The advantages which the adoption of the Eastern route will confer on India will be sensibly felt in England. We are not therefore pleading only for ourselves. The Eastern route, too, is the one most favored in Australia; it is the cheapest and the most expeditious—but of all this we must speak in less general terms.

It is proposed that on the arrival of the English mails every month at Singapore, a steamer should be despatched via Torres Straits to Sydney. "Your Lordship is no doubt well aware," says Mr. Bogue, in his letter to Lord Grey, "that it has been recommended by the Legislative Council, in the Report of the Select Committee appointed to enquire into the matter, on the 16th of September, 1846—by Lieutenant Waghorn, R. N., Captain Beaufort, R. N., Captain Philip Parker King, R. N., Captain Stokes, R. N., Captain Blackwood, R. N.; and other authorities of unquestionable weight, are its strenuous advocates; and it is the opinion of all who have given this important subject any attention in this colony (New South Wales) that steam communication could be effected by this route to much greater advantage, and with much less expense than by any other." "There is some diversity in opinion," continues the same authority, "with respect to carrying out the detail of this scheme, and regarding the places where coal depôts should be established. However, I shall take upon myself to name the following places, which would be most eligible for that purpose, namely, Sourabaya in the island of Java, the island of Timor, Cape York in Torres Straits, and Moreton Bay in New South Wales. If need be the vessels might also touch at Batavia, Ampanam in the island of Lombock or some port in Balli. Large numbers of native passengers might be procured in these ports for Singapore or even for Australia." All these places are of course named under the supposition that only small vessels will be employed: but it is obvious that if larger and more powerful vessels were put upon the line, there would be no necessity for such frequent stoppages. Mr. Bogue suggests that in this case one depôt at Cape York, which is about half way, might probably be sufficient. The writer of the pamphlet on the "Rival Routes," which is attributed to the experienced pen of Mr. Stocqueler, suggests that the island of

Borneo might be brought into this line. "Are there no places," he asks, "between Batavia and the Australian colonies at which the steamers from Singapore may touch, very profitably to the Government and to the inhabitants of such ports? Has not Borneo become an island of great interest to Englishmen? Is it nothing to be able to communicate frequently with the Governor of Labuan? Who shall say what mighty results may not flow from the facilitation of an intercourse with the great island of the Malays and many of the islets in the Eastern Archipelago, which belt the southern portion of the China Seas? We do not affirm that it would be advisable to send the steamer to the north of Borneo and then round the north-eastern coast to Torres Straits. But it would be easy to establish a branch line from the southern part of the island; and if the land communication should be unsafe, a small steamer could do the needful and serve other purposes of colonial government in the interval. It may be said that more time would be consumed in going to Labuan than might consort with a rapid communication with Sydney. True; but that time would not be consumed unprofitably. Better go 5,000 additional miles, and stop at places of importance, than traverse 4,500 miles (as the vessels on the other line would have to do) and neither meet with a colony nor the means of coaling." We do not by any means concur in this, as far as we understand it. The entire distance to be steamed between Singapore and Sydney is about 4,400 miles. There are abundance of coaling depôts in the way, without touching at Borneo; and as rapid communication with the Australian colonies is the great object of the extension of the line, we would not counsel any unnecessary deviation from the straight ocean path. Labuan is at the northernmost point of the island. Any communication with that port and the main line must be opened by means of a branch steamer; we must not have the Australian packets make any such detour as this.

The advocates of the Western route talk largely of the dangers of Torres Straits. But these belong rather to the past than to the present. The dangers, such as they are, being, for the most part, known and understood, are, in these days, to be avoided. We do not now often hear even of sailing vessels being lost in the Straits. In some respects, indeed, the passage is a remarkably safe one. "The impression on my mind," says Mr. Earl, the intelligent author of "Enterprise in Tropical Australia," "is that the route by Torres Straits is the most desirable, on account of the smoothness of the water, and the general mildness of the weather, so that throughout the entire

distance it is not likely that any bad weather would be experienced; indeed, that portion of the route which lies between Moreton Bay and Sydney, is the only portion in which any considerable amount of tempestuous weather might be expected." The difficulty of the navigation of Torres Straits is a mere bug-bear, which no skilful mariner, in these days of advanced hydrography, would ever think of alleging as an argument against the adoption of the route. There are two passages through the Straits, the more intricate of which has the advantage of the smoother water. In this, the inner passage, it is computed, that some sixty hours would be lost—and from twelve to twenty-four in the other or Beacon passage. "A portion of this excess might, however," says Mr. Earl, "be requited by the greater speed of the steamer, when inside the reefs, owing to the comparative smoothness of the water. When, however, as probably will be the case, at no distant period, light-houses are erected at the spots where the navigation is most difficult, the inner passage will be far preferable to the other; indeed, even now it is difficult to say, which route (of the two Straits' passages) is most to be recommended, experience alone can clear up this point."

Utrum horum mavis accipe. There are two passages, either of which may be navigated by competent seamen without any fear of dangerous collisions. It has been already established that the Singapore and Torres Straits route is the cheapest, the most expeditious, and the one which enjoys the greatest facilities for coaling. Let any one look at the map, draw a line from Panama to New Zealand on the one side, and on the other regard the different places in the East with which, by means of the Singapore route, Australia will be brought into communication; and judge whether the former or the latter presents the greater extrinsic advantages. It is no small matter, it appears to us, that Australia should be brought into immediate communication with India, China, and the Malay islands. To bring Australia nearer to our Indian presidencies would alone be no common achievement. We have a very strong opinion upon this point ourselves; but before we express it, let us cite the testimony of two distant writers—the one in London, the other in Sydney. "An annual importation from the East," says an editorial writer in the *Morning Herald*, "of retired officers, civil and military, with their wives, their children, and their *pensions*, would go far to neutralise the ill effects now resulting to the colonies from the reception of the work-house sweepings which are sent them from the West. It is hard to persuade men of birth and educa-

tion in this country to transfer themselves, either with capital or without it, to those distant settlements; but the ready-made exile of India, who has no ties to sever, no prejudices and predilections to struggle against—who, perhaps, has found; after a brief furlough trial, home distasteful to him, and has returned to India disgusted with the formalities and frugalities of English life—will not unwillingly betake himself to those broad fields of enterprise, and secure for himself and his children after him the competence which is denied to him in a country, where every man painfully jostles his neighbour, where land is scarce, food is dear, employment difficult to obtain, and success so rare a thing that it only proves the great rule of universal failure. To accomplish this great end of attracting to the shores of Australia the very best class of colonists, we believe that we have only to establish regular steam communication between India and those settlements. The extension of the Singapore route, by means of the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamers, will consummate this addition to the other great benefits it will confer on the colonies." The writer is here putting the case of the Australian colonies, and demonstrates the advantages which Australia will derive from rapid communication with India, rather than the blessings which will be conferred on British India by a closer connexion with the Australian colonies. The Sydney writer, on the other hand, Mr. Bogue, puts the case of the Anglo-Indian resident—"Government, as well as the East India Company," he observes, "are now becoming alive to the enormous expense entailed by death and loss of services from bad health produced by the climate of India, among their servants both civil and military. The extra expenditure required to keep up their large establishments can scarcely be calculated—establishments which are large in proportion to the enervating effects of the climate. It is a well-known fact that many valuable public servants of the Company die every year, from their pecuniary circumstances being such as to prevent them incurring the very heavy cost and loss of pay, attending the return for a period to their native land; they are thereby deprived of the only chance left for renovating their shattered constitutions. But it has been argued with much truth and humanity, that if there was a quick and regular communication with the Australian colonies, it would be of the first importance to the officers and servants of the Indian Government, as the climate of Australia has been pronounced by medical men, and indeed experience has already confirmed the fact, to be of that peculiar

salubrity required to restore to convalescence those who have lost their health under the sultry sun of tropical India. It is also understood that there is an increasing desire on the part of the people residing in the East Indies to visit Australia; but communication has been so very irregular that numbers are deterred. *Many of our influential settlers are gentlemen, who have paid the colony a visit, and, liking the climate and country, have sold out and become permanent residents.*"

Mr. Bogue then speaks more in detail of the difficulties experienced by residents in India, China and the Straits, who are anxious to obtain passages to Australia; and quotes the evidence of several witnesses taken before the Select Committee of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, appointed early in 1846, to enquire into and report upon the several proposed routes. "When the writer was at Hong-kong," he says, "in 1846, he met several gentlemen from Calcutta and other parts of India, who had come there in search of a conveyance to those colonies. Such is the difficulty of procuring a passage from India to this quarter of the world, that Captain Arbuthnot Dallas, H. E. I. C. S., in his evidence before the Select Committee, observes, that he was seven months in getting here from Calcutta. 'I went by Singapore and China first; I was obliged to wait in China a month before I could get a passage for Manilla, and after I arrived at Manilla I had to wait another month before I could get a passage to Sydney.'—Mr. Alexander Campbell, a merchant of this city, engaged in the trade with India, in his evidence observes—"I have known parties who have been compelled to wait for months, and have then had to come by way of Mauritius, Singapore, or the Cape; as an instance, I may mention, that about the time I left Calcutta for England, in January, 1845, a gentleman being desirous of visiting this colony, and failing any direct opportunity, was obliged to proceed in a vessel to the Cape, and from thence to Hobart Town and Sydney. In the mean time I went to England by steam, made the circuit of England and Scotland, returned to this colony, having had a passage of four months out, and was only a little more than two months behind him. I could mention many instances where parties had been six or seven months on the passage from India."

Six or seven months between Calcutta and Sydney—whilst some of our last received English journals contain the following pregnant paragraph: "SHORT TRIP TO INDIA AND BACK. Lieut. R. Maxie Taylor, of her Majesty's 25th Regiment, embarked on board one of the Oriental and Peninsular Company's

‘ Steamers on the 20th of October last, and after remaining
‘ twelve days at Madras, reached Southampton by the same
‘ steamer on the 25th of January.” A man may go to India,
transact his business there, and return to England in half
the time that it now takes him to make his way from India
to Australia.

The difficulties here spoken of are quite sufficient to deter
Anglo-Indian invalids from proceeding to the Australian colonies.
If steam-communication were established between Singapore and Sydney, we might be pretty sure that every vessel
would convey to the latter place some members of the Company’s service seeking health in that salubrious climate. Many
of these would, not improbably, return at a future period
permanently to Australia, “with their wives, their families,
and their pensions.” There are many amongst us, in the full
vigour of their intellect and with unimpaired mental energies,
whose physical constitution cannot bear up against the destroying effects of an Indian climate; but who in Europe, at the
Cape of Good Hope, or in one of the Australian colonies, might
enjoy an amount of bodily health and vigour not inferior to
that possessed by their countrymen who have never rested beneath a tropical sun. A portion of these would make excellent
settlers; accustomed to rough it during long and hazardous campaigns, and never, even in intervals of peaceful repose
in cantonments, habituated to the enjoyment of many of the luxuries and refinements of civilized life; contented at all times
with somewhat rude accommodation, and never wanting in fertility of resource, they would soon accommodate themselves
to the ways of bush life, and make their way as independent colonists. Others, trained to habits of business, would make excellent
public servants and members of Government, and might find much honorable and profitable employment at the
different Australian presidencies. The more the principle of self-government is acknowledged, the better chance will there
be for our Indian employés. They will not then have home jobbery to contend against; but may take their stand upon
their individual qualifications. The time, too, is not far distant
when the defence of the colonies will be entrusted to the colonists themselves. If we are not much mistaken, this, in due
course, will open out a field of military employment to our retired officers, and to their sons after them. Unite India with
Australia by a bridge of steamers, and we shall soon see men who have distinguished themselves in the one country betaking
themselves to the other. England is not the place for our retired officers. A very few obtain employment there—so few,

indeed, that the names of those who are in Government or any kind of recognised employment at home would not occupy more than a line or two of this journal. But hundreds retire to England with a quarter of a century or more of good work in them. They are not "used up." Many, indeed, are full of intellectual energy, and, revived by residence in the bracing climate of the West, are in better working condition than ever. It is lamentable to think of the waste of administrative talent

dimly shadowed
two countries from the establishment of steam-communication between India and Australia. It would be difficult, we believe, to exaggerate them.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—*Lives of the Lindsays ; or, A Memoir of the House of Crawford and Balcarres, by Lord Lindsay ; to which are added Extracts from the Official Correspondence of Alexander, Sixth Earl of Balcarres, during the Maroon War ; together with personal narratives by his brothers, the Hon. Robert, Colin, James, John and Hugh Lindsay, and by his sister, Lady Anne Barnard. 3 vols. London. Murray. 1849.*

THESE volumes were written, printed, and reviewed by one influential periodical, so long ago, that, although they were only published last year, they have already a flavour of antiquity about them. We do not address ourselves to their consideration with less relish for that. It may be doubted whether the work, being bulky and costly, has found its way into extensive circulation in this part of the world. A large proportion of our readers are probably unacquainted with its contents. And it is just one of those lively, gossiping, anecdotal books, which the Indian reviewer, who is compelled (for the most part) to base his articles on somewhat weighty reports and solid parliamentary papers, seizes with avidity in the expectation of discovering, in its contents, some lighter matter, wherewith to enliven the learned dulness of his pages.

The *Lives of the Lindsays* is a book abounding in incident, and overflowing with personal anecdote. The greater part of the work lies far away beyond our reach. We have nothing to do with the home-staying Lindsays. It is permitted to us only to gossip with those who have qualified for the *Oriental*. We have fortunately, in the first line, a civilian and two soldiers on our list—to say nothing of a ship-captain, who, in due time, became a member of the Court of Directors ; and some distant cousins whom, perhaps, we may leave to themselves. Robert Lindsay went out to India as a writer ; James and John fought against Tippú. Their own narratives are contained in the third volume of the *Lives of the Lindsays*, and some incidental notices of them may be collected from the preceding volume. We are not quite sure that, in every instance, these different narratives completely harmonize ; but we must not expect too

much from senile garrulity. It is something, when the talk of old people about themselves and their families is never by any means *dull*.

The family of the Lindsays, with which we have to do, is that of James, Earl of Balcarres, who commenced the family memoirs. Eleven children were born to the Earl. Of these, Lady Anne Lindsay, afterwards Lady Anne Barnard, the authoress of the touching ballad of "Auld Robin Gray," was the eldest, the ablest, and the most interesting. For the liveliest portion of these volumes, we are indebted to her never-failing animal spirits, her pleasant humour, and her graphic style. After recording the event of her own birth, she says:—"My father's patience was happily rewarded next year by the birth of a son and heir, my dear Cumberland; a twelve-month after came my beloved Margaret; Robert and Colin followed them as soon as possible; James, William, Charles, and John did not lag long behind; my dear little sister Elizabeth almost closed the procession, though not entirely; Hugh, though last, not least beloved, finishes my list." Here was a family of eight sons and three daughters; a wild and rebellious party, whom Lady Balcarres was obliged to keep under controul with a strong hand. Perhaps, there was a little too much of the "iron rule." "Odsfish, madam," cried the Earl sometimes, when he found little misdemeanours punished as great crimes, "you will break the spirits of my young troops. I will not have it so." No fear of that. The young troops grew up with spirit enough for all purposes; Lady Anne never lost hers to the latest day of her life. The house was turned into a sort of Bastille; and there was a culprit sobbing in every closet. "O my Lady, my Lady," cried little Robert from his dark prison, "whip me and let me go, if you please." "Excellent Robert!" exclaims Lady Anne—it is a touching apostrophe—"let me be pardoned for a digression quite out of date; but can a better time ever arrive to prove how thoroughly good minds pardon severity arising from right meanings, when I mention that it is now, at the chateau of Balcarres, inhabited by Robert, who well remembers the closet of his imprisonment, that our dear old mother, encompassed by her grand-children, derives from him and his excellent wife all the solaces of her extreme old age—eighty-five? It is wrong to tell this so soon; but I may die;—so it shall be told now."

We are now fairly introduced to Robert. We see him crying, as a baby, in the closet, and solacing his old mother, almost an old man himself. We must do something to fill up this interval of more than half-a-century. "Robert and Colin," writes Lady

Anne Barnard, "were light and shade to each other. Though we talk of them as children, their characters will do for life. Robert was less handsome than his younger brother, but his countenance had much of the *bon ami* in it. He possessed sound sense without quick abilities, kind attachments and benevolence without parade, bluntness and sweetness, with a natural mercantile genius for improving the two-pence per week, which was allowed him for his *menus plaisirs*; but, when improved, it was at any body's service, who needed it more than himself. Colin, on the other hand, had an elegant person and accomplished mind; he had oratory, dignity, and prodigality. Robert bought a knife for six-pence, used it for three months, and sold it to Colin for a shilling:—Colin discovered this, and complained of his brother in terms so judicious and pathetic, that the whole family pronounced that Robert must be a merchant, and Colin my Lord Chancellor. Robert was forthwith destined to go to India, as a writer to the Company, and Colin was bred to the Bar. 'Tis by trifles such as this, that the destinies of mankind are generally decided."

Colin, however, entered the army, became a soldier, and a good one too; and died a general officer. As for Robert, it does not appear, from his own account of the matter, that he was forthwith destined for India on the strength of the mercantile transaction above recorded, and the premature development of commercial cleverness that it indicated. He seems rather to have been designed for an European mercantile career. At least, at the age of fourteen, he was carried off to Cadiz by a maternal uncle, and there settled for a time in a mercantile house—from which he was removed to another commercial establishment at Xeres, under the superintendence of Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Duff, a cousin of the Lindsays, "with directions to have him improved in the Spanish language without delay." To accomplish this, he was entrusted to the tutorship of some Franciscan monks, who treated him very kindly, and tried hard to convert him to Papacy. "Had I remained much longer there," says Robert Lindsay, "they might have succeeded. Fortunately, in four months, I was recalled to Cadiz, where the gaieties of the town soon made me forget the mysteries of the convent."

Some months had passed away, and young Robert had "nearly made up his mind to continue in the house, when a circumstance occurred to change his destination to a distant part of the globe." What this circumstance was, we are not informed. The distant part of the globe, however, was Bengal. In the spring of the year 1772, Robert Lindsay embarked for

Calcutta on board the *Prince of Wales*, East Indiaman—"commanded by Captain Court, a peppery Welchman with 'only one arm; the other he had lost in a duel with one of his 'passengers, on a former voyage, regarding a young lady to 'whom they were both attached." The first move of the young writer was an excellent one. In these times, the boy-civilian goes on board, with a capital cabin on the upper-deck, secured for him by Messrs. Grindlay or Barber, and elaborately fitted up by Maynard or Silver. He has not to struggle for a place, or to rub shoulders with his associates. His patrician sensibilities are not disturbed by any dread of gregarious publicity. He enjoys the privacy of his twelve-feet-by-ten. It is his castle; his domain. He is "like a star, and dwells apart." He can shed tears or disgorge his dinner in absolute exclusiveness—may write sonnets to Albion, practise on the flute, study Hindústāni, or revel in the midshipman's holiday of overhauling his kit, without an intrusive eye to mark his doings or interrupt his meditations. Three-quarters-of-a-century ago, a very different state of things obtained on board our Indiamen. The young writers and cadets had to fight for their berths in the steerage. First come, first served. Ever with his eye to the main chance, Robert Lindsay determined to be first in the field. Whilst the other young men were staring about them, he quietly slipped below decks with a piece of chalk in his hand, selected the best berth in the writers' quarters, and wrote his name upon it. The other passengers remonstrated, and proposed to draw lots; but possession was nine points of the law; and Robert Lindsay kept his berth throughout his voyage, which was a slow and not a very pleasant one. The passengers were badly fed; and there was a pack of hounds on board, who drank the water, and nearly brought on a mutiny. When the party disembarked, the chief officer told them that they "would stow away better homeward bound,"—"and too truly," adds Robert Lindsay, "was 'this verified; for, upon embarking for Europe eighteen years 'afterwards, and on looking over the melancholy list, I could only 'trace the names of five of my fellow-passengers in existence."

Robert Lindsay "landed in Calcutta, in September 1772, 'in perfect health," and was soon appointed to do duty in the Accountant-General's office. Warren Hastings was Governor-General. "He was beloved and respected," says Mr. Lindsay, "by Natives as well as Europeans;" and this is the testimony of one who belonged to the ranks of the enemy. "I had resided 'for nearly two years in Sir John Clavering's society; I was 'therefore marked as a party-man, and passed over in the general 'promotion." The Provincial Council system was then in force;

and Robert Lindsay was before long appointed to a situation under the Dacca Council. Whilst thus employed, he cast his eyes longingly on Sylhet, and determined to make a bold move to get the management of the province into his hands. We will tell the story in the narrator's own words :—

This district had for some years fallen under the superintendence of the Dacca Council: and, two years previous to my appointment, my friend, Mr. W. Holland, as one of the members of that Council, had been deputed to effect a settlement with the Sylhet landholders, with power to cess with revenue, or levy a rent from those lands held on military tenure. Such a transaction is seldom accomplished without much difficulty.

Mr. Holland having finished his business in that troublesome settlement, returned to Dacca, and presented his rent-roll to the Council, amounting to no less than £25,000 per annum; but said at the same time, that they were a most turbulent people, and that it would require much trouble to realize it. The other members held the settlement in derision. My intimacy with Mr. Holland continued to increase. He was a man of high honour and principle, possessing a considerable fortune, which he inherited from his father. In a confidential conversation with me, he regretted that his health did not permit him to return to Sylhet, to complete the work he had so prosperously commenced. "I am sensible," said he, "it will prove an arduous undertaking; and none but a man possessed of a sound constitution, with great energy and determination, is fit for it." I thought for some time, and, turning quickly round, I said, "I know a man who will suit you exactly." "And where is he to be found?" said Mr. Holland. I answered, "I am the man!" Upon which, my friend threw himself back in his chair, and, with a loud laugh, replied, "Lindsay! you are the most impatient fellow alive! Our establishment is more than twenty in number, eighteen of whom would jump at the appointment; and here are you, the youngest of the whole, aspiring to it yourself!" "And can you blame me, my friend," said I, "for looking to the top of the tree?" "By no means," said he; "but how can the thing be accomplished?" "The thing is difficult I allow; but, with such a friend as you, much may be effected; may I look for your support at a future day, should I be proposed by the other members in Council?" "You shall have it," said he. All I then asked was, that he should not retire until I saw a little daylight in the business, and that, in the meanwhile, our conversation should remain a secret; to this he willingly consented.

I had now taken my ground, having left a favourable impression on Mr. Holland; and I well knew the high opinion the other members of the Council had of his judgment; but to advance farther, without carefully probing my way, was dangerous.

* * * * *

Among the numerous articles of commerce, carried on in the interior of the Dacca district, salt is not the least considerable; it is manufactured by the agents of Government on the sea-coast, and preserved as a monopoly for the benefit of the Company. At certain periods, it is brought up in large boats to Dacca, and there exposed to public sale. My commercial education at Cadiz was now beginning to show itself of use to me. In the mode of exposing the lots to sale, I could perceive no small intrigue was carrying on; for I saw that the natives had not that free access to the public sale, to which they were entitled, and that the lots fell, as they were put up, to the dependants of the members in Council, who, by this means, gained

to themselves a considerable advantage. A fair opportunity, I thought, now occurred, of bettering myself without injury to the public; I therefore conversed with a wealthy native on the subject, who fully entered into my views and proposed to advance me a large sum of money upon a mutual concern, provided I would appear as the ostensible person. I, in consequence, appeared at the next sale, and became a purchaser of salt to the extent of £20,000: and the speculation turned out so well, as fully to enable me to pay off all the debt I had contracted during my long residence in Calcutta, and to place a few thousand rupees in my pocket. Nor was this the only advantage I gained by my well-timed energy. The system I had introduced was not altogether approved of by some of the members of the Council, as militating against certain rules they had laid down: and this, I have reason to think, soon after facilitated my removal far from Dacca. A happier man could not exist than I was at that period, clear of the world, with a lesson of experience.

My friend, Mr. Holland, soon after informed me, that he had made up his mind not to return to Sylhet. I, then, for the first time, went to my friend, Mr. Rous, our resident, and laid my views before him, as to succeeding Mr. Holland in his appointment. He answered coolly, that he should be happy to forward my views, but that he saw little prospect of my success, being the youngest member in the settlement. I owned the difficulty was great, but said, "should my name be proposed in Council by the opposite party, I hope it may meet with your concurrence." To which he cheerfully consented. Thus were two members gained; I had only to look for a third to obtain a majority, and I addressed myself to John Shakespear, who had, at that time, the lead in Council. I found that gentleman well inclined to serve me; and he promised his support, under the stipulation that I would provide for two of his dependants:—that I, of course, agreed to: and this same gentleman proposed my name next day in Council to succeed Mr. Holland, who resigned. This was unanimously agreed to: but it had the effect of creating much discontent among the junior servants of the settlement, who were all my seniors, none of whom had the least idea of my looking up to an appointment so far above my standing in the service: and [they] determined among themselves to counteract it, as will appear in the sequel.

We shall continue to let Robert Lindsay tell his own story. Here he describes the mode in which the revenue was collected:—

I have now to describe the manner in which we received the rents from the country, and afterwards remitted them to Dacca. The actual collection amounted to 250,000 rupees. It is here natural to ask, how many cowries go to a rupee? I give you a distinct answer:—four cowries make one *gunda*; twenty *gundas* make one *pun*; sixteen *puns* make one *cawn* (*kahūn*.) and four *cawns* one *rupee*. Thus, when multiplied together, you will find that the rupee contains 5,120 cowries; again, multiply these by eight, being the number of rupees in one pound sterling, and the produce is 40,960 cowries in one pound. You may imagine then how troublesome it was to manage this ponderous circulation, when received as the revenues of the country. It required, in fact, many large cellars or warehouses to contain them, and, when finally collected for the year, a large fleet of boats to transport them to Dacca.

This operation, in all its details, occasioned a loss of ten per cent., exclusive of depredation on the passage down. Until my appointment to Sylhet, it had been the invariable practice to count over the whole

balance in the Treasury previous to embarkation ; but I was determined to shorten the process, and receive the shells by weight. The black treasurer (who was a sagacious man) assured me it was impossible ; with the high tone of authority, I told him, " my orders must be obeyed : "—a low bow was the consequence : the measure was filled, and I felt proud at my wisdom. I was absent for a few minutes, when, returning, I found the cowries just weighed had become one-third heavier without apparent reason,—the old treasurer betraying at the same time a sarcastic smile. " What is the cause of this, Kazanchy ? " " Nothing, Sir, but a little sand, which will turn the scale at any time." " You are right, my friend ; but it is my turn next : we will now receive them by a given measure : to this there cannot possibly be an objection." " Allow your humble slave to suggest." " Suggest nothing ! my will must be the law : "—the Kazanchy again bowed his head. The standard measure was accordingly made ; and filled with much judgment, neither too high nor too low. An order was now made by the great man to pass into a law, fixing the diameter of the measure, when the old treasurer, stumbling as if by accident, across the apartment, and hitting the measure with his toe, the cowries subsided several inches, to his no small amusement. The old man's advice was at last resorted to,—that the cowries should in future be received in baskets, made to contain a certain given quantity, and five baskets in each hundred to be counted, so as to form an average : and it was wonderful with what ease and nicety the business was conducted afterwards. Of cowries I had, in my official capacity as resident, to receive from the zemindars (landholders) annually to the amount of £25,000 ; and, as I have already said, it was the custom to send the whole of these cowries to Dacca, where they were exposed to public sale ; but this practice, as will soon appear, was done away.

But all the merchant was strong in Robert Lindsay ; and he had not been long in Sylhet, before he began to cast about him for the means of realizing a fortune by trading in the produce of the district. " My pay, as resident," he said, " did not exceed £500 per annum, so that fortune could only be ' acquired by my own industry.' But how was he to carry on extensive speculations without capital ? There was no Union Bank in Sylhet. The want of capital was a sad drawback to one of Robert's enterprizing nature ; and he began to think how he could obviate the difficulty. At last he hit upon a device :—

But in order to set the various plans a-going, which were floating before me, one thing was wanting—ready money. The fickle goddess, however, having now taken me by the hand, soon furnished me with the means of accomplishing my wishes, in a manner the most satisfactory and the most unexpected.

Mr. Croftes, the Accountant-General, wished to provide for a favourite black writer, who worked in his office. This man was a shrewd intelligent fellow ; and it occurred to him that a considerable profit might be made from the cowries under good management, provided a favourable contract could be made with Government. Mr. Croftes therefore delivered in to the Supreme Board, on behalf of his friend, an offer to purchase the whole of the cowries collected at Sylhet in the shape of revenue at a certain given price, the money payable two years after delivery. A copy of this offer was sent me up officially by the Secretary, desiring my opinion whether the offer was adequate, or the reverse.

I now felt myself under a considerable dilemma, as I saw I was on the point of becoming a cipher, dependent on a black man ; for it was evident that the person holding this contract would have an unbounded influence in the country, from the whole revenues centring in his hands. It became also a matter of the utmost delicacy, my attempting to give in a counter-proposal in my own name, more especially as the contract had never been publicly advertized ; but, as the future value of my situation depended on the result, I determined upon making a fair attempt to turn Mr. Lopez to good account. With this view, I told the Board, in my answer, that, having compared the offer, made by Mr. Lopez, with the actual sales made at Dacca for the last five years, I could not help reporting the price offered not unfavourable ; at the same time, I considered it my duty to say that the proposed term of payment, suspended for two years, was quite unreasonable ; and I concluded by saying, that if the Board were satisfied with the price, and saw no impropriety in my holding the contract for five years, I would tender them payment in six months after the delivery. The Accountant-General had previously recommended the offer made by Mr. Lopez so strenuously, that my offer could not with propriety be refused ; and the contract of course fell to me. My friend, the Accountant-General, never forgave me for having thus outwitted him in the transaction, and he carefully awaited the conclusion of the contract, when, to prevent my interfering with his views a second time, the contract was advertized to be made by public sale at Calcutta at a distant day. But Mr. Lopez met with a second disappointment : a black man was also in attendance ; to him the contract was knocked down.

I now had to address the Board once more on the same subject, informing them that the native contractor was my own servant, but that, if any objection was found to my holding the contract a second time, I would most cheerfully resign it ; in reply, I was informed by the Secretary, that they had no objection to me whatever. From this signal piece of good luck, and from the conspicuous advantage I derived from the great command of money to carry on my commercial pursuits, I have to date the origin of the fortune I acquired in the Company's service.

This was worthy of the genius of the boy, who bought his knife for six-pence, and sold it to his brother for a shilling. It is not a bad specimen of the manner in which fortunes were realized, three-quarters-of-a-century ago.

A variety of anecdotes, illustrative of Robert Lindsay's doings at Sylhet, are scattered over the narrative of his life. Here is a story of the sagacity of an elephant, which is worth quoting :—

One day I was dining in a large company at Dacca. The conversation turned upon elephants. I was asked what food they chiefly lived upon, when ranging the forest. I said, the hill bambú ; and, when that was not to be had, branches of particular trees were broken off by them ; to effect which they would frequently mount up with their fore-feet, and even pull the tree down, when it was of a moderate size. Upon this there was a general laugh. This nettled me. Turning to Mr. Pottinger (for such was the name of our landlord)—“ Will you have the goodness to order out your elephant, and put the driver for half an hour under my orders ? ” This was accordingly done ; and the party, full twenty in number, descended to the green to quiz the traveller.

I selected a tree, which I knew the animal was fond of, and desired the keeper to conduct him to the bottom, and allow him to break off and eat one of the lower branches. Having done this, I directed the driver to make him mount up with his fore-feet; the man, who was an inhabitant of the low country, sat on the animal's neck, with his mouth open, not the least comprehending my meaning. Another long laugh from my convivial friends. "Gentlemen," said I, "the elephant has more sense than any of you." I then ordered the driver to spur him in the neck with his hook; he did so, and the elephant raised his foot against the tree. "Strike harder," I cried; and he raised his other foot. "Harder still!" he was now standing nearly perpendicular. "Now coax him—now prick him gently!" the animal now understood him perfectly; he got the tree in motion, his body acting as a lever, working away until the roots were distinctly heard cracking; he then threw his whole weight upon it, and came quietly down with it to the ground. The laugh was now on my side. The fact is, the inhabitants of Calcutta and the towns bordering on the coast are as little acquainted with the customs of the interior, as they are in England.

This last sentence might have been written yesterday. The Cockneyism of the Ditchers is still a standing joke in the *Mofussil*. There is a profound conviction in some men's minds that we still mistake elephants for mosquitoes. Elephants were among the small articles of merchandise in which Robert Lindsay traded.

We give the following anecdote, mainly because it embodies an honourable trait of native character:—

I have often heard my countrymen impeach the honesty of the lower ranks of the natives of India. In order to counteract this impression, I take this opportunity of relating a fact, which can hardly be instanced in more civilized society. I never had from Government a contract by which I could dispose of my numerous elephants to advantage; I therefore sent off annually from Sylhet from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, divided into four distinct flocks, or caravans. They were put under charge of the common *peon*, or menial of the lowest description, with directions to sell them, wherever a market could be found, at Delhi, Seringapatam, Hyderabad, or Pūnah. These people were often absent eighteen months. On one occasion, my servant Manú (already mentioned), after a twelve-month's absence, returned all covered with dust, and in appearance most miserable; he unfolded his girdle, and produced a scrap of paper of small dimensions, which proved to be a banker's bill, amounting to three or four thousand pounds:—his own pay was thirty shillings sterling per month. I had no security whatever but my experience of his integrity; he might have gone off with the money if he pleased. But I never felt or shewed the smallest distrust; and they always returned with bills to the full amount. When I left India, Manú was still absent on one of these excursions: but he delivered to my agents as faithful an account of the produce, as he would have done to myself. Can stronger proof of honesty be given than what I have now related? I certainly was most fortunate in all my menial servants, having seldom or never changed them during a residence of eighteen years. But I must acknowledge I give the preference to the Hindu rather than to the Muhammadan.

Ship-building was also one of the civilian's mercantile pursuits ; but less in the way of independent speculation, than as the means of affording facilities for the conveyance of his produce to the coast. Several anecdotes are told, relating to the result of these experiments. The last of them we subjoin :—

I find I have still one aquatic adventure more to mention, in which a friend happened to have a concern. There chanced, at the close of the shipping concern, to be an overgrown lime-boat, or lighter, lying in the Sylhet river. A certain Captain Taylor, evidently not a little mad, had long petitioned me for employment without effect. At last, he urged me to put a deck on the lime-boat, and proposed to run her down before the wind to Madras. This I agreed to, upon the condition that the vessel, on her arrival, should be sold as fire-wood. Captain Taylor made out his voyage most successfully ; but, instead of breaking her up, as proposed, he changed the name of the "Golumpus" to "Prince William," bestowed abundance of yellow ochre on her sides, and advertised her in the public papers, "For Bengal direct; for freight and passage apply to Captain Taylor." My friend, John Carstairs, had just arrived from England, and, reading the advertisement, the only question he asked was, "Who is your owner?" Taylor answered, "The Hon. Robert Lindsay;" and Carstairs embarked next day with a fair wind.

It blew a gentle breeze, not more than three knots, when the ship broached to ; all was soon put to rights. But this occurred again more than once. "What is the meaning of this, Captain Taylor?" asked my friend. The Captain coolly replied, "How can it be otherwise, Sir? the vessel has no keel; her bottom is as flat as a pan-cake; and she is no better than a dung-barge!" Carstairs, after studying the features of the man, remained silent, trusting to Providence for the result. Most fortunately the weather continued fine, and the wind favourable;—the smallest reverse would have sent them all to the bottom.

I must conclude the history of my ships by quoting a paragraph from one of the last letters I received from my mother in Bengal :—"I understand, my dear Robert, that you are a great ship-builder; your talents in this line I do not dispute; but I have one favour to ask of you, which is, that you will not come home in one of your own building:"—and I implicitly followed her advice.

Well done, Lady Balcarres! This touch of quiet satire is inimitable.

Robert Lindsay figures in all kinds of capacities. Before long we find him organising and commanding a local corps. Whether he made anything by it, does not appear; but he saw some service; put down several disturbances; and seems altogether to have behaved with great gallantry and address. His life was more than once in danger from the treachery of his enemies. Here is an anecdote, which, coupled with other stories, demonstrates the unsettled state of the frontier in those days :—

My friend, Robert Hamilton (a captain in the army, son of a gentleman of the same name, formerly laird of Kilbrackmont), came to pay me a

visit. We were sitting together at dinner, which had just come in, when my servant informed me that a *fakir*, or mendicant priest, wished to speak with me on urgent business. Although the hour was unseasonable, I desired him to be admitted. I was sitting at the top of the table, Hamilton at the bottom, next the door;—the priest entered, and stood immediately behind him. He began his story by informing me that he had been robbed on entering the province, and that, being plundered of all he possessed, he looked to me for redress. There was an irritation in his manner and a wildness in his eye; and his right hand rested in the *cummerbund*, or cloth which encircled his body. His appearance alarmed me; therefore, without changing my voice or manner, I said, "Hamilton! slip behind that man, and knock him down:" he hesitated—"obey my orders!" Hamilton was a strong man, and, rising up, with a blow from behind laid the priest prostrate; but in the act of falling, he aimed a blow at Hamilton with his poniard, which he had held concealed; and, finding he had missed his aim, immediately buried the steel in his own breast. The priest fainted from loss of blood:—when, having recovered from his swoon, I asked him what his motive was for this atrocious act, his answer was that of a madman, "that he was a messenger from God, sent to put to death the unbelievers." My suspicions were thus fully verified, and, had I not acted as I did, I must have fallen a sacrifice.

In one affray, during the season of the Mohurram, Robert Lindsay shot the leader of the insurgents—"a priest of considerable rank"—at the head of his men. Many years afterwards, in England, he was reminded of the circumstance in a curious manner:—

Before I quit the subject of the foregoing affray, I must return to the death of the high priest, and the old man lying wounded at my feet upon the top of the hill—it being connected with the following singular occurrence. In my domestic circle, long after my return to this country, I had more than once told the story relative to the death of the high priest. I was listened to with interest, but was evidently allowed the latitude of a traveller;—when, mere than twenty years afterwards, my veracity was fully confirmed in the presence of my whole family. In taking my usual morning's ride along the coast, I passed the door of our clergyman, my worthy friend, Mr. Small. There I perceived a man standing dressed in full Eastern costume, with turban, mustachios, trowsers, girdle, and sandals. To his evident astonishment, I accosted him in his own language,—“Where were you born?” “In Calcutta.” “*Jút baát*—it is a lie,” said I; “your accent betrays you; you must belong to a different part of the country.” “You are right, Sir,” he replied, “but how could I expect to be cross-questioned in a foreign land?” With a salaam to the ground, he asked my name, and where I lived. I pointed to the house on the hill, and desired him to call upon me next morning.

He came accordingly, and my numerous family were all present at our conversation in the Hindustani language. I first asked his name. “Syed-ullah,” he answered. “How came you to tell me a lie, the first question I ever asked you?” “You took me by surprise, Sir, by addressing me in my own language. The fact is, I was born at a place called Sylhet, in the kingdom of Bengal, and came here as servant to Mr. Small's son, who was purser of the ship. A gentleman of your name,” he continued, “was well known in that country, and in London. I endeavoured to find him out, but in vain,—nowhere could I trace him.” “Suppose,” said I, looking him full in the face, “that

"I am the man?" He started back with horror in his countenance, "What, did you kill the Pir Zada?" (the son of the high priest). "Yes," I replied, "I did; he attacked me sword in hand, and fell a victim to his own rashness." Syed-ullah immediately recovered his composure. When I asked him, what was the opinion of the people on that subject, he answered, "Some approved your conduct; others disapproved;" and, putting his hand on his breast, with a slight inclination, said, "I was but a boy." "Where were you during the fray, Syed-ullah?" said I. "On the top of the hill, near the houses;" and, with a harsher tone, he added "you killed my father also." "Was he an old man, Syed-ullah?" "Yes." "Your father was not killed in action; I saved his life myself:—am I right or wrong?" He said, "You are right; he was severely wounded, and died in consequence some months afterwards."

Syed-ullah confirmed, in broken English, my former details on the subject. He would not allow that his father was actually the slave of the high priest, but styled him his salt-eater, or dependant. He said that the Pir Zada and his two brothers fell in the affray, with several others of their adherents, but would give no account how the disturbances originated, further than that the country was at that moment in a convulsed state. He, afterwards, at the desire of the ladies, entered into a minute detail of the history of his country, stating, in every instance, things as he wished them to appear, not as they actually were. He was asked what was his particular talent? to which he replied, that he had been long famed for dressing the best curry in the world, and that he always carried about with him part of the ingredients. He was desired to return next day, when the other materials should be provided.

The following morning the family governess appeared as usual at breakfast; her manners were embarrassed, and she evidently wished to communicate something of importance. "I am sensible," said she, "that no attention should be paid to dreams, but," bursting into tears, "when a scene is represented in such dreadful colours as it occurred to me last night, I should be more than culpable if I did not do everything in my power to avert the calamity, with which the whole family is threatened. I dreamt, Mrs. Lindsay, that a black man came from the extremity of the East, and poisoned Mr. Lindsay and his whole family; and I beg and entreat, as you value your lives and happiness, that the curry may not be put on the table, or the consequences may be dreadful!"

In spite of this good lady's advice, Syed-ullah attended at the proper hour, and prepared a curry to suit my palate, when, just before dinner, an audience was demanded by Mrs. Lawson, the old house-keeper in the next room; when, with much agitation, she said, "You know, Madam, I am not apt to be troublesome about trifles, but I think it my duty to mention that I narrowly watched the dressing of this curry, and not in one single instance could I trace the man tasting the dish himself. I told him he surely had not put in sufficient salt; but no—he knows too well what he is about; therefore pray, Ma'am, prevent Mr. Lindsay from eating this curry." The same remonstrance was re-echoed by my whole family:—never was a dish better dressed, and never did I make a more hearty dinner.

I was well aware of Syed-ullah's reasons for not tasting the curry. The fowls, of which it was composed, were killed by the cook: had he drawn the blood, and said the usual prayer, he would have had no scruples. And thus finishes the story of Syed-ullah and the Pir Zada.

With one more of these "Anecdotes of an Indian life," we

must conclude our extracts from Robert Lindsay's narrative. The following story might doubtless be capped from among the records of the long engagements of modern times :—

During my absence a novel event had happened in our infant settlement. My assistant, W—— H——, had taken to himself a wife, the first European lady, who had appeared at Sylhet. The superior charms of this fair one had long been the private topic of his conversation, and her miniature, suspended at his neck, portrayed a most lovely young creature. Her appearance, most assuredly, made me betray symptoms of disappointment, as she was directly the reverse of her picture. The connection originated in an early school acquaintance, succeeded by a long correspondence, which was nourished into Platonic love of the most sentimental kind; and, when they met in India, it terminated in grievous disappointment on both sides; and to such an alarming height did their warfare arise, that I thought it my duty to interfere in order to secure to the fair lady the respect due to her sex; but in doing so, I only betrayed my own ignorance of mankind, and brought upon my shoulders, as may well be supposed, the resentment of both man and wife. This connection, however, soon drove the poor devil to his bottle, to which he soon after fell a victim.

In 1789, having amassed a considerable fortune, Robert Lindsay returned to England. He had previously purchased an estate in the north. The history of the purchase is characteristic. A friend lent him some Scotch papers, in which he saw an advertisement, offering some estates for sale, and intimating that the purchase-money might remain in the hands of the buyer for a term of years. "It immediately struck me," says Robert Lindsay, "that upon such favourable terms, I or any man might become a landed proprietor. I, therefore, without a moment's delay, despatched a letter to my mother, vesting her with full authority to purchase. This she accomplished with equal promptitude, purchasing, at that happy moment, the estate of Leuchars for £31,000, which, most assuredly, is now worth double the money or more." Fortunate Robert Lindsay ! The six-pence had become a shilling again.

And so we have seen Robert Lindsay, in the words of the author of the *Lives*, "assuming by turns (as circumstances presented occasion) the character of a soldier, magistrate, political agent, farmer, ornamental gardener, elephant catcher, tiger-hunter, ship-builder, lime manufacturer, physician and surgeon; triumphing over difficulties, and availing himself of every honorable resource towards the realization of that affluence, which might enable him to return to his beloved Scotland:" and now we see him returned—already a landed proprietor, and about to become a husband and father. He married his cousin, Miss Dick of Prestonfield, "whom he had marked for his own, when she was yet a child, before he went to India." The marriage was in every respect a happy one, and

"contributed," as Lord Lindsay writes, many descendants to the family pedigree.

There is a story told, regarding a brother of Mrs. Robert Lindsay—the present Sir Robert Keith Dick Cunningham, Bart, of Prestonfield—so honourable to all concerned, and so interesting in itself, that we are truly glad that it comes legitimately within our province to quote it :—" Amidst the many cruel emotions," says Lady Anne, " that arose to Dundas, on an occasion ' when men were proved, (his trial), I saw a pleasurable one ' flow from his eyes in a flood of tears, which seemed to do him ' good. A young man, the younger brother of my sister-in-law, Mrs. Robert Lindsay, was sent, when quite a boy, to the ' East Indies by Lord Melville, as a writer. His industry and ' abilities gave him a little early prosperity; he heard of this ' attack on Dundas; he venerated him; he knew, he was not a ' man of fortune; he had made five thousand pounds, or more; ' and in words the most affectionate and respectful, manly and ' kind, he remitted to him an order for the money, should he ' have occasion for it, to assist in defraying the heavy expense ' he must be put to. It was a sweet letter, generous and prin- ' ciple, such as any one of that excellent family would write ' in similar circumstances. Dundas read it to me with an ' exultation of satisfaction, together with his own reply.

" 'I have never beheld a countenance but one,' said he, ' that ' did not feel this letter as it ought, when I read it, and that ' one was my daughter-in-law's, before she knew I had refused ' it.' ' I hope,' she said, ' that, while my purse is full, you never ' will receive aid from a stranger.' I knew she spoke as she ' felt. To find two such people at such a moment, is it not worth ' a score of desertions? "

A few words more about Robert Lindsay. Though the commercial spirit was so strong within him, he was truly a liberal and generous man. He settled an annuity on his mother; he contributed largely towards the disencumbering of the Balcarres estates; his house and his purse were always open to any member of his family; and many were they, who partook of his hospitality. Old Lady Balcarres, sitting in her easy chair, the centre of that large family group, has a very venerable aspect; and there is something very touching in the record of her last days—so cheerful, so sunny, so Christian—as set forth by the graceful pen of Lady Anne Barnard. She lived to the age of ninety-three in Robert's house, believing at last that the patriarchal house of Balcarres was her own, and that Robert and his wife were her guests. "A portion of every day," says Lady Anne Barnard, "was spent by them in her bedroom." She

died at last in 1820. In 1836, Robert Lindsay followed her to the grave. He was in his eighty-third year. "The little birds sang, and the blue sky bent over us," writes Lord Lindsay, "as we committed his honored remains to the kindred dust of Balcarres—the Lindsays' friend of many generations, the venerable Bishop Low, performing the last offices."

Following Robert Lindsay's "Anecdotes of an Indian Life," we have "two narratives of the proceedings of the British Army under General Hector Munro and Colonel Baillie, and of the Battle of Conjeveram, September 10, 1780, in which the division under Colonel Baillie was either cut to pieces, or taken prisoners;—by the Hon'ble James and John Lindsay, 73rd Highlanders." We pass over these, to stop at the more interesting Journal of John Lindsay's imprisonment in Seringapatam, from the 10th of September 1780, to the 17th April 1784. He was one of the few survivors of Baillie's unfortunate detachment after the miserable affair of Conjeveram. His company was cut to pieces, and he himself narrowly escaped being trodden to death by the enemy's horse, or smothered by heaps of the dead and the dying. He had in his pocket a bag containing two hundred pagodas; and it occurred to him that the treasure might be the means of saving his life:—

I therefore looked around me to observe the different countenances of the horsemen, and, thinking that I had distinguished one, whose look was less ferocious than the rest, I pulled out my bag of pagodas, and beckoned him to approach me; which he instantly did, put up his sword, and dismounted. I immediately delivered him the bag; he seemed surprised and pleased at the magnitude of its contents, which gave me the most sanguine expectations. After he had put it up, he demanded my accoutrements, which I instantly took off, and presented to him; I now thought he would have gone no farther, but (one after the other) he stripped me of everything except my breeches and one-half of my shirt,—having torn off the other to tie up my other shirts in a bundle. Though much concerned at being thus stripped naked, after the part I had acted towards him, I however made no doubt but that he would grant me his protection, especially when I saw him mount his horse; which he, however, had no sooner done, than he drew his sabre, and, after giving me two or three wounds, instantly rode off, leaving me stung with rage, and laying the blame upon myself, for having called him towards me. After some minutes, what with the loss of blood and the intense heat of the sun, I fainted away, fully convinced that I was expiring, and pleased to think my last moments were so gentle.

Roused from his insensibility by a dreadful pain in his shoulder-blade, he discovered that a pike, which had passed through the body of a dead man lying upon him, had pierced his own flesh. A man of his company saw him, and called out to ask him, if he were dead. "Not yet, but near about it," was the answer. Some French Hussars here came up; and, having

been pulled by the hair of his head out of the dense mass of humanity, in which he was so jammed as to be incapable of moving, they carried him to Lally. "The French Commander," says John Lindsay, "immediately came up to me, expressed his concern at my situation, ordered my wounds to be bound up, and placed me upon one of his elephants." A French officer, named Le Roy, who had saved him from being cut down by Hyder's horse, gave him some soup, and a shirt and long-drawers, which he had "great want of, as his skin was one entire blister from the heat of the sun."

Here he got a glimpse of the redoubtable Hyder himself, in the exultation of victory.

"I, at this moment," writes Mr. Lindsay, "had a distinct view of Hyder's army,—his infantry marching in the most regular manner to English music, and his cavalry on the flanks. Hyder Ali himself was riding at the head of one of his battalions, upon a small dun horse, and dressed in a blue silk jacket and a red turban. He came riding up to Lally, with whom he conversed in the most familiar manner, and appeared vastly pleased, bursting out into fits of laughter."

Next day, Hyder sent orders that all the prisoners should be given up to him; and the French officers obeyed with manifest regret:—

At this instant the guards came in, and, in a thundering manner, drove us before them, like a flock of sheep, loading us with blows, because our wounds prevented us from walking fast. In this manner we were conducted before Hyder, who, after looking at us all, and taking down our names, desired us now to go to our quarters, and to eat, drink, sleep, and be happy. This speech gave us all great comfort, and we were taken out of his presence. When I came out, a figure, covered all over with blood, came limping up to me, and called me by my name, which, from the voice, I soon discovered was my old friend, David Baird; this was a most welcome meeting to both of us.

His fortune had not been quite so good as mine, for he had been, like me, stripped, worse wounded, and had lain all the day and the following night on the field of battle—every horseman thinking him so badly wounded, that they would not be at the trouble of conducting him into the camp; he had, however, made a shift to come in of himself, and now declared that the only pain he felt at that time was violent hunger. I informed him of Hyder's speech to us, which much pleased him.

Towards the evening, Colonel Baillie and fifty-eight officers were collected together. The French officers subscribed 400 pagodas for their use. On the 16th, the guards informed Baillie that all the prisoners were to be sent away, except himself and those next in rank to him. Of these Colonel Baillie kept David Baird, John Lindsay, and a few others. "We were permitted," says Lindsay, "to go and see the men of our company,

to bid them farewell. When they saw that we were in as deplorable a situation as themselves, they burst into tears, and only hoped that the day would come, that would give them ample revenge for our sufferings." Shortly afterwards, the officers were put into a tent—the first shelter they had enjoyed since their capture—and there John Lindsay was joined by one of his old servants. "As I was extremely ill," he writes, "I gave him all my treasure, amounting to fifteen rupees, to take care of for me; but the treacherous villain, as soon as he had got my all, left me, and I never saw him afterwards." It was hard to say whether friends or enemies treated him worse. Another mortification was in store for him:—

On the 28th, they, to our great joy, brought into our tent eight baskets of liquor, with a letter from a French correspondent of Baillie's in Pondicherry, desiring that he would sign a receipt for the liquor, that he might know if we got it; therefore, upon pen and ink being brought, Baillie signed the receipt. Some time after, Kistnarow came, and asked, "if we liked wine?" and upon our answering that we did, he ordered the guard to take the baskets away, saying that he would take care of it for us: but we never saw the wine afterwards.

This behaviour, joined with our former treatment, made us almost desperate; and we determined to treat him ever afterwards with the most pointed contempt. Accordingly the next time he came, instead of getting up and saluting him in the servile manner we had hitherto done, we sat still upon the ground, without taking the least notice of him. He therefore soon went away much displeased. We amused ourselves with the idea of treating him with the most mortifying contempt, and some days elapsed before we saw any thing more of him.

The next passage we have marked is more cheering. The picture is not one unvarying surface of human depravity:—

At this time a sepoy of our guard came up to me, and, after standing by me for some minutes, told me that he would prepare me some medicine if I would take it. I told him that I would thankfully take any thing that he would give me, but that I had no money to pay him for it. He said that he did not want any money from a prisoner, and then went away. In a few minutes he came back, and brought with him three green pomegranates and a large bowl of sour milk; and, after mixing the fruit with his hands in the milk, having previously mashed them into a ball upon a stone, he desired me to drink it. In any other situation, I would certainly have refused to take such a medicine, but, as it was, I took it, and with great loathing drank it off, it having a most dreadful taste. He then desired me to endeavour to sleep, which I did; and, in a few hours afterwards, I awakened much better, my fever having abated, and my flux was not nearly so severe; and, for the first time since I left Arcot, I eat a little boiled rice.

The next morning the sepoy came to see me, and was much rejoiced at seeing me so much better. I told him that I owed him my life, and that, although I was poor here, I had plenty of money in my own country, and that I would reward him for it, if ever I returned. He then told me that he was not very rich himself, as his pay was only a pagoda and a half a month—and, at the same time, drew out his little purse, and offered me a rupee. This generous behaviour, so different from what I had hitherto ex-

perienced, drew tears from my eyes, and I thanked him for his generosity, but would not take his money.

This is on many accounts worth noting. It sets forth a cure for dysentery, with which we suspect the faculty is unacquainted.

On the 6th of November, the party of wretched captives arrived opposite Seringapatam. They were "conducted through various windings and turnings into the middle of the fort," summoned before the Killadar, exposed to a fire of ridiculous questions from that worthy, and there consigned to their place of imprisonment. "The house was, in the shape of an oblong square, with high walls, from which projected inwards a single-tiled roof in the form of a shed, and open on all sides; and in the four angles of the house were four small rooms, or rather dungeons, without windows or the smallest portion of light. In the centre of this building, there was an open space of a few yards for the air to come in, and on the outside a very high wall, built at the distance of ten yards, in order to make the place of our confinement more secure from the least possibility of escape." Into this place were the unhappy prisoners thrust. Their gaoler was a Havildar, named Mobet Khan. "His appearance was the most villainous that could be conceived;" and his captives very soon discovered that he was "as bad as he looked."

We now come to the record of the long and painful captivity. The extracts which we have marked call for little comment. In the following we catch a glimpse of

THE PENALTIES AND RESOURCES OF PRISON LIFE.

On the 20th, the killadar came in a great hurry to our prison, with all his attendants, and, after calling us out of our berths, he sent in the guards to bring out every thing belonging to us. All our bundles were accordingly displayed before him; and he found that we had amongst us six knives and forks, and two razors, which, he said, were very improper things for prisoners to have amongst them: and they were accordingly given to Mobet Khan, with orders to let us have them in the course of the day, but always to put them under the charge of the guard during the night. The razors, he said, might be allowed us once a week; but that two sepoy, with drawn swords, were to stand over us, while we were shaving, in order, as they said, to prevent us cutting our throats. Six books were likewise found amongst us, viz. the first volume of Smollett's History of England, the third of Pope, the half of Johnson's Dictionary, a Prayer Book, and Mrs. Glass upon the art of cookery. These were seized in the same manner, but with particular injunctions to the guard, to deliver them out at sunrise, and to take them back at sunset, from the supposition that, with the assistance of books, in the night, Europeans could do a great deal of mischief, if left to themselves. Our increase of numbers made us fall upon various methods of exercising our geniuses in making little nick-nacks and necessary articles, in order to make our situation as comfortable as possible, so that our ingenuity being every day called into fresh exertions, and assisted by one another, every one in a short time was provided with a cot to sleep

upon, a table, and a stool. For my part, I was a very bad carpenter, and was accordingly assisted in that branch by one of my companions; and, as I had become an exceedingly good tailor, and had now three shirts and three pair of trousers, of my own making, I therefore made the clothes of those, who helped me in other respects.

KEEPING THE NEW YEAR.

January 1st, 1781.—As we had, some time past, been determined to keep the New Year as comfortably as our circumstances would permit, we had ever since the arrival of the Arni prisoners, been at great trouble and expence in fattening a bullock, which one of the gentlemen had purchased in the Carnatic, and which had been preserved to make a good feast for us upon this day:—and it had been for a long time the most agreeable subject of our conversation, the excellent dishes that he would produce. We therefore told Mobet Khan in the evening that we wanted to kill him, and requested that he would bring the fakir to perform the usual ceremony; but, instead of complying with our desire, he abused us in the most shameful manner, saying that we were a parcel of thieves, and that we had stolen the bullock from some of the Nabob's villages upon the road. It was in vain that we protested that we had purchased him in the Carnatic; he did not choose to believe us, but immediately sent to the cutcherry, and made his complaint to the killadar; who, upon the representation of Mobet Khan, ordered the bullock to be taken away from us, and by this means our long expected feast was disappointed.

PRISON EMPLOYMENT.

We had now for some days past been engaged in purchasing leather to make a kind of spatterdashes for our ankles, in order to make the irons lie a little easier upon our legs; and, with this assistance, we were enabled to walk a little without much pain; but as the link from ring to ring was not above eight inches in length, our step was so much confined, that a very little exertion in walking fatigued us, so that we could not take the daily exercise as usual. We were obliged to fall upon other means to amuse ourselves, and with the assistance of cards, made of coarse paper and cloth, and backgammon tables, which we made of stripes of bambú (which two articles we, in time, arrived at great perfection in), we amused our tedious hours. Our prison was now swarming with innumerable quantities of large rats, and we laid wagers who would kill the greatest number in twenty-four hours; so that the exertions of a number of us, that were occupied with a desire of extirpating those vermin, were so successful, that, in a few hours, we often destroyed upwards of a hundred; and as the sepoys have not the aversion to that animal that Europeans have, they took them to make curries of.

In the following, under date May 25th, we see what were the feelings of the officers on hearing, that some of their unfortunate men had been Muhammadanized. The reader may compare the following with some extracts from Scurry's narrative, to be found in a former article on "Eastern Captivity":—

May 25th.—We were this day greatly surprised, upon our looking out upon the grand parade, to see a number of white men, clothed in the Mahometan dress, exercising the black people after the English description. Upon our enquiring of the sepoys of our guard what they were, they informed us that they were some of our private soldiers, who, being tired at the length of their confinement, had entered into the Bahádur's service, and turned Mussulmans. This account gave us the greatest grief;

and we could not help believing it to be true when we saw them plainly before our eyes. We therefore made no scruple to condemn them as a parcel of villains, that had abandoned their country, and who deserved death, if they were ever caught; a few days however after this, we received a letter from the soldiers' prison, informing us that the killadar had selected from amongst them all the young men, and asked them to enter into the Bahádur's service, which they refused: upon which he, with the assistance of a strong guard, dragged them out by force from their companions; and that they were unacquainted with what had become of them since, or for what purpose they were separated from them.

In the next passage we again see what were

THE OCCUPATIONS AND AMUSEMENTS OF CAPTIVITY.

Monday.—Play at cards, or catch rats and mice, during the forenoon; the servants come back; my man, Mútú, tells me there are no news to-day, and that every thing is dear in the bazaar—am obliged to dine to-day upon rice and ghi—suspect that Mútú has cheated me of some of my rice—am resolved to watch him—am obliged to eat moderately at present, as my shirts are worn out, and am saving money to buy a piece of cloth; it will be more than six weeks, before I shall be able to buy others.

Tuesday.—Get up in the morning at the usual time—go through the usual ceremonies—look out at my peep hole—see a vast number of Brahmin girls going down to the river to wash—four or five hundred horse pass by, guarding a multitude of the Carnatic inhabitants—a Moorman of high family, celebrating his marriage, passes by in great state, and his wife in a covered palanquin—two old Moormen under the house scolding—a crowd of people around them, to whom they are telling their story—shut my tile, for fear they should look and observe me—to-day have curry and rice for my dinner,—and plenty of it, as C——, my mess-mate, has got the gripes, and cannot eat his allowance.

Wednesday.—Finish a pack of cards to-day; the workmanship is much admired; B—— likewise finishes a backgammon table—sell my cards for a fanam. Have the itch for some time past owing to the bad water—the dog eats up half a fanam's worth of brimstone and butter—threaten to kill him if ever I catch him in my berth—D——, to whom he belongs, says I dare not hold an argument on that point—a very disagreeable day—a very unwholesome smell in the prison from the quantity of stagnated water and rubbish; the rain comes through the roof of the house and wets every thing.

Thursday.—To-day have some stewed mutton and bread for my dinner,—it is very good—and not near enough of it, as it is a very expensive dinner. Sheikh Hussein, upon guard, tells me that our army has beat the Bahádur, and that peace was making; another sepoy in the afternoon, tells us that the Bahádur had destroyed our army, and was besieging Madras. A great number of people at exercise upon the parade; the Europeans make signs to us, for which we observe a Moorman beating them—look towards Colonel Baillie's prison; make signs to one another—wrestle in play with Baird; his foot catches in the chains of my iron, and throws him down, and scratches his face—Bruin* is going to thrash me for fighting—says, that I am the property of the Bahádur—that I must neither lame myself, nor any of my companions.

And so the year 1781 passed away. In the middle of the following year we find John Lindsay lamenting the increased

* Mobet Khan.

painfulness of their situation, owing to their augmented numbers :—

Our prison, that was before too small, we now found beyond measure intolerable; and, although we were now permitted to occupy the outer square, yet the increase of our numbers, and the bad quality of the air, caused almost every one in our jail to be taken ill; and, to complete our misfortunes, the monsoon season set in, in a much severer manner than usual, and, what with the quantity of rain that overflowed our prison, the badness of the water that we were obliged to make use of, and our want of clothes to shelter us from the inclemencies of the weather, a kind of disorder, like the jail distemper, had crept in amongst us. Myself and four others were attacked more severely than the rest with violent bloody fluxes; and, as we were in a very dangerous situation, we made repeated applications for the European Surgeon to be permitted to come and assist us, which the killadar told us he could not allow; but, if we chose, he would send us some black doctors.

I positively refused to put myself under their charge, and said I would rather let my disorder take its course; but the other four, who were rather worse than me, said they would put themselves under their directions. The Surgeons therefore came, and, without giving them any previous medicines in order to remove the cause of their complaint, they administered large quantities of opium, which immediately stopped their flux, and the consequence of it was, that they all died in twenty-four hours, of mortification in the bowels.

These officers appear to have been Lieut. Lind, Mr. Hope, Captain Lucas, and Ensign Maconochie. Captain David Baird was, at this time, suffering dreadfully from dysentery. "He used," says Mr. Hook, "often to describe the tortures of recovery." His hunger was so extreme, that the "inclination he felt to snatch a portion of their food from others was almost unconquerable, and that, if the least morsel was left by any of them, he swallowed it with the greatest eagerness and delight." Most men, who have suffered under the dreadful disease indicated, know well what are the after-pains of the hungry recovery.

We must pass on hurriedly to the conclusion. In December 1783, after recording the change of the prison-guard, and the fact that "a Moorman of rank and dignified manners" had taken command, John Lindsay writes as follows. He had then been more than three years in captivity :—

A few days after this event, one of the sepoys on the guard informed one of the prisoners that, as he had formerly been in the English service, and had experienced the best of treatment, he would reveal to him a secret respecting the officers of Matthew's army, that had been sent to Kavel Drûg. He said that these prisoners, consisting of sixteen captains, a major, and the commissary guard of the army had, immediately on their arrival at that place, been put in irons, and that their allowance of provisions was the same as ours,—that their treatment in other respects had been harder: and that, the day before this, he had belonged to a guard that had been sent from another garrison to relieve the one that was over these prisoners,—that, on the second day of the new guard's being there, the commandant of it put himself in the evening at the head of most of the

troops in the place, and repaired to the prison, attended by some persons, who held in their hands bowls of green liquid—that the prisoners were ordered to advance two by two, and the commander informed them that it was the Nabob's orders that they should drink the liquor contained in these bowls: the prisoners seemed to be astonished, and refused to comply with the orders, and requested leave to consult with one another, which was allowed:—the result was, that, although they had committed no crime against Tippú Sultan, they nevertheless feared that it was his intention to take their lives, and declared that they would not take the drink.

The commandant informed them at once, that the drink offered to them was poison; that it was the Nabob's orders; that it was, he assured them, a pleasant, easy death; but that, if they persisted in refusing it, they were to be seized and tied, and thrown alive down the precipice of Kavel Drúg mountain; he declared that he was strictly to perform his orders, again recommended the drink, and allowed them an hour to determine. When the time had expired, they advanced to the commandant, and informed him they were ready to drink the poison; but that they did not doubt but that the day would arrive, when Tippú Sultan would meet the just reward of his inhuman cruelty, exercised so wantonly on a set of innocent men. They then drank the poison, which operated with violence upon some: but, in the space of one hour, the bodies of all were extended lifeless before the commandant; and as there was no farther occasion for so great a force in Kavel Drúg, he (our informant), with some others, had been sent to reinforce the guard over us.

But the worst was now over. A few days afterwards their irons were struck off. The happy event is thus recorded:—

December 22nd.—In the afternoon two Brahmins, accompanied by a Moorman of rank, came to the door of our prison, and, calling out my name and those of two other officers, desired us to come forward; and then the Brahmins said, they had orders to take us out of prison, and conduct us to the Governor. I immediately declared, that having been confined in this dungeon upwards of three years and a half in heavy chains, and with my body reduced to a perfect skeleton by long sickness, I was resolved not to separate myself from my fellow-prisoners; and that, if I was to suffer death, it should be on the same spot, where I had experienced so much misery.

They declared there was no intention of using me ill, and that, in accompanying them, I should be made happy by great and important news. I resolutely refused to leave the prison; on which the Moorman, who had remained silent, said with a smile, "You have all suffered enough, and I come to impart joy to you all; the merciful Nabob, my master, Tippú Sultan, has restored peace to the world; the English nation and he are now friends; you are immediately to be taken out of irons, and to-morrow you are to leave Seringapatam, and to march for your own country. I see, Sir," said he to me, "you are alarmed; you were sent for to receive a sum of money and a letter from your friends; you shall immediately receive both, after which I dare say you will no longer refuse leaving the prison." The letter and money were brought and delivered, and were from a friend with the Army, who took the earliest opportunity of administering to my necessities.

He stated that Tippú Saib, not being able to reduce the fortress of Mangalore, having lost the flower of his army before that place, and finding that the English had reinforced themselves in other quarters, and were advancing into his country, had at last declared that he would listen to proposals of peace; that Commissioners had been sent to him, and, after many

difficulties, peace had been concluded;—that each was to retain what they had before the war, and all prisoners to be released.

This letter instantly removed all doubts: and the sudden transition from misery to joy at so wonderful and unexpected an event was felt with the most heartfelt satisfaction throughout the prison, and even the guard seemed to partake of the general rejoicing.

The Governor appeared after the information, accompanied by a number of blacksmiths, who, in two or three hours, emancipated the limbs of every one from the cumbrous load of irons, that had been our constant companions for so many years.

With this, the narrative is concluded. All the other circumstances of this long and terrible captivity are so well known, that we have, for the most part, only endeavored to “reveal the secrets of the prison-house,” and to bring prominently forward those incidents, which especially relate to the individual woes of John Lindsay, and which illustrate the character of the man. He seems to have endured his sufferings with fortitude; and there is a manliness in his manner of narrating them, which raises our admiration. A few sentences will describe the remainder of his career. He again served under Lord Lindsay “in the war with Tippú in 1790, and in that with France in 1798, and returned to England, on the regiments being ordered home in 1797. After obtaining the Lieut. Colonelcy of the McLeod Highlanders, he quitted the army in 1801—the year of his brother’s return from Jamaica, and the year after his own marriage with the youngest daughter of Frederick North, Earl of Guildford, a worthy scion of a race in which brilliant wit, mingled with the most genuine good humour and kindness of disposition and a rational love of letters, seem to be hereditary possessions.”*

We have professedly undertaken to give some account of the “Lindsays in India.” Now, Lady Anne Barnard, we grieve to say, never was in India; but not on that account is she to be excluded from a niche in our gallery. She, who accompanied Lord Macartney to the Cape, and corresponded with Lord Wellesley, is fairly entitled to be classed among those worthies, of whom it is our privilege to take note in this journal. Of all the Lindsays, Lady Anne is the most interesting. If she had done nothing else but written the charming ballad of “Auld Robin Grey,” she would have had a place in our affections; but in these volumes her character is represented, (partly by what is said of her by others and partly by what she says for herself,) with such an atmosphere of kindliness and geniality about it, with such a glow of sunny-heartedness flushing all her outward

* Colin Lindsay’s narrative of the defence of St. Lucie contains some anecdotes of General Meadows and Major (afterwards Lord) Harris, which we should have been glad to transfer to our pages, but for the length to which this article has extended.

being, making everything she said and did bright with cheerfulness and benevolence—that, if she had never written a line of poetry, she would still have been entitled to our admiration as one of the most delightful female writers of her time, and one of the most fascinating of women. Of the former, her contemporaries had less knowledge than we have; but of the latter they had no doubt. She was on a footing of friendly intimacy with Burke, Sheridan, Wyndham, Dundas, and the Prince of Wales—with Hume, Johnson, Mackenzie, Monboddo, and other statesmen and philosophers. The Prince, it is true, was neither; but he has never appeared more worthy of our regard than in the anecdotes, which are told in illustration of his friendship for Lady Anne. In the second volume of the *Lives of the Lindsays*, there is a letter from the Prince, in reply to one addressed to him by Lady Anne shortly after the death of her husband, which is eminently the effusion, not only of a courteous nature, but of a kindly heart. A story told by Colonel Lindsay of Balcarras, in a letter to his son-in-law, Lord Lindsay, is worth quoting:—"I recollect George IV.," he writes, "sending for her to come and see him when he was very ill; he spoke most affectionately to her, and said 'Sister Anne (the appellation he usually gave her) I wished to see you to tell you that I love you, and wish you to accept of this golden chain for my sake; I may never, perhaps, see you again.'" The date of this anecdote is not given; but the event recorded occurred after the Prince ascended the throne. Lady Anne Barnard must have then been a very old woman.

"The peculiar trait of Lady Anne's character," says Colonel Lindsay, "was benevolence—a readiness to share with others her purse, her tears, or her joys,—an absence of all selfishness. This, with her talents, created a power of pleasing, which I have never seen equalled. She had in society a power of placing herself in sympathies with those whom she addressed, of drawing forth their feelings, their talents, their acquirements, pleasing them with themselves, and consequently with their companions for the time being. I have often seen her change a dull party into an agreeable one; she could make the dullest speak, the shyest feel happy, and the witty flush fire without any apparent exertion." What an invaluable person she would have been at one of our *burra-khanas*! "I recollect," adds Colonel Lindsay, in a postscript, "a characteristic anecdote of her, or rather of an old servant, who had lived with her for years. She was entertaining a large party of distinguished guests at dinner, when a hitch occurred in the kitchen. The old servant came up behind her, and whispered,

*‘ My lady, you must tell another story ; the second course
‘ wont be ready for five minutes.’*

“ Her hand was sought in marriage,” says the same narrator, “ by several of the first men of the land, and her friendship and confidence by the most distinguished women ; but indecision was her failing—hesitation and doubt upset her judgment ; her heart had never been captured, and she remained single till late in life, when she married an accomplished, but not wealthy, gentleman, younger than herself, whom she accompanied to the Cape of Good Hope, when appointed Colonial Secretary under Lord Macartney.” The gentleman was Mr. Barnard. Lord Macartney sailed from Portsmouth in January 1797. Mr. Maxwell, who had before been attached to his staff, and Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Barrow, who has written a very dull life of his Lordship, sailed with him. The Barnards must have been a great acquisition to the party. Lord Macartney was then old and infirm. His health suffered greatly whilst at the Cape. The catalogue of his ailments, which he sent home to Mr. Dundas before he had been many months resident in the colony, is one of the most afflicting we ever remember to have read. “ I am now sixty years old,” he wrote, “ of which near four-and-thirty have been chiefly employed on public service, in different stations of distance, difficulty and hazard—circumstances that formerly served to me, rather as incentives, than discouragements ; but of late, and particularly within these few weeks, I feel myself declining fast, and am, at this moment, afflicted with the gout in my head and stomach, so much, as to render any exertion painful and ineffectual. I have the piles, if not a fistula, and am not without apprehension of a stone in my kidneys. To this I am to add an increasing weakness in my eyes, which makes me more melancholy than all the rest.” Such was the melancholy condition of Lord Macartney, when the cheerful companionship of Lady Anne Barnard and her husband did much to palliate his sufferings and to disperse his gloom. “ My situation,” he said, “ is, in every other respect, so agreeable to me, that I should not be desirous of removing from it, if I could flatter myself that a man, at my advanced time of life, were likely to improve either in his constitution or his faculties.” The account, which Lady Anne has given of the kindness and amiability of the Governor at this time, is worth preserving :—

In one person's society was to be found everlasting entertainment, and instruction too, when we had him to ourselves. Lord Macartney was one of the best companions I ever met with ; and Barnard, who was with him

every morning, said those were the happiest hours of his day. I sometimes alleged that, while we all supposed them laying plans for the good of the Colony, they were talking all sorts of nonsense, by the side of the fire—and grate too, be it known to you—which was a piece of great magnificence here.

The two gentlemen, who had accompanied Lord Macartney to China and on other embassies, regarded his manners to Barnard with an eye of wonder, though I did not think, of jealousy. They had reckoned him cold, political, without a vulnerable part, where he could be affected: but they had never tried to gain his heart, though they had served him faithfully. Dr. Gillan had loved him—and Dr. Gillan he loved: a sentiment of this sort cannot exist on one side only. To try to love what we are bound to respect, I take to be a good habit; it may produce excellent effects, and cannot produce bad ones.

His aides-de-camp, though both were young, gay as larks, handsome and fine gentlemen in all the best senses of the word, I observed were as much attached to him, as young men can be to an old man; and as they were attentive, he was full of goodness and consideration for their amusement. "Go, go," he said, "do not stay with me. Franklin shall cut up the turkey to-day:" but they settled it with each other that Lord Macartney never should be without one of them.

I certainly never saw a man who, in the small line of my experience, I thought so well calculated to make a good preceptor to a young statesman as Lord Macartney. Wary, well-bred, and witty, he was never to be caught off his guard, and where he could not grant (like the sweet-tempered Lord North), he gave the negative in a pleasant way, though sometimes, if he thought the request improper, with more of the epigrammatic than the other did. Such a tutor would have been an excellent one to counteract faults of an opposite description to his own; but he might have been a dangerous master to a similar disposition, by leading him to carry his distrust of mankind too far.

I remarked amongst other things the extraordinary respect he shewed to those, who could give him information, or who had been in public departments; but I may extend this remark and say—to every man in his own line. "To be respected," whispered he to me, "one must begin with respecting." Subjects of conversation were never wanting to him: he talked to every man on the subject he was best informed upon, and on which he was likely to acquit himself best. Of course each man left his closet, pleased with the impression he had given of himself to the Governor. The business of the conference over, he entertained himself with getting all he could out of every body, who had sense enough to discriminate: but of those, there were few at the Cape—the men being so uneducated that reflections did not spring up, where nothing was planted. Of the women we had very unfavourable accounts from one who ought to have known the truth. The French, he said, had corrupted them—the English had merely taught them to affect virtue. "Grace a Dieu," said he, "*ma femme est bien laide*;" and therefore he seemed to have no fears for her conduct: but as to that of any other woman in the Cape, he believed them to be "all the same."

I take this verdict, of course with some grains of allowance, from a man who is soured by circumstances: but it will put me a little on the watch, and determine me to get at the truth of his assertions, without appearing to have heard any thing of the matter:—though, where I find them all well grounded, what then? I must know nothing. To fulfil my duty here, as the woman (in the absence of Lady Macartney) at the head of the Government department, civility and hospitality must be shown to every

woman, Dutch or English, who live on good terms with their husband, and to all the Dutchmen, who take the oath of allegiance to the English Government, and are of sufficient respectability to visit at the Castle.

Nothing can be more amusing than Lady Anne's pictures of Cape society. The satire is really not ill-natured, though very lively and *piquante*. Accustomed to the very best English society, the sayings and doings of the Dutch Boors and their wives must have been greatly appreciated by one with so keen a sense of the ridiculous. We should perhaps have enjoyed her sketches with a sharper relish, if she had not made light of certain matters, which are not to be jested about by any one—and least of all, by an English lady.

Whilst the Barnards were at the Cape, Lord Mornington arrived on his way to the seat of his new Government in India. He was an old friend of Lady Anne and her husband; and they welcomed him with much cordiality. It would ill become us to omit her sketch of the Governor-General, before he was *sultanized*, sleeping, like the Miss Pecksniffs at Todgers's, in a little back parlour:—

Among other passing guests, we had a visit from Lord Mornington, with his brother, on his way to India, to fill the station of Governor-General. As they were people we loved much, we certainly would have been happy to have accommodated them in the Castle, had not the prior claims of A——s, as older friends, nearer friends, and poorer friends, made it impossible to sacrifice the holy motive to the agreeable attraction. But the bugs were so plentiful on the following night at the honest Dutchman's, where the Governor-General took up his quarters, that we could not resist his entreaties, and took him in, his brother and his four servants, into our sanctuary. We lodged him in one of our back parlours, into which a little tent bed is put, to hold the great man; and from which he has only to step out upon the bricks of our balcony to enjoy the cool air, as it hangs over a basin of pure water, supplied by a fountain descending from the Table Mountain, which raises its head above the tall Oaks that encompass the pool, and afford a walk to the favorites of the back-yard, whom I now presented to the Governor-General, and of which number my little buck is the first. I reared him myself, without a mother, and he seems now to regard me as one, following me like a dog, and begging hard at night for Barnard's permission to sleep on my feet.

A couple of secretary-birds came next—majestic creatures, with long legs, black velvet breeches, and large wings, who strut about with an air much resembling that of some of our fine gentlemen. They have one singularity, as birds—they never eat standing—not even at luncheon, but sit down to dinner, as regularly as we do. I believe this is in consequence of the extreme length of their legs.

A sea-calf I next presented, who has been betrayed into living in spite of his teeth, as I gave him in charge to a slave with orders to seize the golden opportunity of his bleating to insert the spout of a tea-pot into his mouth, and give him his belly-full of milk. He is a very foolish creature, half fish, half animal; but his countenance is more of the calf than the fish; his feet are fins, and his method of walking has too much of the

waddle in it to be graceful; but when laughed at, he plunges into the water, and is in his kingdom.

A penguin comes next upon the boards—the link between fish and fowl in the same degree that the calf is between animal and fish. The penguin is half the day in the pond with the calf, and half of it in the drawing-room with me. She resembles many old ladies, who wear what are called *Sacques* with long ruffles, and is more like a duck than any other bird. Her appetite is enormous, and she is very nice, as she must have every thing raw and fresh.

Two jackals are the delight of all the dogs in the garrison, they are such coquettes; they come out of their hole every evening, and allow themselves to be chased all round the flat topped wall of the fortress for about two hours; when tired, they creep within the gate of the Castle, and get into the cellar by a broken pane, where they live secure and do no harm.

Two young wild-cats are also of the party. Strange to say these savage animals were nursed by the dog of the Brabanter, who prevailed on her, by dint of argument, to adopt and rear them—she having lost her own puppies, though she detested the cats, and was ready to bite off their heads; but, when told by her master that she *must* nurse them, as they had no mother, Jacqueline gave up the point—and no one could look at her disgust to them, without being sorry for the animal while so employed.

A horned owl, more important than wise, and a beautiful green chameleon from Madagascar, made up the rest of this worthy society. But the buck possessed my heart, and soon won Lord Mornington's.

Shall we confess that there is, to us, something mysterious and apocalyptical in this? Were the creatures, whom Lady Anne Barnard presented to Lord Mornington, two-legged animals without feathers? The secretary-birds, the jackals, the young wild cats—how very like a Governor's staff!

"Every day," said Lady Anne, "produces something to entertain Lord Mornington; he has a levee every morning of yellow Generals and Captains from India, with *déspatches* to Government, who stop here, and finding his Excellency at the Cape, deliver up their official papers,* which he opens, peruses, and by such means will arrive instructed in the present position of affairs there, and will appear a prodigy of ability in being master of all so soon after his arrival." He did appear, indeed, a prodigy—and such a prodigy, as the old Indian statesmen and Generals never wished to see again. He would have made war on Tippú, if he had had his own way, with an unprovided army, without provisions, without money, and without ordnance stores.

"After spending a couple of easy pleasant months" at the Cape, Lord Mornington and his brother departed. There was

* The lively narrator here a little exaggerates the truth. Lord Mornington did break open a packet for the Court of Directors, brought from Calcutta by the *Houghton*, but we believe this to have been the only instance; and the ship-captain did not volunteer to give it up.

a strange assembly of illustrious personages there during his Lordship's visit. There was, as we have seen, Lord Macartney, who had been Governor of Madras, and had narrowly escaped being Governor-General of India. There was also Lord Hobart, on his way home from Madras, a nobleman who had filled the same office, and narrowly escaped, too, the same honour. No mention is made of him, in Lady Anne's Journal—nor of General (afterwards Sir) David Baird, who was also at the Cape, in command of a Brigade, unless he is to be found among the yellow Generals pitch-forked into the passage quoted above. As Baird was a friend and fellow-prisoner of Lady Anne's brother, John Lindsay, we might have expected some other notice of him. We might have expected, too, that he would have been treated with some courtesy by Lord Macartney's personal staff. But it is recorded of him by his biographer (Theodore Hook), that when, on his first arrival, he went to pay his respects to the Governor, "an aid-de-camp, who received him, not only refused him admittance to Lord Macartney, but told him, in a scarcely civil manner, that his Excellency could not see him." This must have been one of the wild cats presented by Lady Anne to Lord Mornington. We are glad to learn from the same authority, that he paid the penalty of his offence, in being condemned to carry a note to Baird, expressive of the Governor's regret at not having seen him when he called, and a hope that he would repeat his visit next morning.

Lord Wellesley did not forget Lady Anne, amidst the cares and distractions of his Indian Government. There are two very characteristic letters from his Lordship in the volume before us, written from Calcutta in 1800 and 1801. Here is the first of them :—

Fort William, October 2, 1800.

Your several kind letters have given me as much pleasure, my dear Lady Anne, as I was capable of receiving in the bad state of health, by which I have been tormented ever since the month of April. My complaints, however, have been more tedious and painful than dangerous... These, with their accompaniments, confined me to my couch for the greater part of four months, and my spirits were most severely affected; but I was still able to apply to public business, and to carry many great points quietly, which will soon make a loud report. On what honours you compliment me I know not; I am persuaded you have too much good sense and good taste to esteem an Irish peerage a complimentary, or complimentable, honour in my case. Perhaps you refer to the votes of Parliament, and to the conscious sense of eminent public service;—these are honours indeed, which neither negligence, nor slander, nor ingratitude, nor ignorance, nor envy, nor folly, can impair. With respect to rewards of another description, I have received none—I expect none—and (be not surprised) perhaps you may hear that I will accept none. This brief declamation will admit you

to the secret agonies of my poor dear heart, or soul, and give you some light to discover the causes of my ill health, and of my declining, indignant, wounded spirits. But do not suppose me to be so weak as to meditate hasty resignations, or passionate returns to Europe, or fury, or violence of any kind. No; I will shame their injustice by aggravating the burthen of their obligations to me; I will heap kingdoms upon kingdoms; victory upon victory, revenue upon revenue; I will accumulate glory and wealth and power, until the ambition and avarice even of my masters shall cry mercy: and then I will show them what dust in the balance their tardy gratitude is, in the estimation of injured, neglected, disdainful merit.

Your lofty twaddler's order in Council for the arrangement of his play-house is incomparable. If I could disclose his *most secret* dispatches to me, how I should amuse you! But I cannot trust even your discretion with the secrets of the State. If we ever meet again, you shall hear it all, when the whole pageantry of State affairs shall have passed away, like a dream after a heavy supper. Even in the other world, where I hope we shall meet at last; you will laugh at the history—if the ghost of your risible muscles should retain any powers of laughter. I believe Mr. Barnard is in my debt on the account of correspondence; or if I am the debtor, I must take out a Commission of Bankruptcy, and request him to accept through you, my Assignee, my most sincere and grateful declarations of kind remembrance and good wishes, as a payment of one shilling in the pound.

My brother Arthur has been distinguishing himself most nobly in a short, rapid, and able campaign against an insurgent called (do not laugh). Dúndah Jí Waugh.

"I am employed from morning till night in business, and from night till morning in dozing and slumbering, and recovering the fatigues of the laborious day. If Dalilah were here, she certainly might catch me napping every evening, as early as eight o'clock, and sometimes earlier; but, to pursue your metaphor, she could neither discover my weakness nor my strength, nor any other quality in me, than an unconquerable propensity to sleep. I am in anxious expectation of Henry's arrival, who will be a great relief to my melancholy. When the cold season shall commence, I shall give balls and dinners to the ladies, as usual; but these amuse me not greatly. As to your friends, and the society of this place, I believe they go on very well. I never see the society but in buckram; so I know nothing about it, and never shall, or will, or can know more.

"Adieu, dear Lady Anne; write to me as often as you can, and tell me all about it, and about it.

Yours ever most affectionately,

WELLESLEY.

Some part of this is very pleasant—some, it must be acknowledged, rather bombastic. We like the Governor-General better in his undress, than when playing the part of *Jupiter Tonans*, or ranting Tamerlane. All this about heaping kingdoms upon kingdoms, victory on victory, revenue upon revenue, and so putting the Court of Directors to shame, is sad stuff. As for the kingdoms and the victories the Court wanted none of them; and as for revenue, the Directors knew only too well that that does not follow upon either victories or kingdoms. When Lord Wellesley gave over the administration to Lord

Cornwallis, the Government of India was insolvent ; there was no money in the treasury ; there was a large irregular army, whose services were not required, but which could not be dismissed for want of the means of paying them their arrears. What Lord Cornwallis was obliged to do under these circumstances is well known. Doubtless, the "avarice" of the Court did "cry mercy ;" but not in the sense intended by Lord Wellesley.

The allusion to the "lofty twaddler" and his play-house calls for explanation. We confess that we are unable to afford a key to it. There would be nothing surprising in the fact of Lord Wellesley calling any one a lofty twaddler. The person so designated, and who is alluded to in the second letter, which we subjoin, is probably Lord Macartney ; though the supposition is at variance with the respect entertained for that nobleman by Lady Anne Barnard, who had obviously elicited the Governor-General's remarks by some raillery of her own :—

Fort William, June 27, 1801.

My dearest Lady,

Many thanks for your kind and balmy letter of the 21st of January, and many reproaches for your curtailed docked cropped *Ohit* of the 26th April.

Now for his Excellency the Governor and Captain-General—pray do not forget the Captain, although I hope he will not prove to be, what Burke always called the great Mr. Hastings, Captain-General of Iniquity ! As you say nothing of yourself or yours, I must talk of my dear self.

I am still much out of humour, but very proud and public spirited ; so I mean to remain here, until I have accomplished my ethereal visions, as you call them. I have been very well since Henry's arrival, residing almost entirely at Barrackpore, a charming spot, which, in my usual spirit of tyranny, I have plucked from the Commander-in-Chief. For the last ten days however, I have been a little feverish, billy, and boily ; but upon the whole, pretty stout.

You must hear the story of my proceeding with my masters. I reserved a large part of the prize, taken at Seringapatam, (namely the ordnance and stores,) for the King's disposal, with a view of serving the general rights of the Crown, and of showing to my beloved and immortal Army, that even *they* had no *right* to prizes, without the authority of the Supreme power. Massa proposed to grant me a plumb (£100,000) *out of this reserved prize*—thus deducting a large sum from what the King might grant to Massa, and what Massa ought to re-grant to the Army—for the profit of his Excellency. "No, Massa," says his Excellency, "you shall not rob Peter to pay Paul ; and I will not take one farthing from you at the expense of the Army." "Slave," says Massa, "how dare you look a gift horse in the mouth ?" "Massa," says his Excellency, "I am a public slave, as well as your slave, and I will not be gifted with dishonour." "Well then," says Massa, after a long pause of many months ; "Here, take one-third of what I would have given you, if you would have joined me in robbing my own Army. Since you will not be an accomplice in robbery, let honour be your reward. And hark ye ! remember that I am too kind to you, in not punishing your pride

by withholding all reward for the conquest of a whole empire, because you presumed to reject my offer of going snacks with me in the plunder of my rascally soldiers." "Well, Massa," says his Excellency, "I submit. As there is *now* no dishonour in your gift, I accept it thankfully." "Slave!" says "Massa," I mean *now* to grant all the reserved prize to the Army: and the plumb, intended for you, shall be established as a fund for Military widows and orphans." "Bravo, Massa! that is noble; that is munificence, and justice, and dignity, and charity, and true glory; but — if I had taken your plumb, where would the widow and orphan have sheltered their heads?" And so Massa and his Excellency have come to a good and honourable agreement, by which his Excellency is supposed to have lost about five thousand pounds per annum, and to have gained about a puff and a half of pure air from the trumpet of fame.

I suppose you heard of my treaty with a certain potentate called the Nizam, a twaddler of order high; that was one of my visions realized—others are coming. We are all on the point of moving up the river, in grand state, to visit the Upper Provinces, where I hope to realize other of my fantasies.

The high twaddler injures me in saying that I consult no body. I notoriously consult every body of any knowledge; but I hope that I am not governed by any other opinion than my own deliberate judgment, after full reflection and consideration of all other sentiments, and even of the nonsense of many blockheads; for chips may be taken even from the block.

Adieu, dear Lady Anne! I have solaced myself by writing much stuff to you; I expect to be repaid with compound Indian interest.

I am very happy with General Lake, who is an excellent assistant to me in all affairs, and a most pleasant man.

Again your's most affectionately,

WELLESLEY.

We cannot say much for the ingeniousness of the above account of the Court of Directors' conduct with respect to the prize-money captured at Seringapatam. The Court of Directors granted an annuity to Lord Wellesley of £5,000 for twenty years. One would hardly gather this from the above letter. The annuity was voted in January 1801; and the date of the epistle to Lady Anne Barnard is June 27, of the same year; so that we can scarcely suppose him to have been in ignorance of the fact. Lord Wellesley's biographer, Mr. Pearce—no great authority, it is true, on this or any other subject, but a devoted admirer of his Lordship, and no flatterer of the Court—says that "the Court of Directors, *in the handsomest manner*, voted an annuity of £5,000 to Marquess Wellesley." We may have something perhaps, on a future occasion, to say about the habitual hauteur and insolence of the Marquis's bearing towards the Court of Directors. It is not a subject to be entered upon at the end of such an article as this.

Lady Anne Barnard remained at the Cape until the peace of Amiens, when the colony was given back to the Dutch. During her residence there she made a short journey into the interior,

the incidents of which she has chronicled in a journal, here published, with remarkable vivacity and humour; we have seldom read any thing of the kind, that has pleased us better.

With an "Adventure in China," by the Hon'ble Hugh Lindsay, a Captain in the Company's Mercantile Marine, and for many years a Member of the Court of Directors, the last volume of the *Lives of the Lindsays* is concluded.

This anecdote derives additional interest from the present state of our relations with Canton, and is related with much liveliness and spirit. Mr. Hugh Lindsay was Commodore of a large and valuable fleet belonging to the East India Company, to which the Viceroy, in consequence of the misrepresentations of the Hong merchants, refused a port clearance. Mr. Lindsay therefore, without acquainting any one with his intentions, determined to force an entrance into the city of Canton, to obtain access to the Viceroy's palace, and to lay the true state of the case before him in a personal interview. The result we shall present to our readers in his own words:—

About eight o'clock in the morning there are few Chinese in the streets:—we therefore had no difficulty in proceeding to the great gate, and, as I expected, found the guard (one soldier excepted) in the guard-house at breakfast. The soldier, on my passing, attempted to stop me; but, on my giving him a push forward, he ran on before me; our party then immediately got through the gate, and beyond the guard-house, before the guard could get out to stop us:—in consequence of the narrowness of the street, our files of three filling it completely, they could not pass us, their efforts to do so only pushing us on the faster. On, therefore, we went—no one before us attempting to impede our progress.

In a short time I discovered the soldier, who was at the gate, a little way in advance, watching our proceedings; it then occurred to me that, as he could not pass us to return to the guard, he would go on to the Hoppo's palace to give information there of our entry into the city. I therefore resolved to keep him in view if possible; but the moment we came near him, he set off at full speed, and, in spite of all the efforts we could make, we soon lost sight of him.

We had now proceeded about half a mile in a long narrow street, the end of which (I was much annoyed at finding) branched into two others rather wider, one turning short to the left, the other inclining to the right; here I called a halt, as it was evident, if we took the wrong direction, all chance of success was at an end. I therefore called to my aid the petition addressed (as I before mentioned) "To the Hoppo," in large characters; and seeing at a shop-door a good-humoured-looking fellow, staring at the unusual appearance of such a number of strangers in the city, I ran up to him, and shewed him the back of the petition, which he instantly read, laughed heartily, and pointed out the right road.

We proceeded on as fast as we could go, and, after advancing a short distance, we again got sight of the soldier, whom we discovered, with several others, in the act of shutting two very large folding gates, which appeared to be the entrance to a spacious outer court, in which was visible the front of one of the most magnificent buildings I had ever seen. This

was a very critical moment, for I instantly imagined it must be the Hoppo's palace, and, if the gates were once closed against us, all our labour was lost. I therefore loudly called out, "Hurrah to the gate!" We in a body sprung forward, and luckily reached it at the instant the gates were shut, but before they had time to get them bolted; with one consent we put our shoulders to them, and the gates flew open before us, throwing all those inside to the right and left. Our whole body immediately rushed in; and it was our turn then to assist the soldiers in shutting and bolting the gates to keep out a mob of Chinese, who had gathered in the city, and followed in our rear.

Now we had time to breathe, look about us, and consider where we were. Nothing could be more splendid than the building which stood in front of us; it was covered with Chinese characters in gold, beautifully ornamented with carved work in the Chinese style, and painted in the most brilliant and gaudy colours.

Mr. Perry at once assured me we must have reached the Viceroy's palace, as he discovered the particular banner which was carried before the Hoppo when he visited the Company's factory. The guard, whom we seemed to have caught *en déshabille*, had retired, and shortly after made their appearance in magnificent uniforms, and drew up in a body opposite to us.

The palace-gate now opened, and a Mandarin slowly advanced towards me; he addressed me in Chinese, to which I could only reply, by shaking my head, and shewing him my petition. He put out his hand to receive it, but I drew back mine, and made a sign I wanted to go into the palace to deliver it. He shook his head, and seemed decidedly averse to such a proceeding.

We were soon relieved from this embarrassment by the arrival of the two senior security merchants, Mowqua and Howqua, the first a fine old man of upwards of eighty years of age; and it was supposed that to those two we principally owed our detention:—the rest of the Hong came soon after.

Mowqua was in great agitation when he arrived, and addressed me in his usual Chinese English, "Ah! Mister Commodore, what for you come here? you wanty security merchants have cutty head? Hoppo truly too much angry English come him house,—he will cutty my poor old head." My reply was, "Mowqua! it is your own fault; why did you not present the Typan's (chief supercargo's) petition to the Hoppo? Had you done so, I should not have come here." "Good Mister Commodore, me takey petition, and truly will get answer directly." "No, no Mowqua! I will give it into the Hoppo's own hand myself:—on which all the security merchants set up a cry, as if I had uttered some treason against the Celestial Empire. "What you come here? you wanty see Hoppo? That you no can do—Hoppo send you prison, as soon as he know you come him house—we takey petition before he know you come city—get out fast you can; truly he too much angry, he know you here."

There now appeared a Mandarin of high rank, to whom the merchants paid great respect; he came up to Captain Craig, Mr Perry, and myself, who were standing with the two senior security merchants in front of our party; he, with civility, enquired what we wanted? and was instantly replied to by Mowqua; but I was determined to be my own interpreter. I therefore held up the petition for him to read the address, and made signs as before that I wanted to go into the palace to present it. This compelled Mowqua to come to an explanation with the Mandarin, who left us, as I supposed, to

inform the Hoppo of our being there; he soon, however, returned, and held another consultation with the Hong merchants, who again informed me that I could not possibly see the Viceroy, and that I must entrust the petition to their care.

On this I thought it right to consult with Mr. Perry, Captain Craig, and some of the senior commanders, whether they advised my yielding the point, and giving up the petition. I however gave it as my own decided opinion, that we should still persevere in demanding an audience, and in this I was supported by all but Mr. Perry, who thought we ought not to persist any longer. I however determined to persist, and informed the Hong merchants that nothing but force should compel us to leave the palace without an interview. I was the more inclined to persevere, from one of the junior merchants having whispered in my ear not to give up my point, —and that he, and several others of the Hong, did not approve of what the seniors had been doing.

After a long pause, Mowqua said to me, if I was resolved to see the Hoppo, I must send away all the commanders and officers except one, and that he and I should then be admitted into the palace. To this I instantly agreed; and it was settled that Mr. Perry, the supercargo, should be the person to remain with me, and that Captain Craig and the rest of the party should retire out of the city, which they accordingly did.

Mr. Perry and myself were now left in the court of the Hoppo's palace, surrounded by a great number of Mandarins, Hong merchants, and soldiers; the Mandarin, who took the lead, then shewed us into a large and splendid hall in the palace, where we were accompanied by the Hong merchants, who appeared extremely disconcerted at our success. It was now near twelve o'clock, and from that time till four every effort, by promises, persuasions, and threats, was made use of by the Hong to prevail on me to give up the desire of seeing the Hoppo, but without effect; I was perfectly decided and firm, although frequently and most anxiously urged by Mr. Perry to yield the point.

Finding that I was not to be moved, Mowqua at last told me I should soon see the Viceroy; —“And now, Mister Commodore, when great man come, you must knocky head.” “What is knocky head, Mowqua?” said I. “You must down on knees, and putty head on ground,” was the reply. “That's not my country fashion, Mowqua—I don't do so to my King, therefore will not do so to your Hoppo; but I will make him a bow, while you knocky head.” With this, after some communication between the Mandarins and the security merchants, they appeared satisfied.

I now found they were in earnest as to my seeing the Hoppo; and there was much bustle in the palace; they were, however, determined I should not imagine that I had forced an interview, as I was given to understand that the Viceroy was going out to pay his colleague, the Fyane, a visit, and that I should see him as he went out.

At this time there were in the great hall thirty or forty Mandarins of various ranks, all the security merchants, Mr. Perry, and myself, with many other persons belonging to the palace—in all, I should suppose, about a hundred and fifty in number.

The doors were shortly thrown open, and we observed a procession issuing from another large house, and crossing a court to the hall we were in. The guard passed on, and presently there appeared the Hoppo, borne in a most magnificent state chair by sixteen men richly dressed; the chair was very splendid, and the Hoppo one of the finest and noblest-looking Chinese I had ever seen, with a remarkably fine black beard. The moment he entered

the hall, every person, except Mr. Perry and myself, threw themselves down as if they had been shot through the head, touched the ground with their forehead, and were up again in a moment—even my old friend Mowqua, though so advanced in years, was down and up again as nimbly as a boy: on my remarking this to him, after the interview was over, his reply was, "Mister Commodore, I very much long time do that custom."

As the Hoppo approached to Mr. Perry and me, we made him a low bow. I then advanced, with my petition in my hand, to his chair, when he desired his bearers to stop, and, having called Mowqua, he enquired by him of me what I wanted? I said I had a petition, which I was desirous of having the honour to deliver into his own hand. He asked if it was written in Chinese. I replied it was. He then put out his hand and took it from me, saying he was going to visit the Fyane, and that I should have an immediate answer. He gave orders that we should have refreshments, and be conveyed back to the Company's factory in chairs belonging to the palace—made us a *chin-chin* (a complimentary mode of saluting), which was considered by the Chinese present as a mark of great favour towards us—and then passed on out of the palace.

As soon as the Hoppo was gone, we were taken by the Mandarins into another apartment, where several tables were laid, covered with fruit and sweetmeats. I was placed at one table with two Mandarins and Mowqua, Mr. Perry and Howqua at another, with two other Mandarins; the rest of the security merchants and Mandarins were placed at tables of four, agreeably to the Chinese custom. A handsome dinner was served, with great abundance of hot wine, the produce of China, and, after passing a very pleasant hour, we were put into the state chairs, and carried through the city back to the Company's factory—to the astonishment of all the Chinese, and to the no small satisfaction of Mr. Brown, who had been under much uneasiness on our account.

Next day there was a heavy fine levied on the security merchants—the port-clearance was issued—the fleet despatched—and here ends my story."

Mr. Hugh Lindsay "whose epitaph," writes Lord Lindsay, "may be left to the testimony of the hundreds to whom, as Director and Chairman of the East India Company, and as man to man, he proved himself a father and a friend, and whose heart was, in fact, the seat of every kindly quality, that can grace humanity," died in April, 1844, in his eightieth year. With this announcement may be closed our notice of the agreeable and accomplished family of the "Lindsays in India." We are mistaken, if the extracts we have given do not induce many of our readers to make acquaintance for themselves with the pleasant volumes, from which they are taken. We have necessarily conveyed but a faint impression of the contents of the *Lives of the Lindsays*. We have only followed the family eastward of the Cape. There are many, who will delight to hold communication with them in the bracing air of their native North.

ART. II.—1. *Shishu-bodhak*.

2. *Annadá Mangal*.

3. *Nala and Damayanti*.

4. *Batrish Singhâsan*.

5. *Betâl Panchavingshati*.

6. *Kantukabilâsha, &c.*

THAT "respectable Natives do not read Bengali books," is one of the axioms of Young Bengal. It matters little, whether it states a fact, or merely expresses a feeling; in either case it is a proof that the educated Bengali despises the literature of his own language. Time was, when the educated German did the same; and that time is separated from our own by the brief interval of a single century. In those days, Latin was, throughout Germany, the dialect of the student, and French that of the courtier. At length the genius of Lessing rescued the German tongue from the contempt into which it had fallen, and called into existence that series of classics, which, in the present day, commands the admiration of the whole civilized world.

Bengal sadly stands in need of a Lessing to develop the resources of her noble language, and to clothe in it the creations of his genius. Young Bengal, in despising his present national literature, may, in some measure, be guided by affectation: but it must be confessed that his judgment is not essentially erroneous. The national literature really is contemptible. But he errs in regarding all hope of its improvement as visionary, and all efforts towards it as doomed to failure.*

Compared with the middle and lower classes of other countries—the European continent not excluded—those of Bengal may be said to be fond of reading, or at least of listening to the reading of others. The sight of a man poring over his book is not uncommon, even in the meanest village. When the crew of a boat is permitted, either by a favourable wind, or by any other circumstance, to leave the oars and to congregate on the poop (for so the roof may be called), the hardy rowers almost invariably form a group of listeners around a man, who professes to read to them. It is amusing to watch the patience and interest, which

* We must candidly own that, to judge from present appearances, the hope of any material improvement in Bengali literature is not likely to be realized very soon, unless the Bible should become a popular book. The style of writing, which is now becoming more and more fashionable, is so similar to the more modern Sanscrit that, so far as popular readers are concerned, it might as well be wholly Sanscrit. The English reader may form an idea of it, by thinking of the semi-Latin style of Johnson. "Good" Bengali now-a-days means Johnsonianism run to seed.

they manifest on such an occasion. True, their mouths may be engaged in puffing their favourite weed, or their hands busy plying the needle to make some rude garment, either for themselves, or for some members of their distant families; but they are all ear; and any interruption to their intellectual enjoyment meets with an instantaneous rebuke. The reader, sitting on his haunches, with his book laid on the floor before him, spells out couplet after couplet; for all popular books are in verse, or are read, as if they were in verse. His skill, generally, is not very great, and the words that are printed wrong (except in some very favourable cases) are quite as numerous as those that are printed aright: hence, he is compelled to try over and over again, before he can get at the meaning. But he is as persevering in his efforts, as his readers are in their patience; and by degrees he gets through a few pages. Reading, to a common native, is not the easy task that it is to a European. It is always carried on aloud, and according to a sing-song tune, the modulations of which are not readily acquired. To this music the head beats time, as regularly as the pendulum invented for the pianist by the ingenious German. Now it swings backward and forward, and every now and then makes a sideways movement, to alleviate or regulate the arduous operation. No wonder that an hour's lesson generally proves quite enough at a time; for by that time the joints of the neck, unless inured to the exercise by long practice, must assuredly require some little repose.

This is the orthodox method of reading among the lower classes of Hindus, never deviated from by any but those, who have been so far brought under European influence, as to have learned the distinction between the essentials and the non-essentials in this matter. We have seen the youthful scribe of a darogah, singing aloud to his superior and to ourselves a report of a robbery, containing an enumeration of stolen articles, according to the approved tune, kept in time by the inverted pendulum, with as great solemnity, as if it had been the most affecting story of the Ramayana, or the Mahabharata.

It is an interesting question, but one not easily solved, what is the character of the books most sought after by people of this class? As we have introduced native boatmen by way of an illustration, we feel bound at once to remark that they are for the most part Muhammadans; and that their favourite books are of a totally different nature from those of the Hindus. True, they are printed in the Bengali character, and profess to be Bengali poetry, like all the rest; but the language contains a large admixture of Hindustani, and the subject-matter usually

consists of some Muhammadan legend. These volumes issue from certain presses in Calcutta, and are sold somewhat dearer (because somewhat better got up) than those printed for the Hindu population: but it is very rarely that a larger sum than half a rupee is paid for a volume; and, when it is so expensive, it is regarded as a very precious treasure, and kept with the greatest care.

Among the Bengali books for the lower classes, those most prized are the clumsy poetical epitomes, which pass for translations of the two great epic poems. But as, even in this curtailed form, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* are somewhat voluminous, and therefore expensive, they cannot be purchased so readily as smaller books, which may be had for a few coppers, and which therefore are far more widely disseminated—though it is always difficult for Europeans to obtain copies of them.

The first and foremost among these is an Encyclopædia, called the *Shishubodhak*, or *Child's Instructor*. Of this we have managed to purchase a splendid copy, ready bound, with a vignette on the title, a picture alphabet, and an ornamental border round every page—all for six pice (2*d.*). It contains an alphabet; a treatise on arithmetic and mensuration, with all the rules in poetical language; directions for letter-writing; an invocation of the Ganges; some mythological tales; and what are called the *Chānakya Slokes*, or golden verses, 108 in number, both in Sanscrit and Bengali; the whole comprised in fifty-four pages. This little book is more extensively used in the indigenous village schools of Bengal than any other. The treatise on arithmetic, which it contains, is really not bad: and in all probability it is to it that the marvellous readiness in reckoning, possessed by so many Bengalis, may be ascribed. The Sanscrit slokes are the same which are in almost every body's mouth, and for the extensive diffusion of which it has often been thought so difficult to account. A few samples of them have appeared in No. XXII. of this *Review*. The compiler of this little work is unknown to us: but he has evidently succeeded in making just the kind of book, that was adapted to the popular taste, and to the most urgent wants of learners. This shows him to have been a man of some judgment. With the exception of the alphabet and the arithmetical tables, the whole of it is in verse. The typography of our copy, though far above the average, can only be characterized as execrable.

It is the principal object of the present paper to communicate such information, as may enable the reader to form a correct estimate of the staple of the popular literature. For this

purpose, it appears very appropriate to give a translation of the Invocation to the Ganges, which has been mentioned among the contents of the *Child's Instructor*. On the one hand, it is universally admitted to be one of the finest productions, in point of language, of Bengali genius; whilst on the other, it is presented to the youthful mind, at the very threshold of the temple of Learning, being the first lesson, which a child is taught to read or to repeat:—

INVOCATION OF GUNGA.

Salutation to thee, O river of the gods. I hear of thy majesty in the Puranas, thou ancient purifier of the fallen. Thou art sprung from the feet of Vishnu; thy name is the Limpid one, the mother of Suras, Asuras, and men. The drinking vessel of Brahmā was thy abode; at his side thou didst dwell, and sanctify the city of the gods. Seeing the sad state of mortals, to deliver them from the fear of the future, thou, goddess of the gods, camest upon earth. Bhagiratha, the descendant of the Sun, was the first to show thee the way, and to bring thee down into our world. The most wicked sinner, upon touching thy water, goes to heaven in his body; thy water is spotless; to drink it is very meritorious; Brahma and Vishnu cannot describe its virtues. Placing thee on his head, Shiva regards himself as blessed; who can describe such greatness? Rice, or vegetables, or any other food, cooked with thy water, are things which the gods themselves long after. Such food is like Ambrosia. In the Vedas, Vyasa says that he who eats it, need not fear Yama (Death.) The name of thy junction with the sea is the source of supreme bliss itself; Brahmā and Vishnu cannot describe it. The low Sudra, or Sanyasi, on dying, goes to heaven, if he has bathed there, when the sun enters Capricorn. By pronouncing thy name, he obtains admittance to the house of Vishnu; he is spared the sight of Yama's city. When life has fled from the corpse, the father, the mother, the child, and the wife, drag it to the place of cremation. The wife and the child abhor it; they bathe and go away; but thou at that time foldest it to thy bosom. Whilst their means last, affectionate friends and relatives weep for the dead a day or two. In that day of trouble, no friend remains, but thou alone. The lifeless corpse, fed upon by crows and jackals, floats till it reaches thy banks; when hundreds of heavenly courtizans, with fans in their hands, come to attend upon it. Near thee I will abide, even if I should become a lizard, or a crab, or the leanest puppy. Dwelling in a land, where there is no Gunga, the master of a million of elephants is miserable. Worms, and insects, and men, and a thousand other creatures, are all treated alike by thee. The most wicked of sinners, if he but touch thy water, enjoys thy favour in the last extremity. How can I adequately describe the majesty of Gunga? It is fully portrayed in the Puranas. Singing thy praises, I, Chakrabarti Kabikan-kan, pray thee to give me faith in Gobinda (Vishnu,) &c.

These are the sentiments systematically instilled into the minds of thousands of children, as soon as they have managed to learn their alphabet. They are at once initiated into the daily rites of their religion, taught to despise the countries lying at a distance from the Ganges, directed to the waters of that river as the means of washing away the foulest crimes,

and familiarized with that perversion of judgment, which looks with admiration on the disgusting spectacle, so offensive to all the feelings of humanity, which meets the eye of the traveller on the river, almost at every step he advances.

Among all the popular Bengali books, the *Annadá Mangal*, is the one most entitled to a prominent notice, for various reasons. It probably is the greatest favourite with the middle and upper classes, especially with the fair sex; and may be regarded, upon the whole, as a more creditable specimen of elegant literature, than any other work of genuine Bengali origin. As the complete collection of its various parts is somewhat large, the high price is an impediment to its circulation. It is, in some respects, an interesting production. The author, Bhārata Chandra Ráy, appears to have been the poet laureate of the celebrated Raja Krishna Chandra Ráy of Nadiya, the Augustus of his age, who lived about a century ago. Not many years after the great inundation of 1739, and the devastation of Bengal by the Mah-ratta hordes under Bháskar Pandit, the Raja, on some particular occasion, made a great feast, somewhat similar, in its pretensions, to that of Ahasuerus, which is described at the commencement of the book of Esther. For the entertainment of the illustrious guests assembled in his palace, poetical performances were got up, accompanied with music; which evidently were an equivalent to our modern theatricals. Bhárata Chandra appears to have been a votary of Durgá, to whom, in the work under consideration, he gave the epithet of *Annadá*, "the giver of food," alluding to the distress and famine, from which the country had lately been delivered; in his opinion, through the favour of that goddess. The term *Mangal*, "well-fare," is another of her titles. She encouraged him in a vision to undertake the task imposed upon him, and by her inspiration enabled him to acquit himself in a creditable manner. His verses were recited or sung, in successive portions, every morning and evening for a whole week, probably in accordance with a preconcerted plan. It is possible that he found it somewhat difficult to fill up the whole of this measure: at all events the work consists of several distinct portions, the only connecting link between which is the constant endeavour to magnify his favourite deity.

Bhárata Chandra appears to have been possessed of a true poetical genius. His work contains poetry of almost all kinds, and in all metres; and some of the pieces are really beautiful. Nothing can be more pleasing than the cadence of certain of his verses; and he displays a wonderful mastery of all the resources of the language. In the narrative parts, however, he

introduces a very large number of Hindustani words; and many of his Bengali terms have ceased to be intelligible.

The copy before us consists of two volumes,* the first of which contains various mythological tales, taken from the history of Shiva and Durgá, including also a quarrel, which the celebrated Vyasa had with the former, upon being refused a dwelling-place at Káshi. The stories are those most widely circulated in Bengal, with which every native is acquainted from the nursery. To give an idea of the genius of our author, we subjoin two specimens from this part of his work. The first is an Invocation of the Sun, to which it is impossible to do justice in English prose. It will be seen that one passage in it bears some resemblance to a part of the 19th Psalm :—

INVOCATION OF THE SUN.

Hail, source of light, remove my darkness! Giver of the day, have mercy. The four Vedas proclaim that thou art the resplendent divinity; the god most excellent. Giver of the day, look upon the distressed. Thy glory, according to the Vedas, knows no limits. Forgive the sins of the sufferer. The cause of the universe, the eye of the universe, the life of the universe, art thou;—all divine, the refuge of all divinities, of heaven, hell, and earth. On thy one-wheeled chariot thou drivest on the road of heaven, from the eastern mountain to the western, accomplishing the race in a single day. Who can describe thy strength? Thy burning rays consume the hills, and dry up the waters of the ocean. How sweetly the lotus smiles, when gladdened by thee! Who can comprehend thy essence? Lord of the twelve signs, and of all the planets; blessed are thy spouses Sangyá and Chháya (Shadow). Shani, Yama, and Manu are thy sons, and Yamuná thy daughter. Preserver of the universe; purifier of the universe; whence thy name *Savita* (purifier), thou art the essence of the universe. Convey me safely into eternity; I ask it with a million of salutations. Enthroned for ever on the red lotus, thou ocean of boundless virtue, the giver of security, endowed with three eyes, thy head adorned with a costly ruby,—the remembrance of thee banishes sin; be gracious to this company. Regard in thy own way king Krishna Chandra, in answer to the praises of Bharat Chandra.

The other piece is a hymn, which is equally beautiful in the original with the foregoing :—

A HYMN.

The Supreme has turned against me. When the Supreme is a man's opponent, what avails his ability?

My misery is most distressing. In all my devotions, my intention is good, but my performance evil. I have fallen into a state of infatuation.

* This edition is very neatly and correctly printed, on good paper. It was got up at the "Sanscrit Press," and professes to have been critically edited, which we doubt. At all events, some of its readings are widely different from those of older editions. As this book is by far the best specimen extant of Bengali poetry, it would not be amiss to have a really good critical edition of it.

The common bazar editions, which contain only *Bidya and Sundar*, are wretched specimens of typography; some of them, however, are adorned with wood-cuts—one of which represents Sundar in the costume of Young Bengal!

I know that religion leads to happiness; yet my heart dislikes it. I have a great dread of wickedness; yet it pleases me.

My wife and child—these vain things—please me; vain delights delight me. He, who rests in self-seeking, is plunged in distress.

The will of God alone is truth; all else is vanity. This Bhárata has found, through the favour of his teacher.

Let not the Christian reader be deceived by the phraseology here used. It is not a true index of the author's real feelings, but mere talk, put into the mouth of some other person. What we call the domestic virtues, such as attachment to one's wife and children, are here branded as the most glaring sin; and religion is made to consist in an unfeeling state of metaphysical contemplation.

The most interesting portion of the *Annadá Mangal* is a tale, called *Bidyá and Sundar*, a young couple, of whose adventures Mánsingha is stated to have heard at Burdwan, when on his way to Jessore, where he had to put down the rebellious Raja Pratá-páditya—an exploit which forms the subject of one of the subsequent short pieces.

Bidyá and Sundar is the title of a poem, which might appropriately have been put into the form of a play, and which actually does bear some resemblance to the text of a modern Italian opera. We cannot tell how far the similarity extends, as regards the musical accompaniment. It is this composition, which is the great favourite of Hindu ladies. The outline of the plot is as follows:—

There lived at Burdwan a king, named Birasingha, whose beautiful daughter Bidyá (Learning) was allowed to choose her own husband. Having received a very superior education, she declared she would belong only to him, who should surpass her in learning. This condition being proclaimed, and invitations sent out, many princes came to woo the proud maiden, but were all unsuccessful. One of her father's messengers, however, having gone to the court of Kanchi (Conjeveram) in the Deccan, the prince royal, whose name was Sundar (Handsome), determined to try his fortune. In an incredibly short time he proceeded to Burdwan with a large train of horses, &c. of which, however, he was eased on his arrival by the guard, who, in the true native style, threatened to imprison him, if all was not surrendered. Having given himself the name of a "Follower of Learning," he was allowed to keep only his satchel, his books, and a favourite parrot, with some money. After strolling about the city and viewing its wonders, he found his way to a tank, where, sitting under the shade of a tree, he fell asleep. The women, who came to bathe and draw water there, were thrown into a delirium of ecstasy at the sight of this

sleeping Adonis; one of them going so far as to charge Providence with injustice, for not having been made his wife. In the evening an old woman, a dealer in flowers, comes to the spot, and, upon his awaking, offers him an asylum in her house, which he accepts upon learning that she daily disposes of flowers in the royal palace. She becomes the house-keeper of her lodger, taking care to secure for herself a portion of the money which passes through her hands. Sundar, having learned from her all the particulars of the royal family, and being charmed with her account of Bidya, devises a plan for opening a communication with the princess. He constructs a human figure of flowers, and places in its folded hands a box, which cannot be removed without discharging a flowery arrow at the intruder, and which contains a card with a riddle, in the shape of a Sanskrit sloke. With this *chef-d'œuvre* of her guest, the old woman proceeds to the palace. The plot succeeds to admiration; and the princess returns an answer to the riddle in the same shape, requesting the old woman, on her leaving, to procure her an interview with her ingenious correspondent. This takes place near the *Rath*.^{*} Though no conversation ensues, yet "they both fall into the snare of each other's eyes; the hearts of both are caught; they exchange hearts, and each returns home, with a heart for his trophy."

At her next interview with the old woman, the princess tells her that she is determined to marry the young man secretly, and leave the result to Káli.[†] The remonstrances of the other are all unavailing; she insists upon Sundar paying her a visit. On receiving this message, compliance with which appears to him altogether impossible, he applies for aid to Káli, who graciously answers him, by sending down from heaven a brass instrument for house-breaking. Delighted with this gift, he prays that it may "cut through bricks and stones, through earth and rock." He next, without the knowledge of his hostess, cuts a subterranean passage, which leads from his lodging to the middle of Bidyá's apartment, where he unexpectedly makes his appearance, and is favourably received. The first interview commences with a vain attempt to perform a kind of secret marriage ceremony, and ends in the loss of the young lady's honour. Sundar pays her many nightly visits, which, after some time, she ventures to return, bringing, on one occasion, a companion for the solitary parrot of her lover.

In the meanwhile, Sundar makes his appearance at court

* The car of Jagannath, which is to be found in every town or village of Bengal.

† Káli is another form of Durga.

in the day time, disguised as a disgusting religious mendicant, who puts in his claim for the princess, and bids fair to be successful, since he is able to out-do in learning all the "ornaments" of the court. Bidyá is twitted by her companions on account of her fine prospect of becoming the wife of such a vagabond. Sundar keeps his secret, both from her and from his hostess, who at length suggests to him that he has no chance of success, unless he also becomes a Sanyasi, and manages to cut out his rival.

After some time, the disgrace of Bidyá becomes manifest. Her mother, hearing of it, almost becomes deranged, and threatens to do, what every disappointed woman in Bengal professes to be prepared for; viz., to drown herself, or take poison. Her father flies into a dreadful rage, and sends for Dhumketu,* the kotwal, or police officer, a man of the most brutal cruelty, who had been appointed to his office on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief. The king threatens to punish him for all his former crimes, unless he succeed in apprehending the daring house-breaker, who violated his daughter. The old rogue, in a great fright, asks for a respite of seven days, and sets to work. On searching the apartments of the princess, the passage is discovered, and, instead of the expected super-human monster, Sundar is caught, to the horror of his mistress, and his own utter consternation. He is roughly handled by the unfeeling kotwal, and cast into prison. The old flower-dealer also, to her great indignation, is cruelly beaten, and all her property confiscated. Sundar's prospects now are gloomy indeed. However, through the intervention of Káli, whom he invokes,† his real name and character are brought to light by the parrot; and finally, the prince is honourably dismissed, with his bride, to his native country.

Impartiality compels us to acknowledge that this romantic story is treated in a manner, which commands admiration, so far as the beauty of its language and the richness of its descriptions are concerned: but its tendency is essentially and grossly immoral, and its perusal by native females must be injurious in the extreme. Both the hero and the heroine are, throughout, the objects of the writer's admiration. Faith in Káli is, according to him, rewarded by the successful issue of their criminal undertakings. And the lascivious interviews between them are described, again and again, with disgusting minuteness, and in the most glowing language. If ever vice has been

* Smoke-tail, or comet.

† His prayer occupies fifty couplets, arranged in the order of the Bengali alphabet,—a couplet being devoted to each letter.

decked out in gaudy colours, and made to appear attractive, it has been in this novel. The study of it must destroy all purity of mind; and yet it cannot be doubted, that if any book is read by, and to, respectable Bengali females, this is it. But we must not forget that there are to be found in Calcutta European ladies, who can read with equal interest and delight the most licentious novels of Eugene Sue and other French writers of the same stamp,—a taste in them much more reprehensible than that of their Bengali sisters, who admire Bidyá and Sundar.

Passing over the remaining portions of Bharat Chandra's poesies, which we believe are not very popular, the work, which next claims our attention, is an account of *Nala and Damayanti*. This interesting and beautiful story is best narrated in the original Mahābhārata; but it also forms the topic of several special works, both in Sanscrit and Bengali, and probably in most of the languages of India. Although it is pretty extensively known to Sanscrit scholars, yet it may be new to many of our readers; and we therefore venture to give an outline of it:—

Nala, the youthful king of Nishadha, and Damayanti, the daughter of the king of Vidarbha, were both paragons of beauty, and, each having heard of the other's charms, a mutual affection sprung up between them, before they had ever met. This affection was strengthened by some celestial geese, which appeared first to Nala, and carried a message from him to the princess. The love-sick maid soon fell into a decline, which so alarmed her father, that he adopted the expedient of allowing her to choose her own husband. Invitations being sent out, numerous princes soon began to gather at the palace. Nala, whilst on his way to the spot, was met by the four principal gods, who also wished to enter the lists as competitors, and was compelled by them to communicate their suit to the lady in a private interview, rendered practicable through their omnipotence. He faithfully delivered his awkward message; and in reply was told by the admiring beauty, that he himself was the chosen of her heart. When all the aspirants were assembled, the poor princess was sorely puzzled at the sight of five Nalas; but, in answer to prayer, was at length enabled to distinguish the true one from the four gods, who had assumed his shape; whereupon she nobly chose him for her partner, and was met, on his part, by the most solemn assurances of constant attachment. The gods, on taking their leave, conferred various boons upon Nala, such as a perfect and instantaneous command of fire and water and their effects. On their way home, the gods are met by *Kali*,* a malicious colleague of

* Pronounce Koli; he is not the same as the goddess Kāli.

theirs, who, finding he was too late, from sheer envy vowed to do Nala all the harm in his power; in return for which he is threatened with the severest punishments by the rest.

For many years Nala and his queen lived together in splendour and happiness at Nishadha. By observing all the rites of his religion, Nala prevented Kali from obtaining an opportunity of entering his person. At length, one unfortunate evening, Nala inadvertently forgets a trifling ceremony, when Kali, who had watched him all the time, immediately takes possession of him, and incites him to gamble with his brother, a favourite of his own. Nala is a constant loser, and, by continuing the play with increased recklessness, finds himself at length stripped of every thing, even his clothes. The queen had previously secured the children by sending them to her own parents; and Nala had just virtue enough left not to gamble away his wife. Expelled the city and the country, but accompanied by his faithful spouse, and covered with the undivided half of her garment, he begins his dismal wanderings. After a few days they find themselves in a boundless forest, where towards evening they take shelter in a hut. The queen, exhausted by fatigue, sinks into a profound sleep, and Nala avails himself of it, and deserts her, having first cut off half of her garment for his own use. Damayanti's despair, on finding herself alone, drives her almost mad. She wanders about, and incurs many imminent dangers, but is somewhat quieted by the consoling predictions of some ascetics; and, after many adventures, at length reaches the residence of her parents, where she also finds her children again.

Nala, who professes to have forsaken her, because he could not bear the sight of her distress, in his wanderings, falls in with a boa constrictor, enveloped in a huge mass of fire, by which he is almost consumed. The cries of the perishing creature (which appears to have spoken Sanscrit) arrest his attention and move his compassion, and he delivers it from death; when the serpent assumes the form of Karkata, the king of snakes, who, professing the most unbounded gratitude, forthwith endeavours to manifest it by his conduct. By a good bite, he changes the beautiful form of Nala into that of a hideous old man, consoling him with the assurance that the venom shall prove a source of constant torment to Kali, and that his beauty shall be restored to him in due time. Nala at length enters the service of king Rituparna at Ayodhya, as a charioteer, and soon discovers in the groom his own former servant, and with difficulty keeps his secret from, his sagacious old acquaintance.

In the mean while, Damayanti and her parents make every

imaginable effort to discover the retreat of Nala. At last an active Brahman, by repeating at Ayodhya the slokes taught him by Damayanti, which contain an allusion to her peculiar history, succeeds in discovering a trace of him, which leaves no doubt in the mind of the disconsolate queen. She now adopts the stratagem of persuading her father to send (ostensibly to all the courts, but in reality only to that of Rituparna) a message to the effect, that, as Nala had not been heard of for years, his queen would proceed, after two days, to the choice of a second husband. Rituparna determines to seek her hand, and Nala is more anxious still to ascertain the truth or falsehood of the alarming message. The charioteer was a good whip; with more than railway speed he carried his master through mid-air; only stopping on the way to give him a proof of his most wonderful skill in arithmetic. Rituparna makes an exchange with him, paying him for his acquirements in driving and arithmetic by making over to him his own skill and luck in playing at dice; which being done, Kali is compelled, under excruciating agonies, to go out of him.

On arriving at Bidarbha, Rituparna discovers that he has been duped; but, as he ought to have known better than to believe in the second marriage of a Hindu woman, he is obliged to conceal his disappointment, and stays long enough to witness the metamorphosis of his charioteer, and his recognition by Damayanti. The happy couple, once more united, return to Nishadha, where Nala, by means of the skill received from Rituparna, now defeats his brother in gambling, and recovers back all that he had lost, without taking any revenge upon the usurper. After a number of blissful years, both the hero and the heroine ascend to heaven.

This narrative, as given in the third book of the Mahábhárata, is truly charming. In its Bengali form, it is by far the least immoral of all the popular tales in that language, which we have ever seen. And yet we are compelled to point out the injurious influence which it must exercise. It was originally related to Yudhishthira, for the purpose of encouraging him to bear his sufferings with patience. It is not the innocent Damayanti, but the gambler Nala, that is made the object of compassion and admiration. The sin, which enabled Kali to obtain possession of him, was his forgetting to carry a cup of water with him to a certain place. His recklessness, in gambling away his all, and deserting his faithful wife, is represented as his misfortune, and not as his crime. And finally, the perusal of this story is repeatedly recommended, at least in all the Bengali editions, as a sure road to heaven.

The Bengali version, most commonly met with, is disfigured by frequent invocations of Durgá and other popular objects of modern worship, which are not so much as alluded to in the original. The author must have been but a poor poet; and if the book enjoys any amount of popularity, it certainly cannot be ascribed to any talent or skill of his, but solely to the subject-matter itself.

The *Thirty-two Thrones* and the *Twenty-five Ghosts** are two collections of short stories, which are frequently met with in prose, and which have also been rendered into verse, to gratify the popular taste. They are both derived from Sanscrit originals of a modern date. The former contains thirty-two stories, said to have been related by thirty-two images (which adorned the throne of Vikramáditya) to Bhoja Ráj, who discovered the throne again, after it had lain buried under ground for centuries. When he first attempted to seat himself on it, the first image forbade him, because he was not a worthy successor of its former occupant; and, to convince him of his unfitness, related to him a story illustrative of Vikramáditya's princely disposition. In this way, he is foiled thirty-two times:—after which it is to be hoped that he gave up his ambitious designs. These anecdotes of Vikramáditya are very unequal, some of them being rather interesting, whilst others are intolerably flat. As that king is, in the eyes of the native public, a perfect pattern of virtue, we subjoin the following account of his accession to the throne. It is taken from another work, and combines part of the Introduction to the *Thirty-two Thrones*, with the story of the Tenth Image.

VIKRAMADITYA'S ACCESSION TO THE THRONE.

After King Bhartrihari, disgusted with the sad discoveries he had made, had retired to the woods, the kingdom of Malwa was reduced to a state of complete anarchy, and Ujjayani, the capital, resembled a cemetery: whereupon a ghost, called the Fire-ghost, began to infest the land and devour the inhabitants. In their perplexity, the ministers of state made an agreement with the monster, to the effect, that every day one man should be appointed to reign during the day, and devoured by the ghost at night.

Some time having elapsed in this way, the Guzerat merchant, with whom Vikramáditya was residing, took him with him on a journey which he made for selling his wares; and accidentally came to Ujjayani. In the morning, Vikramáditya went in disguise to see the interior of the city. He was greatly surprized and distressed to see it wholly in a ruinous condition, and the inhabitants cowed with terror. At length he observed, that all the ministers of state had assembled near the house of a potter, and dressed up his boy in all the gaudy array of royalty, while the parents were standing by, weeping in bitterness of spirit. Vikramáditya asked the potter, "What are these people doing to your boy? Why are you weeping?"

* Best known under the titles—*Bátrish Singháwan* and *Baitál Pachisi*.

The potter replied, "They are taking my boy to make him king for to-day." Vikramāditya said, "Such a prospect ought to fill you with joy; how is it, then, that you weep?" The potter replied, "Bhartrihari, our former king, has retired to the woods; and now the country, being in a state of anarchy, is infested by a monster, called the Fire-ghost, who eats the people; so our rulers have made an agreement with him, that we must all, one by one, exercise the royal office for a day, and be devoured by the monster at night. To-day it is my turn; but as I am very old and sickly, they have, instead of myself, taken this my only son, to be king to-day and devoured to-night; for this reason we are weeping. If Vikramāditya, our king's brother, were alive, we should not be reduced to such distress, but I understand that he is dead and gone." Having said this, the potter began to weep afresh. Vikramāditya, deeply affected with his tale, said to him, "O potter, put me instead of thy son; this will be good for both of us: for if to-night I am devoured by the Fire-ghost, your son's life will be saved, and I shall obtain great merit by giving my life for another. If the monster fail to devour me, I shall be king, and will deliver you from this miserable state." The potter replied, "What you say, is very true; but you are my guest, and if to save the life of my son, I occasion your death, then great guilt will attach to me; and when my turn comes round again, I shall have to give up my son after all. No, I will not commit such a crime; let my fate take its course." Vikramāditya said to him, "Do not hesitate; you will see the use of my proposal hereafter. When things have come to the worst, they begin to mend. I trust God will, from this day forward, show kindness to this country. Let me be your son's substitute to-day; you may be sure that you will never have to offer him again to the ghost to be devoured." Thereupon the potter presented Vikramāditya to the rulers, saying, "Here is a traveller, who wants to be made king. I have told him the whole truth, but have not succeeded in dissuading him. He is very anxious to see the ghost: so take him instead of my son, and give me back my child." The rulers complied with the request of the potter, and began to anoint and dress up Vikramāditya. In the course of this operation, his beauty became so apparent, that they all began to suspect who he was. Having seated him on the throne, and transacted the pending business, they were instructed by him to prepare a repast for the ghost. This being done, the ministers of state went to their respective homes.

In the evening, Vikramāditya, having performed the customary ceremonies, seated himself on the throne, sword in hand. A little after dark the Fireghost came to the palace, and, after eating the repast which had been prepared for him,* turned to devour Vikramāditya. But the king attacked him manfully, and struggled with him so successfully, that the monster became quite exhausted, and would have lost his head, had he not sued for and obtained mercy in the last extremity. The ghost then spontaneously acknowledged his victor as Prince Vikramāditya, the right-

* As no one looks for historical accuracy in a tale like this, we do not hesitate to take a few liberties with our authorities, in introducing, from the *Batrish Singhasan*, a circumstance which forms a connecting link with what follows. During the repast, which was a very grand affair, and entirely to the taste of his ghostship, the king asked his unearthly visitor, what his qualities were? To this he replied, as almost every Hindu would have done, that he could do anything. He also stated that he knew every thing. The king then requested the favour of being informed, how long he would have to live? The ghost said, One hundred years. The king, professing to dislike the two ciphers at the end, as unlucky figures, begged his omnipotent guest to change the number, by either adding or subtracting one year. But this the ghost declared to be an impossibility. It was this discovery which emboldened the king to fight the monster, since it was not in his power to curtail his life.

ful heir to the throne, and promised henceforward to be his obedient servant. In the morning the ministers were greatly rejoiced to find Vikramāditya safe and sound; and readily believed him, when he told them who he was. Thus commenced the brilliant reign of King Vikramāditya.

The *Baitál Pachisi* (of which the Hindi version is most widely circulated) was written by a man of much greater talent than the *Bátrish Singhásan*; but its tendency is far more immoral. We believe that it has been translated several times into Bengali. The edition, which we have seen, is wretchedly printed; but the versification is not bad. We have not read more than about one-tenth part of the book; the sight of a brick—or rather of the entrance—being quite sufficient to deter us from going over the whole house. As, however, all our readers may not have had occasion to read quite so many Indian stories, as we have been obliged to do, we will not withhold the brick from them. The following, then, is an abstract of the introduction to the book:—

In the days of King Vikramāditya, an unpromising looking sanyási made his appearance at the court, and received some trifling attentions from the monarch, whom he, in return, presented, on sundry occasions, with some fine specimens of the bēl fruit. For some time, these presents were overlooked, but one being at length accidentally opened, the king found a ruby inside, and, on examining the rest, their contents proved equally precious. The king now began to think more highly than before of his uncouth visitor; and this worthy, on his part, found it an easy task to convince the monarch that he was possessed of rare acquirements in knowledge; and offered to communicate to him certain important mysteries, if he would, in the dead of the night, accompany or rather follow him to a *smasán** on the banks of the Godavery river, and there implicitly obey his injunctions. The king consented. The following is, substantially, the description of his adventure given by the Bengali poet:—

VIKRAMADITYA'S VISIT TO THE CEMETERY.

The sun having set, and night come on, the king went alone, sword in hand. The sanyási was delighted to see him arrive in the cemetery, and invited him to approach. The king made many profound bows to him, and asked him, "What have I to do? Tell me quickly." The ascetic replied, "Behold, O king, this cemetery is two kos in length. In the centre of it stands a sissu tree; on which a corpse hangs; go quickly and fetch that corpse."

The king, somewhat frightened, obeyed the behest. It was the time of

* This is the term, by which the Hindus describe the place, where they burn their dead, and perform the funeral rites. It is usually a disgusting sight, and invariably supposed to be haunted.

the new moon ; the night was pitch dark ; a smart rain was falling, a fierce wind blowing, the sky resounded with thunder, and only now and then a flash of lightning enabled the king to pick his way. He was escorted by crowds of goblins, some crying out, " kill him, kill him ;" some dancing on one leg ; some planting themselves right in his path. All the witches in creation were howling and dancing about the cemetery. The ground itself was shaking, and now and then a funeral pile sent forth its lurid glare. The ghosts were playing at cricket with empty skulls ; and dogs and jackals sung the accompaniment. The bewildered monarch proceeded, until he arrived at the foot of the tree, which was very high, and full of fruit and flowers. Though feeling somewhat uneasy, he ascended the tree, and obtained a sight of the body. The expression of its countenance was horrible ; its long hair perfectly black ; the flesh all gone ; nothing left but skin and bone. The king laid hold of it and cut the rope, when the body fell to the ground. The king slowly followed ; but, on getting below, and attempting to lay hold of the dead man, he escaped, and in a moment was up in the tree again. The king ascended it a second time, and having carried him down on his shoulders, marched off with him. On the way a ghost entered the body, and began to remonstrate with the king ; but to no purpose.

The ghost then, somewhat subdued, related to the king a very indelicate story, of which the following is an outline. The remaining twenty-four are probably of the same description :—

A prince and the son of his father's minister once went together on a hunting excursion, in the course of which they came to a beautiful tank. Whilst the minister's son was attending to his devotions in a neighbouring temple, the prince saw a most lovely princess, who came to the tank to bathe. She noticed him very attentively ; and, whilst he was looking on, plucked a lotus, which she first placed behind her ear, then between her teeth, next at her feet, and finally upon her heart. This done, she departed, leaving him behind staring. Upon being rejoined by his companion, the prince related to him his adventure, in a way which showed that his heart was smitten. The minister's son told him that he might take courage ; for the fair lady had given him every reason to hope for success. By placing the lotus (*padma*) behind her ear (*karna*), she had intimated that she lived at Karnát ; by putting it between her teeth (*danta*), that king Dantamukuta was her father ; by laying it at her feet, that her own name was Padmábati (Lotus-river ;) and by applying it to her heart, that he had found a place there. The two sportsmen then went to Karnát ; and the minister's son soon discovered an old woman, a dealer in flowers,* who was willing, for a consideration, to carry a message to the princess. Her reception was not very flattering ; she returned with ten black finger marks on her forehead, inflicted by the hands of the royal lady, at the end of a long series of heavy

* Such an old woman is a standing personage in all these stories.

blows. The minister's son, however, soon found out that these meant that, on the tenth evening of the dark lunar fortnight, the princess would be willing to disclose more. When the day came, the old messenger was very loath to expose herself again to a close contact with the hands of royalty; however, the promise of a very large reward at last had the desired effect. The princess again slapped her. This time her hands were not dipped in Warren's liquid, but in a preparation of saffron; and the last blow was inflicted on the forehead in such a way, that the third finger left no mark behind. To crown the poor old woman's misfortunes, she was thrust out of the window. On her return, the minister's son interpreted the lady's meaning to be that, on the third night, the prince might visit her, provided he entered her apartment by the window. This interpretation proved correct. An interview took place, in the course of which she ascertained who it was, that had interpreted her language of love. On dismissing the prince, she promised to send in the course of the day some sweetmeats, of which, however, he was not to eat on any account, as they were intended solely for his sagacious companion. The latter, however, was too cunning for the princess. When the sweetmeats arrived, he gave them to a dog, who died immediately. He saw that it was the lady's intention to have got rid of him, with a view to exercise an unlimited controul over the good-natured prince. Determined to take his revenge, he instructed the prince, at his next interview, to send his mistress into a mesmeric sleep,* to imprint upon her thigh the mark of a *trisul*, or three-pronged fork, and then come away, bringing with him one of her ornaments. All this was done. Instructed by his companion, the prince next offered the ornament for sale to a goldsmith in the bazar; but, as the owner's name was inscribed on it, he was speedily handed over to the police, and subjected to an investigation. He professed to have received the ornament from his guru, a sanyási, who was living in the *smasán*. This worthy (who was the prince's companion) on being questioned, stated that a few nights back he had been sadly disturbed in his devotions by a number of ladies and gentlemen, who had taken it into their heads to have a ball and supper in the cemetery, partaking of blood, &c., by way of refreshment. Among the persons present he had distinguished particularly one, by the mark of a *trisul*, which she had on her thigh. In the morning he had picked up this ornament, with which he had sent his disciple

* It would be an interesting subject of inquiry, whether, and to what extent, the jugglers, conjurors, &c., with which India abounds, have been acquainted with, and made use of, Mesmerism.

to the bazar. The king soon discovered that there must have been something wrong with his daughter; and, by the sanyási's advice, turned her out of doors. The prince (who had been released) soon comforted her, by taking her to his home. The object of this story was to teach Vikramáditya that he ought not, like the father of that princess, to inflict punishment hastily.

The book entitled *Kantukabilásha* is, or at least professes to be, a collection of entertaining anecdotes regarding the modern Vikramáditya of Bengal, Raja Krishna Chandra Ráy. We have gone through a good portion of this volume, but have derived very little entertainment from it. The few pictures, which it contains, are the most amusing part of it—and they are amusing on account of their very primitive appearance. The author, who writes easy poetry, does not profess to give a regular biography; but his attempts at witticisms are complete failures, and the language of admiration, which he puts into the mouths of the women, who obtain a sight of the young raja on the occasion of his marriage, is grossly indecent. The nearest approach to a passable joke, which we have discovered, is the account which is given of the perplexity of the raja, when visited by a foreign pandit, who challenged the nine jewels of his court, expecting, if victorious, to obtain one-half of his dominions, and promising, if conquered, to become the raja's slave. The Augustus of Bengal trembled at the probability, which appeared very strong, of losing half his territory, when he was unexpectedly delivered from his fears by a poor cowherd, who dressed himself up as a pandit, carrying under his arm a book composed of fragments of his bedstead.* This man appears to have known a little of Sanscrit; and, in a sloke, set forth a controversy between the water and the jar which contained it, and proposed the sage question, which of the two was in the right, and which in the wrong. The jar complained of the cutting and burning and other hard usage to which it was subjected on account of the water; whilst the latter expatiated on the indignities put upon it on account, or with the aid, of the jar. This question so puzzled the self-conceited foreigner, that he took himself off, to the great relief of the raja. Towards the close of the book, there is a curious account of a good-for-nothing youth, the son of one of the court pandits, who was cursed by his father, and had ashes set before him, instead

* The form of a book, most approved of by Pandits of the genuine old stamp, is that of very long and very narrow slips of paper, with the print or writing longways. The loose leaves are put between two boards of the same shape, kept together by a wrapper of cloth, which is tied with a string. Hence the deception was easy.

of rice, by his mother. The young man, who up to that time appeared to be case-hardened, took this so to heart, that he ran away from home, and, after wandering about for some days, at length found himself in the midst of a dense forest. There he fell in with an old ascetic, who, after hearing his story, manifested great compassion, and might have done something for him, had he not just then received an intimation, that his career was drawing to an end. He hastily communicated to the youth his sacred formula, and soon afterwards was bitten by a snake and died. The youth had grace enough to remember and repeat the formula, upon which the old man appeared to him again, and gave him a little further instruction, thus communicating to him supernatural power. Drawn towards home, he arrived at Nadiya, and entered the temple of Káli there, just as the king was performing worship. The raja, it appears, was not so strong in faith, as he was zealous in practice. On entering into conversation with the young sanyási about the image, before which he had just been prostrating himself, he hinted a doubt, as to whether the goddess really dwelt in the image. The young ascetic, fired with indignation, offered to prove to him that she did ; but warned him, that if any of her blood was spilt upon the ground, the king must die. Armed with a whip, he then belaboured poor Káli so effectually, that the blood streamed from her body in much greater profusion than the doubting raja had ever expected to see, and some of it actually fell upon the ground. The terrified raja tried all in his power to reconcile the goddess, and succeeded at length ; upon which she favoured him with a vision, disclosing his approaching end, and shortly after admitted him to heaven.

The only remaining volume, or rather pamphlet, of which we can give a somewhat favourable account, is entitled *Kabitáratnákar*, or *Mine of Poetical Jewels*, which professes to enable a man, within a very short time, to become equal to a first-rate pandit. It is a very brief encyclopedia of Sanscrit quotations, or pithy sayings, with a Bengali commentary in verse. There is another volume, which has nearly the same object, and is perhaps equal to this ; but it is so very wretchedly printed, that one cannot possibly make head or tail of it. This *Mine of Jewels* is no California ; at least the grains of gold are few and far between : but some are really to be found, such as this, that " The kokil, though he eats the most dainty food, is not vain ; whilst the frog splits with pride, though his drink is water from the dirtiest puddle." " The kokil leaves off singing, when the rains set in ; because he does not choose to have his music

accompanied by the croaking of frogs." "The profession of a thief is a very good one, so long as he is not caught." There are a few longer pieces in the volume, of which the following is a favourable specimen :—

THE TWO SNAKES.

Whilst the prince royal of a certain country was asleep, a small snake, as thin as a string, entered his nostrils and went down into his belly, whereupon the prince was (apparently) afflicted with a complaint in his stomach, which baffled the skill of all the medical attendants, and threatened to end fatally. In the hope of saving his life, he undertook a pilgrimage, in the course of which he one day arrived at the foot of a large sissu tree, and went to sleep. Beneath that tree there lived a huge serpent, the guardian of untold treasures. This serpent, on peeping up to see who had come, soon smelt a rat—or at least the snake inside the prince's body, and began to upbraid him for being so wicked as to torment a royal personage. The other turned round upon him, and upbraided him for robbing kings of their treasures. After a long squabble, the large serpent said, "If the juice of one of the leaves of this tree touch any part of your body, you must die." The other retorted by saying, "And if the prince drops a little of the juice of its root into your hole, you must die." Fortunately for the prince, he overheard what was said, and, on awaking, soon succeeded in destroying both the litigants. Having recovered his health, and taken possession of the treasure, he returned home.

The few volumes* and pamphlets, of which an account has now been given, comprize all that is in any way fit to be read, in the whole range of popular Bengali literature, at least so far as we are acquainted with it; and the reader, who has any regard for morality, will feel compelled to skip many a passage even in these. We are aware that the popular standard of coarseness varies in different ages and different countries. The novels of Fielding and Smollett, once fashionable books, would not now be tolerated on the shelves of an English lady. Prior's *Fables* are justly regarded as unfit to be read in schools. Even *Gil Blas*, once admired by the whole world, is now generally looked upon as coarse. It would not be fair to refuse to Bengali books the benefit of a concession, which is often made in favour of European works. But, after making every allowance, it must be owned that the former exceed the bounds of decency beyond all reasonable proportion. Gross obscenity, dark superstition, an extravagant and horrible marvellousness, and frequent references to idolatry, form the principal ingredients of that seasoning, which alone can render a book palatable to the popular taste of Bengal. *Nala and Damayanti* is the only one, that appears to form an exception.

Whilst the books, which have already been reviewed, form a comparatively bearable class, we must now invite attention

* These volumes rarely extend to 200 pages.

to a second and much larger class, which is deserving of unqualified condemnation. It consists partly of mythological works, and partly of amatory tales. The libidinous doings of Krishna and his adulterous consort Rádhá form the subject of at least seven, and probably more, different productions of unequal length. Some of them are paraphrases of certain parts of the Bhágavat Purána and the Mahábhárata; whilst in others the same materials are worked up into different shapes according to the taste of each writer. It was a saying of John Newton, that one mouthful of tainted meat was quite sufficient to justify the rejection of the whole joint. On the strength of this apophthegm, we have not read these books through; but we have gone over the tables of contents, and taken a bite here and there, which abundantly convinced us that the whole is an abominable mass of corruption. There are also two productions, both entitled *Páñcháli* (one of them consisting of four separate parts), which contain other mythological stories, in addition to those of Rádhá and Krishna. These are, if possible, worse than the former. We suspect that these mythological tales are more extensively read than any other books, because Rádhá and Krishna are favourite deities with the great majority of the inhabitants of Bengal. The character of these objects of worship is so vile, that those, who describe it, feel it necessary to apologize for it by urging the plea that Krishna, being the lord of the world, had a right to do what he pleased with his own, and to show that he was not subject to those laws of morality, which common mortals are bound to obey. But reason and experience unite in proving that his example has a frightfully contaminating power; and that the natives of Bengal will never cease to be addicted to profligacy, until Krishna shall have ceased to be the object of their worship, their thoughts, and their affections. Shiva, who is the favourite god of the higher classes, and Durgá or Káli, who may be emphatically called the national deity of Bengal, are almost as licentious as Krishna and Rádhá, and withal so utterly destitute of all humane feeling, as to constitute them personifications of a truly fiendish or infernal character. So long as the worship of such monsters continues to prevail among all classes, as it does at present, it is hopeless to look for any improvement in the moral condition of a country,

Where every prospect pleases,
And only man is vile.

It was the writer's intention to have examined and reported upon some twenty amatory tales, submitted to him; but this

task was too revolting to be performed. A trial was made with two or three of the number; but the feeling of disgust forbade its being persevered in. In order, however, to be able to describe the character of these productions, not according to the dictates of blind prejudice, but from personal inspection, we submitted to the hateful drudgery of going carefully through the tables of contents, usually very full, and turning up, for perusal, those passages, which appeared to afford an insight into the real character of each book. We do not remember having ever devoted four hours to a more repulsive occupation. The tales referred to, are, for the most part, wretched imitations of Bidyâ and Sundar. A hero and a heroine are introduced, and their profligacy is described at full length. The artistic powers of the poet, who composed the piece just named, throw such a charm over his performance (some passages excepted,) that, as in the case of the Medicean Venus, its indecency loses much of its repulsiveness; but in the other works of the same class, this is not the case; there, vice is exhibited like a corpse under the hands of the anatomist, which produces unmingled disgust in the minds of all, who have not become familiar with the sight by the force of habit. It is almost impossible to conceive of any thing more truly horrible than some pages of each of these volumes. They must utterly pollute the imagination of those, by whom they are read, or to whom they are recited by strolling singers;* and, when it is borne in mind that the imagination is naturally in league with sin, and particularly so among a people unacquainted with the pure doctrines of the Bible, it will be evident that the amount of immorality and vice, which such writings engender, is literally incalculable. We cannot for a moment think of advertizing them, by inserting their titles: suffice it to say, that one of them, the least objectionable of all, and forming a class of its own, because written in prose, is called *The Blame of Women*.†

Impossible as it may appear, it is nevertheless true that the Bengali (or Hindu) mind has discovered depths of profligacy, lower still than those already pointed out. There are pamphlets for sale in the Calcutta bazars, written for the express purpose

* We suspect, though we have not the means of proving it, that these tales form the subject of the musical and dancing performances at the *nautches*. At all events they are frequently both sung and acted by the companies of singers or dancers, who travel through the length and breadth of the land, and who reap a rich harvest at *melas*, and on the occasion of heathen festivals.

† The abominable stories, which it contains, are taken from that strange museum of a book, the *Prabodh Chandrikâ*, which is a motley collection of things precious and vile.

of reducing bestiality to a systematic theory. Had we not seen them, we could not have believed in their existence. The mind of Milton's or Klopstock's Satan, and even that of Göthe's Mephistopheles, would have revolted with horror from all contact with such defiling abominations. The publication and sale of such books, and of engravings of an equally filthy character, ought, unquestionably, to be proscribed as a crime, and punished as such by the rulers of the land. We believe that many Hindus would thank them for doing it.

Among the books containing abominable tales, there are two or three, which profess to be written for the purpose of deterring young men and women from entering upon a course of profligacy; but the remedy, which they apply, is quite as bad as the evil, which they attempt to cure.

It is an instructive fact that the inculcation of vice in these obscene books is invariably perpetrated under the screen of the national religion. The title-page prominently exhibits the names of some of the popular divinities. The book itself always opens with a formal invocation of two or three of them; and almost every new section commences with a prayer. Sometimes hypocrisy goes even to greater lengths; and language, apparently descriptive of the deepest contrition, or the greatest spirituality of mind, is put into the mouths of the most abandoned characters.

When all these things are attentively considered, the repugnance to the education of females, so universally prevalent among the natives, will cease to excite surprize. On the one hand, the fair sex is regarded by the other with supreme contempt, because, in accordance with the tenor of very many native books (even such as are otherwise of a respectable character), it is generally believed that woman, in the abstract, is free from no vice, from which she is not debarred by the force, either of nature, or coercion. On the other hand, the idea prevails (and there is much truth in it), that female education must lead to the perusal of such horrible books by female readers.* This apprehension exercises an influence quite as powerful and extensive, as the prejudice which has been mentioned; and unhappily it is but too well founded.

From the foregoing statements, the first inference which strikes us, as being of the greatest importance, is that energetic measures ought to be adopted by the true friends of the natives, for sup-

* These vile books are read extensively; else they would not be published in such numbers. One of them, a very bad one of its kind, contains an advertisement, in which the author threatens to prosecute any one, who should pirate his work.

plying them with a popular literature of an unobjectionable character. Most of the genuine Bengali books, written in prose, are intended to be studied, not to be read for the sake of entertainment. Some of those translated from the English are ill chosen, as, for instance, Johnson's *Rasselas*. Others, written under European auspices, are in a style which, somehow or other, is not popular. The Calcutta School Book Society, the Calcutta Christian Tract Society, and the Rev. K. M. Banerjea in his Encyclopædia, have endeavoured, and are endeavouring, to meet the crying wants of the country; and their efforts deserve a grateful acknowledgment. But, if something has been done, much more remains undone. The books, that are needed, are of various sorts. Apart from professedly Christian works, a series of volumes of an entertaining and yet instructive character, easy and attractive in their style, but not referring prominently to religious subjects, would prove a great boon to Bengal. A *Telemachus* and a *Robinson Crusoe** would be as acceptable as a *Pilgrim's Progress*. Those now existing, are, for the most part, too heavy, and too strongly marked with European idioms, notions, and illustrations. The works, that are to command success, must be of genuine native origin.

As almost all books of a popular character are written in poetry, it is a question deserving of attention, whether a pure poetical literature ought not to be created. The accomplishment of this object would be very difficult; partly because it exceeds the powers of Europeans; partly because, in Bengal as elsewhere, a poet is born, not made; and partly because Bengali versification requires a good ear and careful study, on the part of any one who wishes to succeed in it. Mr. Chamberlain, a Baptist missionary of the first quarter of this century, is, as far as we know, the only European, who ever succeeded in writing fair Bengali poetry. It is not at all improbable that a native, who has devoted his youth chiefly to English studies, would, on that very account, make a very indifferent Bengali poet; the genius and cadence of Bengali and English poetry being about as far apart as the poles asunder. The number of natives, able to write or speak in what they call poetical language, is surprisingly great—probably quite as great as that of those, who can write in tolerable prose; but, owing to the want of study, taste,

* Since the above was written, we have learned, with interest, that a Bengali edition of the *Arabian Nights* is in course of publication. And we rejoice to hear, that a translation of *Robinson Crusoe* also is in contemplation. We hope the second part may be omitted for the present.

and poetical feeling, their effusions are generally very unsatisfactory. This remark is applicable also to those Native Christians,* one or two excepted, who have composed Christian hymns and poems. We subjoin a few specimens of their hymns, translated by the late Rev. W. H. Pearce, with sufficient accuracy to answer our purpose. These are chosen from the better class, but by no means form the best :—

This body is a carriage. Its career
Guide thou, O soul, like skilful charioteer ;
My stormy passions, like six coursers bold,
By love divine, as harness, firmly hold,
The road of truth pursue ; resign not Wisdom's rein,
Till thou the glorious goal—the throne of God attain.

How can we safely cross this stormy main,
And at the port arrive, we long to gain ?
How reach the shore, where sorrow is unknown ?
And how obtain an everlasting crown ?

Look up, my friend, what vessel doest thou trace,
Inviting voyagers at yon starting place ?
'Tis Christ the Saviour's. Yes ! 'tis His, I see.
Then there is hope, for wretched you and me.

Since cross we must (we cannot here remain) ;
Since other means we all have tried in vain ;
Let us at once His sacred feet embrace :
Well may we trust His overflowing grace.

The sea is rough ; its billows may alarm ;
But in His bark we shall be safe from harm ;
When Christ the Saviour acts the pilot's part,
No anxious fear need e'er distress the heart.

His bark He brings, the friendless to befriend ;
His goodness knows no bounds, His grace no end.
Come, let us then His willing aid implore ;
If He assist, then we need fear no more.

Behold the beauteous vessel—Love her name :
Let us embark—no need of fear or shame ;
Christ wants no fee, no present will receive,
When those transporting, who on Him believe.

* The most successful of them was a man of the name of Tarachand Datta. But it may be affirmed with truth, that there is more of deep Christian feeling and of poetical talent exhibited in some of the numerous hymns of the unlettered Kangali of Cutwa, who was originally a Bairagi. His widow, upwards of 90 years old, is still alive, or at least was alive a short time ago.

Lo, He has hoisted her expanded sail ;
Behold it filling with a prosperous gale ;
See, Truth and Mercy quickly ply the oar ;
Christ steers the vessel ; we shall soon be o'er.

Yes, now we cross unhurt this stormy main,
And soon the port shall see, we long to gain ;
Soon reach the shore, where sorrow is unknown,
And soon obtain an everlasting crown.

KANGALI.

*Chorus.** The land where Christ in glory reigns, if we but once attain,
Then we shall sin and death escape, and life eternal gain.

Press on, press on, beloved friends, we march to Zion's gate :
Here death at last our souls will seize, there life does us await ;
Destruction's gloomy, dangerous land let us at once forsake,
And speed our flight to that blest shore, where we may bliss partake ;
That state of endless life and peace, death can no more invade,
And happy thousands, reaching there, have been immortal made.

Let not the world our hearts beguile ; its dangers we must shun ;
Through looking back, Lot's wife, we know, for ever was undone ;
Though righteous Lot through grace escaped from Sodom's burning plain,
And flying with his daughters, did a place of safety gain ;
Brethren beloved, the warning take ; your Sovereign's voice obey ;
Forsaking this vain dying world, to heaven direct your way.

The king who reigns in yon bright land of happiness untold,
In His blest register our names as subjects has enrolled ;
We'll care not, then, for all the toils or dangers we may meet,
But still with patient courage urge our course to His dear feet ;
With joy and triumph we'll proceed, throughout the heavenly way ;
The crown of gold, for us reserved, will countless toils repay.

KANGALI.

The poetical publications of the Calcutta Christian Tract Society are all below the proper standard ; and at present there is little hope of its being able to enlist the services of a good writer in this line. Perhaps it would not be amiss for it to republish the poetical *Life of Christ* (very imperfect as it is), which was written many years ago by a Native Christian at Serampore, and of which few copies are now to be met with. But of all biblical subjects, the history of Joseph is the one best adapted to form the topic of a Bengali poem. That of Esther would suit the national taste even more exactly, but does not appear equally suitable on other grounds. Daniel also would be an admirable subject. The sacred dramas of Metastasio, and still more those of Racine, are beautiful illustrations of the success, which may attend such works. The latter are universally admitted to rank

* Repeated after each stanza.

among the very finest productions of the genius of France.* But the dramatic form of a European play, after all, does not suit biblical subjects near so well as would that form, which is most admired in Bengal, and of which *Bidyà and Sundar* is the pattern. Might not some poetical genius be brought to light, if prizes were offered for works of this kind in connection with some of our educational institutions? Only it would be necessary to exercise a pretty severe criticism; for if it be true of poetry in general, it is especially true of this description of it, that—

——— *Mediocribus esse poetis*
Non homines, non Di, non concessère columnæ.

The great advantages of a poetical literature would be its popularity, and its facility of comprehension. In Bengali prose a sentence may occupy half a page, and yet fairly be regarded as simple; but in poetry it must come within the narrow limits of a couplet. Hence the sense of the latter is much more readily apprehended by the popular reader than that of the former, although the words employed may appear very difficult to the ordinary critic, and prove almost unintelligible to the European student.

But whether books for the million be written in poetry or in prose, the price must be fixed extremely low: else they will never become popular in Bengal. The native books of a popular character are printed on paper, which is made, not of rags, but of waste paper; and, between the lines of the Indian poet, English words frequently make their appearance, which not seldom are also *disjecti membra poetæ*. The binding is so delicate, that a volume rarely bears more than one perusal—certainly, if in use, not more than one rainy season, unless it be handled with special tenderness. This accounts for their wonderful cheapness: to secure which will prove a great obstacle to every effort, that may be made to replace them by works of a better description.

We have drawn a dark picture, but by no means darker than facts will warrant; witness the universally degraded condition of the great majority of widows among the lower orders of Hindus; witness the prevalence of impurity of every kind; witness the numbers of abandoned creatures that haunt the streets of Calcutta: things so notorious as to call forth the horror of the natives themselves—for all of them are not insensible to these alarming evils. On the other hand there are some encou-

* We may be allowed to name, at least in a foot-note, the Sacred Dramas of Hainah More, as productions of a similar class, which, although not held in very high esteem by professed critics, have nevertheless been admired by thousands of juvenile readers, and so far have met distinguished success.

raging circumstances, which must not be wholly passed over in silence. Books free from pollution, generally the fruit of European and Christian influence, are gradually receiving an extensive circulation. Copies of certain Christian tracts, and especially of single Gospels, are probably as widely diffused as any other volumes, at least in certain districts of the country. It is to be hoped that in due time, Truth, divine Truth, in her onward progress, will overtake Error, and obtain a triumphant victory over it. It must be evident to the dullest comprehension, that the flood of depravity, sent forth from the popular press of the present day, cannot be driven back merely by the diffusion of books, that are of human origin, however valuable these may prove as subordinate auxiliaries. The Book, which alone will be found to oppose an efficient barrier to those raging waves of the sea that foam out their own shame, is that volume which bears the imprint of heaven itself; and it is a most encouraging thought that the Bible should be written on so wonderful a plan, as to ensure its own popularity, and at the same time to present, at every fresh reading, interesting food to the most acute and the most cultivated mind. When once the Bible shall have become the household treasure of every native family; and when its all-important contents shall be universally known, then will foul Impurity be compelled to hide its head before divine Holiness, and the demons of the pit sink into oblivion before the glory of the heavenly Jesus. The consummation of this object may not be so distant as many now suppose. To hasten it let every effort be made by all who can appreciate their own mercies, and who can feel for those that are involved in the hopeless gloom of heathenism.

Can we, whose souls are lighted,
With wisdom from on high—
Can we, to man benighted,
The lamp of life deny?
Salvation, O Salvation!
The joyful sound proclaim,
Till each remotest nation
Has learnt Messiah's name.

- ART. III.—1. *Origines Liturgicæ; or, Antiquities of the English Ritual, and a Dissertation on Primitive Liturgies.* By the Rev. William Palmer, M. A., of Worcester College, Oxford. 2 vols. London. 1845.
2. *Origines Ecclesiasticæ; or, The Antiquities of the Christian Church.* By the Rev. Joseph Bingham, M. A., formerly Fellow of University College, Oxford; and afterwards Rector, &c. 9 vols. London. 1844. Books XIII., XIV., XV., relating to Divine Worship in the ancient Church.
3. *The Syrian Churches; their early History, Liturgies, and Literature, &c.* By J. W. Etheridge. London. 1846.
4. *Duâe Anim ki Kitâb, aur Sâkriminton ki Tartib, aur Kalisiya ki Dusri Rasm, aur Dastûron ki England aur Ireland ki muttahid Kalisiyâ ke tarîque ke mutâbiq. Aquâd-i-Dîn ke Sâth. Agra. Yatimon ke Chhâpe khâne men chhâpi gai.* 1847. [The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the United Church of England and Ireland. With the Articles of Religion. Agra. Printed at the Orphan Press. 1847.]

WHATEVER comes into constant and familiar contact with man, and yet commands his respect or veneration, fails not to exercise a wide and a deep influence upon him. Nor is this effect confined to the leading features of such agent; it attaches also to its minor and even accidental details. Thus, legendary stories connected with the people's faith, and ritual formulæ wrought up into religious practice (as in the case of the Hindus and Muhammadans), strike their counterpart upon the national mind. Thus, a system of jurisprudence will gradually impart something of its colour and character to a people long under its action. And the minute and unessential points, the adventitious custom and ceremony, or the chance cast of phraseology, will not be without even their corresponding effect. The stamp will impress not only its leading figures, but its finest tracery, and faithfully perpetuate even its flaws and defects.

The principle might be followed out into an endless detail of illustration. National poetry, such as the myths of Homer and Hesiod, no doubt imparted many broad, as well as delicate and intangible, traits to the Grecian character. The sculpture painting and architecture of Greece and Rome, as they grew out of, so unquestionably have reacted in a thousand ways

upon the habits and mind of the people. The labours of Jerome still influence the character of Europe: "the rich and picturesque Latin of the Vulgate," where "the Orientalism of the Scripture is blended with such curious felicity with the idiom of the Latin," has had a manifest effect upon the language, and upon the thought, of the West. "It has, no doubt, powerfully influenced the religious style, not merely of the later Latin writers, but of those of the modern languages, of which Latin is the parent."* The English Bible has proved an agent no less deep and extensive in its results upon the British tongue and mind; and every day tends only to strengthen its hold, and to spread more widely the ramifications of its influence. The subject is one which presses with solemn responsibility on the translators of the Scriptures into the languages of India.

But it is to another department of religious literature, that we mean at present to apply these considerations. The assimilative action upon the mind is probably as great in the daily, or hebdomadal, services of the Church, as in any other instance; indeed, greater perhaps, since the constant recurrence of liturgies, must, in proportion to their frequency, deepen and perpetuate the lineaments of thought and language proper to themselves. We doubt not that the Missal and the Prayer Book in their own field may vie with the Vulgate and the English Bible, in the depth and peculiarity of the features they have stamped.

In this view, the version of public service, which the Episcopal Church shall give to the native Churches of India under its influence, assumes a deeply serious aspect. The form of liturgy, and the language in which it is clothed, will have a large share in fixing the character of that part of the Christian community, nay of India itself. Constantly recurring—repeated more frequently than the Bible itself—every ceremony, every prayer, each individual word, will exercise an important influence, which will be always present, steadily extending, and ever reproducing itself, as a fresh agent of good or evil. It is then a matter of great interest that each circumstance and every word should be weighed with care; that no ground be given for false impressions; and that all the associations and ideas, resulting even incidentally from the version, should be in the right direction. The national mind will form itself around the type which we place before it, and, like the deposit of the electro-galvanic battery, take impression of the deformities as well as of the beauties of that type.

* Milman's Christianity, Book iv., Ch. iii., vol. iii., p. 465.

Labouring under this strong conviction of the importance of Vernacular liturgies in India, we have taken up the Urdu translation of the Book of Common Prayer, noticed at the head of this article. But, before passing its merits under review, we purpose to consider generally the adaptation of the Anglican liturgy to the native Churches of India; that is to say, how far a close translation, as the present professes to be, is suited to the position and requirements of the native community.

In this periodical, the use, or the absence, of a set liturgy is of course an open question; and we propose to consider it at present, simply as it affects those, who have already decided in the affirmative.

Now it is perfectly evident that there are certain grand features of human nature and of Christian life, which are the same under every clime and in every age. A fallen and corrupt nature requires a similar confession of guilt from the American, the Russian, and the Hindu; from Augustine and Justin Martyr, as from the Christian of Great Britain. And the same may be said of the expression of faith, hope, love, thankfulness, and all such topics. In these particulars, there exists no distinction of time and place: so long as they are offered by mortal man, the subject-matter of address to God must come under the same categories. In so far, then, as these are concerned, it would appear that no exception may be taken to the transference of approved forms of worship from any time and from any nation, to any other age or people.

But, admitting that this argument holds good with reference to such devotional forms, as apply strictly to the abstract principles above specified, still a large portion of religious service must (if it be at all commensurate with the necessities of the worshipping body) have reference to their *special* circumstances. And it is evident, that, as such circumstances are accidental, liable to vary in different times countries and societies, and not essential elements or adjuncts of Christian life or doctrine, so must the form of public devotion, if it be brought to bear upon them, vary accordingly. Now such accidental elements are, surely, often of too great importance, and frequently occupy too large a share of Christian life, to be passed by, *sub silentio*, in the public prayers. One or two illustrations of what is meant may assist likewise in bringing out the necessities of the Indian Church.

Our first illustration shall be taken from that department, which, in general, least affects the character of prayer, viz., the phenomena of nature; and among these we select (perhaps the most important) the setting in of the rains. Now,

if this be found deeply to call forth the affections of the people, their fear, hope, and gratitude, it is not only the duty of the Church to raise these affections heavenwards; but it is her surest course in order to win her way into the hearts of the nations. Throughout a great part of India, life is so directly and manifestly dependent on the periodical rains, that, if the Heavens even for a short period delay their vivifying flood, a season of intense suspense is excited, and anxious aspiration to the Lord of all animates, as with one breath, the whole body of the people. The public feeling should surely, at such times, be inwrought into the language of public prayer; and, "Give us this day our daily bread" should be amplified, so as to suit and come up with the overwhelming exigencies of that critical period.* And here, too, are valuable opportunities for the expression of FAITH in the Ruler of the natural world, and of DEPENDENCE upon Him, in whose hand our breath so absolutely is. And when the long-expected rain does at length descend, how does the heart leap for joy, and what a season for the offerings of GRATITUDE! Foreigners, as we are, does not the overflowing of thankfulness add upon such occasions a new flood of life even to our devotions? How intensely then might such feelings be called forth in the Hindu's breast, whose sustenance, home, and very existence, depend upon the gracious Providence! And does not the bursting life—the new creation of salient energy, covering the late expanse of torrid dust—the smile of grateful nature instantaneously clad in a new vesture of verdant freshness—speak in living terms the language of religion and devotion, which might well find an echo in our prayers? How manifest the hand of the Almighty! How patent His goodness! How striking the type of the *resurrection* from the dead! These ideas are germane to the human mind, wherever the phenomenon appears: and the prophet of Islam† well knew how to turn them to account. Are *we* to give no vent to such aspirations and

* In the ancient Liturgy of "St. Mark," there are prayers for the waters of the river (Nile) to be raised to their just measure. Palmer, vol. 2, p. 86. The rise of the Nile, analogous with the rains of India, thus formed the subject of *special* prayer in Egypt.

So Tertullian: "Quoniam tamen Dominus, prospector humanarum necessitatum, seorsum post traditam orandi disciplinam (i. e. orationem Dominicam), "Petite," inquit, "et accipietis"; et sunt quæ petantur pro circumstantia cujusque, præmissâ legitimâ et ordinariâ oratione quasi fundamento; accidentium jus est desideriorum; jus est superstruendi extrinsecus petitiones, &c." De Orat. C. IX. And no doubt the Church, as well as the private Oratory, should make provision in prayer for such necessitous contingencies, as may lie out of the beaten track, and yet form subject-matter of devotional aspiration to the people at large.

† Some of the most beautiful illustrations of the Resurrection, for instance, are derived by Muhammad from this source: "It is God, who sendeth the winds, and raiseth the clouds, and we drive the same into a lifeless country; and thereby quicken the earth, after it has been dead. So shall the resurrection from the dead be." Koran. Sura xxxv., 9, Comp., also S. vi., 100; xxv., 49; xxx., 24; xliii., 11.

feelings, or at best to put them off with Collects for "such moderate rain and showers," as may suit with the slowly developing energies of an English spring, but only mock the rapid and gigantic machinery, which ushers in the Indian year? Ah! that faith, that dependence, that gratitude, those living witnesses of the nature and goodness of God,* have a latent habitation even in the idolatrous Hindu's heart. They are chords of nature's own fabrication; and if swept, at the inspiring seasons of anxious longing for the early and the latter rain, or of grateful joy at its reception, by the skilful hand of the servant of the God of Nature, even the Heathen's heart will respond to the touch.

Our second illustration shall be taken from the moral and spiritual phenomena, which surround our native Churches. Themselves patches of verdure, but lately reclaimed from the vast wilderness—tiny oases encircled by burning and interminable deserts—they have a deep and a portentous interest in the neighbouring tracts, which are ever threatening to swallow them up, and restore the wilderness again to its howling uniformity. Shall there, then, be no adaptation to this state of things, in a liturgy, which has grown up in a smiling country, whose uniformity consists in verdure and cultivation alone? The Churches of India are planted in the midst of Heathens and Muhammadans: they are as drops in an ocean of idolaters and professed blasphemers of the Christ. A very large section, therefore, of their hopes and fears, their joys and sorrows, their duties and responsibilities, in fine of every department of their Christian life, both as individuals and as Churches, must have a direct reference to this isolated position, and to the masses which close them in on every side. But in England there are no idolaters or Muhammadans, and but a scantling of professed blasphemers; and therefore the liturgy of England has little or no reference to such peculiar circumstances. Now the question arises, Is such a liturgy, as this, to be, without any adaptation whatever, imposed upon the Indian Churches? Is the only reference, which their public devotions shall have to this subject of highest interest and daily concern, to consist in the passing allusion in the opening of the prayer "for all sorts and conditions of men," or to the still more passing and general allusion in the Litany, and to the Collect used once every year†

* See Acts. XIV. 17.

† On Good Friday. See the Collects for Good Friday, or Parascève, in the Romish ritual. The use of such prayers, on the ecclesiastically appointed anniversary of the crucifixion, seems to be connected with the prayer for "mercy, even to the perfidious Jews," who crucified our Lord. By association of ideas, Pagans, heretics, Turks, and infidels are also commended to mercy.

"for all Jews, Turks, infidels and heretics?" If so, one of the widest and most important provinces of the native Church, affecting her internal trials and her external duties—one in which, perhaps more than in any other, does she need to be constant and earnest in her common and united supplication—in which, more than in any other, should she feel her weakness and implore for strength—is utterly excluded from her public devotions!

We shall rest satisfied with these illustrations, remarking merely, that the subject might have been followed out to much greater length. Omissions, some perhaps of equal importance, certainly many of inferior moment, might have been pointed out; while certain portions of the service might have been shown to be inapplicable to the present state of the native Churches, or their use at least to be injudicious. Some of these may be incidentally brought forward in the course of this article. Meanwhile it is necessary to enquire how far it is possible and expedient to alter and adapt the Liturgy to the use of the Indian Church. We are not insensible of the delicacy and difficulty of the subject we have set before us; and only the settled conviction of its paramount importance would have compelled us to enter upon it.

To what standard, then, shall we appeal, in order to arrive at a fair and just conclusion on the subject? The Churches of Europe have long existed among a population entirely Christian, in name at least; and the Syrian and other Eastern Churches have been for ages too devoid of life, to serve for examples to us. But the state of the primitive Church closely resembled that of our Indian Churches, in being encompassed by heathen opposition. This antagonism gradually died away, till, in the fifth and sixth centuries, Christianity had assimilated, in outward appearance, the entire mass of the empire to herself. Now, if we can show that, even in the fifth century, an important part of the prayers of the church was still directed to those, who were not within the pale of the "Faithful," or believers, we shall have made out a strong case for a similar concession to the Indian Churches, whose present position so much more urgently demands it.

We shall produce, then, passages from Augustine to show that, in the century specified, heathens and unbelievers were still usually prayed for by the Church. In opposing the Pelagian heresy, and combating the doctrine that salvation is the result of free-will, and not the work of God's grace, Augustine brings home to his opponent the prayers of the Church, where the grace of God was implored on behalf of infidels, enquirers,

and heathen nations.* He appeals to his antagonist, whether he would not himself respond "Amen" to the call of the priest, exhorting the people to pray to God, or else himself praying, "ut incredulas gentes ad fidem suam venire compellat." Now to warrant repeated notices couched in such language, it is manifest that there must have been notorious and frequent petitions of the kind alluded to, and commonly used *ad altare*, i. e. as a part of the liturgical, or communion, service. If such was the case, when the Roman world was nominally Christianized, we may safely conclude that similar petitions occupied even a more prominent position, when it was professedly heathen.

That the ante-communion service of the third, fourth, and succeeding centuries contained prayers for enquirers, and others without the Church, is clear from every account remaining to us, and indeed from the very constitution of the service of that period. The prevailing order of service was founded upon the classification of the people, (which is traced to the third century) unto the "Faithful," and the "Catechumens." The "mystical liturgy," or sacramental service, was exclusively reserved for the former; the prayers of the faithful, *ἐυχὴ πιστῶν*, were common to the faithful alone, and might not be heard, much less shared in, by any unbaptized adherent of Christianity. The Lord's Prayer† was confined to this part of the service; and was termed *par excellence* *ἐυχὴ πιστῶν*,—"the prayer of the faithful." The use of it was permitted to no unbaptized person. So careful and complete was the exclusion of

* "Quando audis sacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei orare pro incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem; et pro catechumenis, ut eis desiderium regenerationis inspiret, &c."

Again, "Numquid, ubi audieris sacerdotem Dei ad ejus altare populum hortantem ad Deum orandum, vel ipsum clarâ voce orantem, ut incredulas gentes ad fidem suam venire compellat, non respondebis, Amen?" Epist. ad Vitalem.

Augustine was made Bishop of Hippo, A. D. 395, and lived and wrote until A. D. 430.

+ There appears, however, to be no ground for holding that the prayer itself was concealed from the uninitiated, as Palmer would seem to imagine (Orig. Lit. vol. I., p. 14). We have carefully gone over his references in Bingham, and can see no cause for thinking so. Indeed, how could the prayer have been suppressed, when it existed in the Bibles, which all were encouraged to read in their Vernacular tongue? (Bingham's Antiq. Book x. ch. 1, s. 7.) : and they could not but see its prominent insertion upon divine authority there. Besides, it was openly referred to, and specifically quoted in the sermons and writings of the early Christians, e. g. of Tertullian, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Augustine; and these were common to the believers and uninitiated.

Its use was certainly restricted to the 'Faithful;' and it was introduced only in their service, every particular of which was surrounded by a curtain of mysterious secrecy. But this is quite another ground. The prayer was well known; though its position, and accompaniments in the "tremendous mystery," were not divulged.

The catechumen was not taught this prayer till on the eve of baptism, under the impression that it was wrong to encourage him, while yet unregenerate, to make use of petitions suitable only for the regenerate children of God.

intruders, that, in the third and fourth centuries, the Sacramental Liturgy was as secret from the uninitiated vulgar, as the Masonic institute is in our own day.*

But, though excluded from the prayers of the faithful, the catechumens and others were not uncared for. A separate and previous service was held on their account, termed *εὐχαῖς κατηχουμένων*, *missa catechumenorum*—the service of the unbaptized. This comprised the whole worship, which preceded the “mystical liturgy,” or sacramental service; it was intended for the edification of all; and to it heathens, heretics, and candidates for baptism, had equal and indiscriminate access.† Its order consisted of the singing or repetition of psalms, the reading of the Scriptures, the sermon, and prayers. There are clear notices that, in the fourth century, the latter embraced a prayer for the energumens, “or possessed,” a prayer for the catechumens, and one for the penitents. The penitents were parties, who had been baptized, but, having relapsed into sin, were excluded from the communion, although sometimes the higher ranks were permitted to be present at its celebration. With this exception, each class quitted the assembly on the conclusion of the prayer appropriated to itself. Chrysostom says that the prayers were “common” betwixt the priest and the people;‡ he gives specimens of the petitions for the catechumens, and likewise of the deacons’ prayer, containing supplications, which they were encouraged to put up for themselves.

Both the *penitents* and *catechumens* embraced large classes of men; practically, in fact, all who were not heathen, or “faithful.” Of the penitents, for instance, there were two divisions; the “hearers,” who departed with the catechumens, and had probably neither the desire nor suitableness of charac-

* But we have good authority for holding that such secrecy did not originate long before the third century. Bingham (x. 5, s. 3) writing on the subject, says, “the first beginning of it seems to have been about the time of Tertullian, for he is the first writer, who makes any mention of it.” And the quotation from Tertullian refers only to the exclusion of heretics and heathens from the sacred celebration, not to the prohibition of divulging what was then practised.

+ Bingham (B. xiii. ch. 1, s. 3) quotes a rule of the 4th Council of Carthage, interdicting the Bishop from prohibiting any one to enter the Church, and hear the word of God, whether Gentile, heretic, or Jew, until the service of the Catechumens was ended. And it is evident from other Canons, and from the sermons of Chrysostom, that the privilege was freely acted upon, and was regarded by the ministers as a valuable opportunity for attracting such to the faith. The Council of Laodicea, indeed, forbids heretics to enter the house of God; but the authority is singular. It was probably a *local* rule, or may possibly have applied only to the sacramental service.

‡ Καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς δὲ πολὺ τον λαον ἰδοι τις ἀν συνεισφέροντα, καὶ ὑπερ των ἐνεργουμένων, ὑπερ των ἐν μετανοια, κοιναὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ παρ αὐτῶν γίνονται εὐχαί, καὶ πάντες μίαν λέγουσιν εὐχην, εὐχην τὴν ἐλεου γέμουσαν. Tom. IX. Hom. XVIII.

ter for further fellowship; and the "kneelers," who were nearer restoration to the privileges of the faithful, and stayed to receive the prayers of the church, and the Bishop's benediction.* So among the "catechumens" (literally, *persons under instruction*), there were the simple enquirers, or parties interested in Christianity, and the "competentes," or candidates ready for baptism; and for each, as occasion required, separate prayers were put up.

Now it has been already shown that the heathens were specially prayed for; so that, in the 4th and 5th centuries, the prayers of the Church unquestionably had a particular and direct reference to every class of men, according to their spiritual condition. We do not indeed affirm that the arrangement, or classification, of the prayers then prevalent was perfect, or worthy of entire imitation: on the contrary, the *opus operatum* effect of baptism entered banefully into the system. But what we affirm is, that the Church intended to provide appropriate prayers for each class suited to their state, and actually did so in conformity with the views then prevalent. Such was the case without controversy at the period selected for our analogy, when the sceptres of Kings and the thrones of Bishops had already intermeddled with the purity of Christian discipline: and, the higher up the stream of Christianity we ascend, we may be sure that, as the distinction between the faithful, the enquirers, and unbelievers, became increasingly defined and practical, a proportionate accommodation, of the devotional services would be observed, had we the materials for tracing it.

It is most evident, then, for those who take the primitive church for their guide or model (and we know of no other period in the annals of the church, which can at all furnish an analogy suited to our position in India), that the church service must be accommodated, directly and prominently, to each main division of men (spiritually considered), within and without her pale.

Let us now see how far the liturgy of the Church of England fulfils these conditions with respect to the native community. The penitential discipline has ceased; and with it the prayers appropriated to the penitents; there is now no service of the Catechumens, neither is there any part of the Common prayer, which has any special reference whatever to enquirers, or candidates for baptism. And it has been already shown

* The penitents are sometimes divided into four classes,—*flentes*, *audientes*, *genu-flectentes*, and *consistentes*. This division is evidently borrowed from that of the catechumens, into *audientes*, *genu-flectentes*, and *competentes*.

that the petitions for the Heathen, or unbelievers, are but perfunctory, or allusive.

The entire English Prayers are emphatically *ευχαί πιστῶν*, the worship of "believers." The service is throughout strictly adapted to the people of God. The whole body of the aspirants, it is taken for granted, are regenerate, or at the least seriously professing Christians. In this respect, there is betwixt it, and the English communion service, no difference. The latter, from the inspiring nature of its symbolical ceremony, is characterized by a more intense devotion, and by a depth of feeling suited to the sublimity of the occasion. But both are composed alike of such aspirations, as true Christians alone can offer. Particular petitions may have a more general character; but the whole drift of the service leaves no doubt upon the subject. The confession betokens the most sincere repentance; the absolution, though couched in approvedly general terms, holds forth the assurance of pardon: the *Te Deum* is the triumphant profession of a Christian's faith and adoration: and the Creed* is an explicit declaration of belief. Every essential grace of the fully-developed Christian character is here pre-supposed and brought into play. There is, in fact, in the English Church, no ante-communion service, in the sense in which that term was understood in the early church; and were a disciple of Chrysostom suddenly to appear in our Assemblies, the most decisive test to him, of what we have advanced, would be the repeated use of the Lord's Prayer. "How can any," he would exclaim, "call God, *our Father*, but a regenerate and real Christian, an adopted *child* of God?"†

* The repetition of creeds in the liturgy, was not introduced till the sixth century (Bingham, vol. v. p. 140). They were never repeated in the early church (except immediately before baptism,) either in the communion, or ante-communion, services.

It is to be noted that the forms alluded to above (excepting the absolution) are "to be said of the *whole* congregation."

† Though we are not disposed by any means thus to limit the Lord's Prayer, or to deduce such strict application from the term "Our Father:" yet we think there is a depth of serious and instructive meaning in the limitation, by the early church, of this prayer to real Christians. The Lord's Prayer is, in truth, the most absolute and unlimited expression of Christian Faith and Resolution. For instance, "Thy will be done," can only in sincerity be said, when it is the *INTENTION* and *DESIRE* of the speaker's heart to do that will, as well as to see it done by others. How startling the thought that it is often repeated, and that indiscriminate encouragement sometimes promotes the repetition, where there is no such intention, but where the desires are openly vagrant in the opposite direction, and where the most outrageous affront is therefore offered to the Majesty on high!

So also, as has been well remarked by Chrysostom, the petition, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive &c.," is a solemn denunciation of the wrath of God upon himself, by the suppliant, who sends it forth from an unforgiving heart: φοβερόν γάρ ἐστι το λεγόμενον ('Αφες ἡμιν κ.τ.λ.), καὶ σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν, τοιούτο πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν βοᾷ, ὁ τοῦτο λέγων, Ἀφῆκα, Δέσποτα, ἄφες...εἰ ἐκράτησα κρίτησον, εἰ μὴ ἔλυσα τῷ πλησίον, μηδὲ σύ λύσης τα ἐμὰ ἁμαρτήματα. ἐν ᾧ μετρω μέτρησα, ἀντι-

The usual excuse made for the exclusive appropriation of the prayers to the "faithful," is that there can be no "common" prayer except upon this footing, because all, who offer up prayer in common, must *ipso facto* be regarded as sincere Christians. But this plea is overruled by the practice of the early church. It is quite true that all, for whose use prayers are adapted, are necessarily supposed to be *sincere and earnest suppliants*; but it by no means follows that they must be already among the "faithful." The sinner—the still unregenerate, even unrepentant sinner—may yet join in the cry for mercy, and for the gift of repentance. Besides, one portion of the assembly may pray for another; and the *conditional* petitions, often put forth by the unliturgical minister for those who may be present, careless, back-sliding, or enquiring (the *incredulus*, the *catechumen* and the *penitent* of the early church), are not less earnestly borne upwards by the aspirations of the faithful—probably too by the aspirations of the parties themselves—than the *common* prayer of less specific solicitation.* There is then no *impossibility* in adapting the liturgy to the present state of our Indian Churches.

Another ground upon which this feature of the liturgy has been defended, and which is usually taken up by a certain class of theologists, is that the entire congregation, now-a-days, is Christian. All have been baptized; all are regenerate, 'faithful,' initiated. Where the *opus-operatum* effect of baptism is thus advanced, the difference between the two parties, whose views have divided the English Church, is surely more than the mere strife about a *name*, which some would have us take it for. But it is not our business to enter on this subject. We merely remark in passing that, even in English Churches, there are often to be met unbaptized hearers, and almost always penitents, or those who ought to be penitents. What provision is made for such persons in the devotional services of the Church? Nay, by far the greater portion of most congregations, by habitually absenting themselves from the "mystical liturgy,"

μετρηθῆτω μοί. Tom. V. Hom. in Pæn. Chrysostom pressed these opinions so strongly, that some were for omitting the qualifying clause in their repetition; but this he did not approve of.

It were well, if these deeply solemn, and no less deeply true, views were more common & enforced in our own day. It is too usual to hear the duty of making a decent and earnest response to the prayers impressed upon all; while it is but seldom that any doubts are started as to the inconsistency of a careless sinner speaking the language of a real saint, or of the solemn pledge incurred both by sinner and saint on each repetition of this sacred prayer.

* An illustration of this principle may be observed in the occasional prayers often introduced into their sermons even by strictly liturgical ministers, who pray, for instance, that the attention of the careless may be awakened, or solicit the prayers of the religious, or of the careless themselves, for the same object.

or communion, do in effect place themselves unmistakably in the penitent class of "hearers," who, though baptized, have spontaneously fallen from the fellowship of the Church. What provision is made for *them*?

It is, indeed, neither our province, nor our wish, to criticise the English Liturgy *per se*, but simply its suitableness for native communities; for, though we might desire to see some alterations effected in the *English* service, we fear that, in the present distracted state of the church, no thorough improvement may be contemplated. Our business and endeavours are, with all sincerity therefore, confined to a *Native* Liturgy. In the preceding paragraph, we simply wished to show, that the Baptismal argument will not satisfactorily account, even in England, for the exclusive reference had in the liturgy to the 'faithful.' And much less will it account for such a deficiency in India. Here, in every congregation, we have the professedly unregenerate, and the actually unbaptized. We *seek* for them. It is the grand object of Evangelical Missions to attract the Gentiles to the light of the gospel.* And yet, when as curious or serious enquirers, they do come to our churches, we make not the slightest provision for them in the devotional services. There is no single reference to them in our public prayers. We neither pray for them, nor invite them to join with us in praying for themselves. They are unbaptized, and cannot share in our common prayers; at least, on the principles above referred to, they ought not so to share. Now here is a great and a palpable want—a serious blank, without all controversy, in our liturgy for India.

We have thus satisfactorily proved, the most rigid formalists themselves being the judges, that the English service is not entirely adapted for native congregations: that some alterations at least, some adaptations, additions or modifications, are absolutely required. How, then, are these to be made?

The spirit of the Church of England is professedly favourable to necessary changes. We learn this from the preface to the Prayer Book:

"It hath been the wisdom of the Church of England, ever

* That Hindús, Muhammadans, and unbaptized enquirers do frequently, from curiosity, or more hopeful causes, resort to our churches, is notorious. We quote from the first Missionary report we happen to take up. Mr. Menge, of Goruckpore, writes as follows:

"I have, for the last few months, observed with pleasure, that several Zemindars, Brahmins, and others, have been attending my Hindustani service in the Station Church on a Sunday; and my pandit, who, six years ago, would not come near the Mission compound, has regularly for more than a twelve month gone to my Sunday afternoon service, and taken off his turban, without my saying a word to him on the subject." *Thirty-first Report of the Calcutta Committee of the Church Missionary Society, for 1849.* p. 76.

' since the first compiling of the public liturgy, to keep the
' mean between the two extremes, of too much stiffness in re-
' fusing, and of too much easiness in admitting, any variation
' from it;—and it is but reasonable that, upon weighty and
' important considerations, according to the various exigency
' of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should
' be made therein, as, to those that are in place of authority,
' should from time to time seem either necessary or expedi-
' ent."

Such facility of alteration upon necessary occasions is in strict conformity with the practice of the fourth and succeeding centuries. The several Bishops had then free authority to alter their forms of prayer at pleasure;* though a general uniformity of substratum was preserved. The earliest restriction, indeed, which we find to have been put upon this authority, is contained in the Canons of the third Council of Carthage, (of which Augustine was a member, and) which simply prescribe that, before any one uses new prayers, "they be first examined by the more learned brethren."† Such being the practice of the fourth and fifth centuries, and such the slow advances of uniformity, we may easily understand that the earlier stages of the Church's History would still more decidedly favour the facility of effecting necessary alterations.

Our "provincial Bishops," then, under sanction of the Metropolitan, should, according to the authorities just quoted, make such changes in the Indian Liturgy as may appear indispensable. This opens up the extensive subject of the appointment of Bishops expressly for native churches. It is evident that the Metropolitan of India, and other Presidency Bishops, are never likely to be suited by education or habits for such a task. They are little versed in the vernacular languages, and have no intimate acquaintance with the prejudices and views of their native flock. But subordinate bishops, possessing the requisite qualifications, might be selected; and, if it were

* The authorities on this point are clear, and need only be referred to. *Bingham*, Orig. Eccles. B. II. Ch. vi. §2. and B. XIII. v. §1. *Palmer*. Orig. Liturg. Inrod. vol. I., p. 10.

† "Et quicumque sibi preces aliunde describit, non eis utatur, nisi prins eas cum instructoribus fratribus contulerit." Con. Carthag. iii. C. 23. *Bingham* xiii. 5. § 7. So in the African code, (c. iii.) it is appointed "that such prayers, as had been approved by the synod (*τὰς κεκυρωμένας ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ ἱερείας*), should be used; and that none, which opposed the faith, should be introduced; ἀλλ' αἵτινες δῆποτε ἀπὸ τῶν συνεωτέρων συνηχθῶσαν, λεχθήσονται. Upon these passages *Bingham* remarks; "this seems to be the first beginning of that custom, which afterwards prevailed all over the Church, that all provincial Bishops should use the same form of prayer, that was established in the Churches of their Metropolitan." *Works*, vol. IV. p. 263.

thought injudicious or unwise to accord the title of "Bishop," the new prelates might, after the German style, be termed "Superintendents." The exigencies of the native churches, so rapidly increasing in Bengal and Madras, will soon demand, according to the Episcopal system, such superintendence, whether European or Native; for, leaving out of view their unfitness, our present bishops have no leisure, from the vast and important duties connected with their European people, to apply themselves, with the necessary concentration of purpose, to this subject.*

There is another mode, in which the difficulties, we have been considering, may in some degree be met, and which, in actual practice, is often resorted to. We mean the use of unfixed, or extempore, prayers. We have very frequently found that much of the deficiency in the liturgy was, among native congregations, in some measure supplied by such prayers, before, or after, the sermon. But though this habit is partially supported by the practice of our good Metropolitan himself and some of his worthiest clergy, even in their English ministrations, we are not sure, whether a large class of churchmen would not yet denounce it as uncanonical and dangerous.

But surely such parties have little reason to find fault with a custom practised by some of their choicest models in the fourth and fifth centuries. After showing that "extempore discourses were frequent among the ancients," and explaining the terms employed by Chrysostom and Augustine, relative to "the divine

* We wish to guard against the possibility of what we have here advanced being construed into the most distant attempt at depreciating our excellent Metropolitan. It is surely no affront to his truly Episcopal virtues and accomplishments, to say that he has by no means either the early or acquired associations absolutely necessary for the work now proposed. It is next to impossible that he, or indeed that any party, under the present system appointed to the post, should be so qualified. And the same remark, with a similar deprecatory caution, we would extend to the good Bishop of Madras, and to the pious learned and Venerable Archdeacon of Calcutta. A native of the country would of course surpass all others in a close knowledge of the habits and requirements of the Native Churches. But where, in a native, are we to find the rare conjunction of qualities, which would warrant us to place in his hands the Episcopal crook? where that learning, devotion, humility, judgment? We know, indeed, of one individual, whose eminent literary attainments and ability would fit him for the post. But it would be doubtful policy to raise any native to that distinction, while there is so complete an absence of qualified competitors, and no range of choice. The eminency, we fear, in such a case, would be too much for human virtue and humility.

Closely connected with this subject, and indeed with the whole drift of this article, is the degree of independence ultimately contemplated for the Indian episcopal Churches. Are they to be a mere appendage of the Church of England? Is the centralization of Rome to be copied by Britain, in the case of her colonial Churches? or is there to be any, and what, degree of independence? The agitation of the question may be premature; but it is of the last importance for their ecclesiastical Rulers to have sound principles in view regarding it. They should not, even at this early stage, compromise such principles by any injudicious intolerance, or by giving precedent, to the dangerous theory, that *uniformity in details is ESSENTIAL*.

assistance," looked for upon such occasions, Bingham adds, "And, upon this account, it was usual for the preacher many times to usher in his discourse with a short prayer for such divine assistance, and also to move the people to pray for him."* Several such unliturgical prayers are quoted by the same author, as occurring during the course, and at the end, as well as at the beginning, of the sermons of Ambrose, Origen, and Augustine. The latter, especially, always closed his sermon by a prayer,† which he varied "as the matter of his sermon required." After quoting a passage from Augustine,‡ Bingham observes:—

I have related this passage at length, because it shows us . . . what sort of prayers those were, which they commonly made before sermon, viz. not the common prayers of the Church (as some mistake, who measure all usages of the ancient Church by the customs of the present); but these short prayers for the assistance and conduct of the Spirit, to direct both them and the people in speaking and hearing.—*Vol. IV. p. 561.*

We can perceive no sort of harm or disorder whatever, as likely to ensue, if such occasions be seized upon by vernacular preachers, for supplying the deficiencies of the liturgy we have pointed out. But if it be seriously intended to dispose of the question upon this plea, then, in the name of reason, let the practice, thus admitted, be plainly acknowledged and legalized.

And why should it not be legalized? Why should not the addition of unliturgical prayers be openly permitted at the discretion of the minister, after the due performance of the fixed service? To answer this important question—and that upon grounds which will carry weight with the exclusive advocates of forms—we have been led to examine into the use of liturgies, and the original authority for them: and though the subject is a very large one, yet its great importance forbids us from passing it by.

* Book xiv., Ch. 4, s. 13.

† Commencing "Conversi ad Dominum."

‡ The passage alluded to is so excellent and relevant, that we introduce it entire:—"The Christian orator should pray both for himself, and others, before he begins to teach; that he may be able to speak those things that are holy, just and good; and that his auditors may hear him with understanding, with willingness, and with an obedient heart. To this end, before he looses his tongue to speak, he should lift up his thirsting soul to God, that he may be able to discharge what he has imbibed, and pour forth to others that wherewith he has filled himself: and this the rather, both because we and all our words are in the hand of God, who teaches us both what to speak, and after what manner to speak." He also quotes Luke xii., 11 and 12.—"Take ye no thought how or what ye shall speak," &c., with the same application: *De Doctrinâ Christiand., iv., 51.*

We have often been struck by repeated prayers, sometimes of respectable length, quietly introduced in their Sermons, by Clergymen, who would have been scandalized at the imputation of using an unliturgical prayer, recorded, or extempore, either at the beginning or close of their discourses.

The discussion, it is true, appears at first sight a most unpromising one. Opinions upon it are, almost universally, extreme. It is imbedded in difficulties, obscurity, and inextinguishable prejudice. The two parties so completely and thoroughly contradict each other, that the contrariety would be laughable, if it were not on so serious a matter. Thus one writer concludes, that the ancient Jews, our Saviour, his Apostles, and the primitive Christians "never joined in any other, than pre-composed 'set forms';" and that it is utterly impossible to conceive that, if the joint use of extempore prayers had been ever practised by the Apostles and first Christians, it could so soon have been laid aside. He, therefore, deduces "that the joint use of pre-composed set forms was fixed by the Apostles in all the Churches they planted, and that, by the special Providence of God, it has been preserved as remarkably as the Christian Sacraments themselves."*

And here is a specimen of the contrary view:—

"No such thing as a prescribed form of prayer appears to have been known in the Christian Church, for several hundred years after Christ." Again "we think it perfectly evident that no forms of prayer, no prescribed liturgies were used in the apostolical age of the Church:—"Would not all this be manifestly absurd, if public prayer had been by a prescribed liturgy in Basil's days? The truth is, it is evident that extempore or free prayer was generally used in the primitive Church, and continued to be used until orthodoxy and piety declined, and the grace, as well as the gift, of prayer greatly diminished. Then ministers began to seek the best aid they could procure. The Church however at large, even then, provided no liturgies." And after quoting from Augustine:—"Surely this could never have happened, if the Church had been accustomed at that time to the use of prescribed liturgies. In short the very first document in the form of a Prayer Book, of which we read, is a

* *Wheatly's Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. 16—18. There is a rare instance of this writer's *rational* illustration, at page 10 of his work, where he holds with regard to the prayer reported in Acts iv., v. 24, &c. "when they heard that they lifted up their voice to God with one accord and said," that "they all 'joined together with audible voices, which they could not possibly have done, 'unless the prayer they used was a *pre-composed set form*;' in favour of which view he argues at some length. To our mind, the whole circumstances related in this chapter give the prayer so unpremeditated and *extempore* a character, that we could not have conceived it possible for prejudice to have invented so utterly improbable a theory, as to make it a pre-composed form. Wheatly scorns the idea, that one spoke, and the "rest joined mentally with him," which is the natural explanation; and which we find borne out by the Homilies of the English Church. Witness the 9th Homily of the second book, where, referring to this passage, it is said, "And no doubt 'of it, they did not all speak with several voice, but some one of them spake in the 'name of them all, and the rest, giving diligent ear to his words, consented there- unto; and therefore it is said that *they lifted up their voice together*.'" .

libellus officialis, mentioned in the proceedings of the Council of Toledo, in the year 683 after Christ: and that was evidently rather a 'Directory for the worship of God,' than a complete liturgy."

Now, such extreme views are not infrequent: they are, we fear, the rule, and not the exception. The Liturgist appeals to immemorial practice, and the absolute necessity of the case, for the *exclusive* use of a prescribed form; and disdainfully puts down any approach to unfixed or "extempore" prayer, as rank and odious departure from ecclesiastical discipline. The Anti-liturgist, again, exclaims, that public prayer, moulded in any set form of words, is utterly unscriptural, condemns its formal spirit and prayerless tendency, and often holds it upon these grounds to be absolutely unlawful. Where either view is held with such extremity of rigour, it is vain to hope for any favour to the *via media*, which we have recommended. But both parties will bend in some measure to the authority and practice of the primitive Church; and, with the hope of inducing some approximation of view upon the subject, we propose now to enquire what evidence there is of the use of liturgies in the earliest ages of Christianity, and how and when they became prevalent.

This subject has been discussed by an author we have already alluded to. Bingham devotes three whole chapters of his learned work, as noted at the beginning of this article, expressly to its consideration. This writer is invaluable, upon whatever matter he treats, for the vast mass of authorities brought to bear upon it. But he is neither philosophical, nor over-critical; and his renderings sometimes want that uniform exactness, which enables the reader implicitly to rely on the impression produced by their perusal.* His verdict, too, is not always strictly in accor-

* The last named disadvantage is, in some measure, done away by the late edition, (1844), in which all the references are given in the original. As examples of his inaccuracy, we may refer to *Vol. IV.* p. 249, where a quotation is introduced, regarding the *trisagion* from Ambrose. In the notes it is certified, that there is no passage in Ambrose to the effect quoted. At p. 202, Bingham writes of Lucian; "describing 'his coming into a religious assembly, he says, 'he heard that prayer, which began 'with the Father, and ended with the hymn of many names.'" Now in the original, the hymn is not referred to as a part of the prayer at all. Triphon, in the supposed Dialogue, jocularly bids Critias have done with the tales of the Christians' fasting, &c. 'and begin with the prayer from the Father, adding, at the end of it, the hymn with 'many names.' *ὡστε ἔασον τούτους, τὴν εὐχὴν ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἀρχάμενος, καὶ τὴν πολυωνυμὸν ὁδὴν εἰς τέλος ἐπιθεῖς.* But the dialogue itself is spurious, and thought by critics to belong to the third, or the beginning of the fourth, century. Vide Lardner's Works, vol. vii. pp. 286-288. It is adduced by Bingham, as belonging to the early part of the second century.

Again, at p. 201, of the same volume, Bingham speaks of the alternate mode of singing introduced, and of the hymns composed, by Ignatius; and adds, "It is not improbable but that Ignatius, as he made hymns, so he might compose a whole form of prayer for the use of his own church, as was customary for Bishops to do in those days. To which custom he seems to refer in his epistle to the Magnesians, when he

dance with the evidence; and from witnesses of doubtful, and sometimes irrelevant language, he occasionally deduces confident, and even triumphant, conclusions. We shall at present confine ourselves to his general theory.

His theory, then, is this, that in the beginning,

"Prayers, immediately dictated by the Spirit, made up a part of the ordinary service. . . . When the extraordinary Spirit of prophecy ceased, then the rulers of the Church supplied the want by proper forms of their own composition, according to Christian prudence and discretion. And this seems to have been the true original of liturgies, or stated forms of divine service."

Such supposed forms he considers "that every bishop had at first the privilege and power to compose and order," under the independent authority, which the bishops then severally possessed. And "this privilege to frame their own liturgies," he thinks they retained for several ages. It is sufficient upon this to remark, that the only instances, he adduces in proof, are of date long subsequent to the primitive age, and throw no light whatever upon the *first rise* of stated forms of prayer.

To account for the subsequent uniformity of the various liturgies, which each Bishop had thus originally framed for himself, Bingham states that

"In after ages, bishops agreed by consent to conform their liturgy to the model of the Metropolitcal Church of the Province to which they belonged. And when the Roman Empire began to be canonized, and divided into different Kingdoms, then came in the use of national liturgies, whose use was commensurate to the bounds and limits of their respective nations and Kingdoms."—*Book xiii.* 5. § 2.

But all the councils, to which he refers in proof of this assertion belong to the 6th century.* In fact, he admits that the rudiments of this discipline were *first* laid in the French Churches; for in the Council of Agde, a canon was made about the year 506, that one and the same order should be

bids them 'do nothing without the bishops and the presbyters; nor attempt any thing seemingly agreeable to their private fancies; but when they met together to have one prayer and supplication; which not only forbids them to break out and divide into schisms and separate assemblies, but also enjoins them to conform to the order of prayers agreed upon by the bishop and presbyters of the church.' It needs not to be stated that the words, which we have underlined, are a complete assumption of the question, which he has undertaken in this chapter to prove: and that he has not here, or elsewhere, advanced a tittle of actual evidence to establish the custom, he so quietly refers to, as current in those days! Farther, he has not quoted the entire passage from Ignatius, but stops short in the middle of the sentence, thus seriously affecting the meaning; and the foot note quotation follows the defect. The original and complete passage is, *Μηδὲ πειρασθε ἑυδογον τι φανεσθαι ἰδιᾷ ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ μία προσευχή, μία δέησις, εἰς νοῦς, μία ἔλπις, ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ἐν τῇ χαρᾷ τῇ ἀμώμῃ. Εἰς ἑστὶν Ἰησοῦς, κ. τ. λ.* Ep. ad Mag. VII. We can see no reasonable trace here whatever of "an order of prayers agreed upon" &c. The whole context refers to concord, unity, and love: the Magnesians were to avoid dissensions, and be at one, in their prayer, sentiments, hope, &c.

* Agde: A. D. 506. Gironde; 517. Braga; 573.

'equally observed in all Churches of the Province, in all parts of divine service." But we shall immediately prove that a very considerable uniformity prevailed in the 4th century; and for this, Bingham accounts just as little as he does for the first rise of liturgies.

There is another treatise, however, of a far more philosophical and critical character, which handles this subject in a really scientific and conclusive manner. We allude to the "Dissertation on primitive liturgies," prefixed, by the Rev. William Palmer, to his *Antiquities of the English Ritual*. The plan of this author is eminently simple and original. It is that of ascending, from present liturgies and known facts, up the stream of time, and noticing every allusion met with, in analytic and backward progress, with reference to the country and Ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the writer. Bingham commences at the primitive age with an assumed position, which he brings regularly down with him: Palmer assumes nothing but what is known and extant, and therefore proceeds on his argument with sure steps.

At the outset, he rejects the assumption of an original and common type.

"It seems to have been assumed by the learned, that there was originally some Apostolic form of liturgy in the Christian Church, to which all the monuments of ancient liturgies, and the notices, which the Fathers supply, might be reduced. Were this hypothesis supported by facts, it would be very valuable. But the truth is, there are several different forms of liturgy now in existence, which, as far as we can perceive, have been different from each other from the most remote period. And with regard to the propriety of the Apostles instituting one liturgy throughout the world, it may be observed, that it is quite sufficient to suppose that all liturgies originally agreed in containing every thing that was necessary for the due celebration of the Eucharist; but that they adopted exactly the same order, or received every where the same rites, is a supposition equally unnecessary and groundless." *Vol. I., Introd., p. 6.*

Instead therefore of "attempting to reduce all the liturgies and notices of the Fathers to one common original, he has rather sought for the original by a reference to acknowledged facts." Beginning with existing monuments, he traces them backwards. Thus taking the liturgy of a country, he enquires whether there be any trace of a different form having existed before it; and upon the liturgy, which, *primâ facie*, is seen to be the prescriptive rite, he then brings to bear all the notices of public worship found in the Fathers of *that country*, or its

immediate neighbourhood. It will be easily perceived, that a species of co-incidental proof may thus be obtained, at once conclusive and unexpected.

We shall now attempt to place before the reader an illustration of this system of reasoning. It must be premised that the term *liturgy* is to be taken throughout Palmer's Work "in that restricted sense, which it generally bears in the writings of the ancients; as denoting *the service used in the celebration of the Eucharist*." In other words, it means the sacramental ritual, to the exclusion of all ante-communion prayers and acts of worship. The catechumenical service must always be regarded as performed, and the catechumens, &c. dismissed, before its commencement. Farther, the word, even in this sense, has an equivocal meaning: as applied to later times it signifies an *embodied and recorded composition*; but in the earlier ages, where conjecture takes the place of evidence, it means simply *the order of the parts, and main substance, or tendency, of the chief prayers*.*

The "liturgy of the Patriarchate of Antioch," is selected for the proposed illustration, because the process is far more complete, and the amount of early authorities incomparably more numerous and detailed, than in any other. Judæa, Mesopotamia, Syria, and part of Asia Minor, were included in this Patriarchate. A ritual called "the liturgy of St. James," is found to prevail in this tract at the present day, both among the Monophysites and the Orthodox;† that of the former being Syriac, of the latter Greek. These existing monuments are compared together, and that of the Orthodox Church is found slightly to vary in having admitted several rites and anthems peculiar to the Constantinopolitan Church; and this is exactly in accordance with what we should *à priori* expect, from the relative position of the two Churches. There are besides other prayers, &c., peculiar to the Orthodox liturgy, supposed to have been introduced by the Orthodox patriarch of Jerusalem. All these alterations in the original rite occurred before the tenth century, because they are found as they now stand, in an ancient MS., at least of that date; and they are subsequent to the fifth century, as we shall presently see.

* Thus Palmer says,—"The liturgy may be old, though many *missæ* may be modern; nay, all the prayers now existing in the Missal may be modern, and yet the liturgy be most ancient. The number and order of the parts is that which gives us the characters of the liturgy."—*Sec. 10, Introd.*, p. 169. So a *form of liturgy, as to main order and general substance*, is often conjecturally spoken of, as ascending to the primitive age, when (it is acknowledged) no liturgies were recorded.

† That is, the Jacobites, or Eutychians, and the Melchites; among the latter, however, the commanding influence of the Greek, or Constantinopolitan, Church has introduced its own liturgy: and the liturgy of St. James is now read only on the anniversary of that Apostle.

Making allowances for these and other minor differences, it is astonishing how closely the Monophysite and Orthodox texts, thus extant and in actual use, agree together.* The following is the collation, which, to shew the force of the argument, is given nearly entire from Palmer.

After the kiss of peace, "these liturgies begin the *Anaphora*,† with the benediction,—'the love of God, &c.—be with you all.' Then follow the address—*Sursum Corda*, &c.,‡ and a preface of thanksgiving; then the hymn *Tersanctus*,§ followed by a continuation of the thanksgiving; then a commemoration of our Saviour's deeds and words at the Last Supper; a verbal oblation; and a prayer for the Holy Ghost to sanctify the elements into the Sacraments of Christ's body and blood. Whoever compares these parts of the Orthodox and Monophysite liturgies together, will be surprised at their minute agreement in sentiment and expression, when he considers the centuries that have elapsed since the separation of the Orthodox and the Monophysites. After this, the solemn prayers for all estates of men, and for all things, succeed. The order of these prayers is a little different in these two liturgies, but their substance and the words of the petitions generally agree..... The difference, as to expressions, is chiefly caused by a greater fulness and variety of epithet in one, than in the other.

"After the prayers and commemorations follow a salutation, and a bidding prayer by the Deacon||: then a collect introductory to the Lord's Prayer; then the Lord's Prayer, and a benediction. After this comes the form of address, *ta ánya tou ágiou*"—followed by the people's confession of the unity of the Holy Trinity; then "the bread is broken with some rites, which are not probably of any primitive antiquity, and communion takes place. After which come a prayer of thanksgiving, and

* The Monophysite text for the main body of the liturgy is stated to be "perfectly ascertained, not only by means of MSS. of various ages, but by ancient commentaries, which all accord with it."—*Introd.*, p. 21.

† The oriental name for the "Mystical Liturgy," or Communion Ritual.

‡ That is—"Lift up your hearts," and the invariable response—"we lift them," &c.—after which follows "Let us give thanks," with its invariable appendage—"it is meet so to do."

§ That is—"Holy, holy, holy." This response, introduced by the whole body of the faithful, at an appropriate break in the thanksgiving, distinguishes all the early liturgies. It was always prefaced in the thanksgiving by a reference to the cherubim, and seraphim, and myriads of heavenly intelligences, in company with whom the faithful upon earth join in song. The allusions to this practice are very common, and very early, among Christian writers—*Vide Etheridge's Syrian Churches*, pp. 208 and 227; and *Bingham*, Vol. V. p. 68.

|| That is—"Peace be with you," and the invariable response—"and with thy spirit."

' a benediction of the people. The orthodox liturgy gives ' these last forms at greater length than the Monophysite.*—*Vol. I., Introd., Sec. 1, pp. 27—29.*

Such being the conformity between the existing liturgies, actually used by two distinct and opposed Churches, it is next proved, by various testimony reaching back to the seventh century, that the liturgy, used by each, has from that early period been denominated the liturgy of St. James.

Now, the Monophysites derive their origin from Eutyches, whose errors were condemned by the Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451 : and ever since, a complete separation has obtained betwixt them and the Orthodox. Each regards the other as heretical, and shuns the slightest communion with, or acknowledgement of, them, as an ecclesiastical body. Whatever is common to both now must therefore, by strong presumption, have been equally common before the middle of the fifth century.

The "order, substance, and expressions" of both liturgies having already been proved to be throughout "almost exactly the same," it is impossible to refuse assigning them a common origin, earlier than the separation of the two bodies, or to deny "that they furnish sufficient means for ascertaining all the ' substance, and many of the expressions, which were used in ' the solemn *Anaphora* of the Patriarchates of Antioch and ' Jerusalem, before the Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451." The common *title*, too, we may infer, is older than that Council; and this Apostolic appellation warrants us in inferring, not only that a common liturgy lies at the point of divergence, but that it was "considered even at that time to be very ancient, and ' therefore must really have been long used in the Church."

Now commences the last step. The scattered and incidental notices of early writers in the vicinity are brought to bear upon the identity of the ancient service of the Church with that now used, both as to order and substance.

Theodoret, Bishop of Cyprus, early in the fifth century, quotes the benediction, and adds—"This is the beginning of the mystical liturgy in all Churches."

Jerome specifies an expression, now extant in the liturgy, as daily repeated by the priests.† He also quotes the Lord's Prayer, as every day recited in the (commemorative) sacrifice.

Chrysostom makes frequent reference to the service and dismissal of the catechumens; after which he refers to a prayer of the faithful, and the

* The force of this coincidence of order, substance, and generally of expression, will be much more fully appreciated by comparing this description with the translation of "St. James' Liturgy," in *Etheridge's Syrian Churches*, pp. 203—227.

† "Sacerdotum quotidie ora concelebrant, *ὁ μόνος ἀναμάρτητος*, quod in lingua nostra dicitur, 'qui solus est sine peccato,'—*Lib. ii., adv. Pelag.*

kiss of peace. "He mentions the benediction; the address 'Sursum Corda, &c.'; the call to thanksgiving, and the usual response 'it is just and right, &c.'; the solemn thanksgiving, which he describes in such terms as leave no doubt of its identity with that of the Monophysite and Orthodox liturgies of St. James: the hymn *Tersanctus*." The commemorative words of our Saviour are also hinted at, and the invocation of the Holy Spirit is distinctly referred to.* "He speaks plainly of the general prayers, which follow..... He mentions the use of the Lord's Prayer, the form *va dyia rois ayiois*, the breaking of bread, and the communion." pp. 30—34.

Still earlier, *Ephrem Syrus*, of Edessa, though he speaks mystically on account of the secrecy of the liturgy, yet "plainly refers to the order of the solemn prayer used in the consecration of the Eucharist. He speaks of the oblation; then of the prayer of deprecation and repentance of evil; then of the invocation of the Holy Spirit to sanctify the gifts; then of the prayer of the priest for all things; then of the Communion. He plainly refers to the thanksgiving, and the hymn "*Tersanctus*."

Oyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, about the middle of the fourth century, gives a detailed account of the service, "with a minuteness which is most satisfactory, and which establishes in a remarkable manner, the antiquity of St. James's liturgy." An outline of his description will be found in the Schedule of liturgies.

The same may be said of the complete "Clementine liturgy," given in the 8th Book of the *Apostolical Constitutions*,† the order of which will also appear from the Schedule.

The process is now complete.‡ The "liturgy of St. James," in its main features, has been traced up to the sacramental service, in common and time established use, in the middle of the fourth century. The order of service, the general tendency of the several prayers, &c., many of the identical expressions with their context, as used in that early age throughout Syria, correspond in inimitable coincidence and accuracy with the present liturgy. No reasonable man can withhold the conclusion, that in the main they are one and the same.

The subject cannot be pursued farther in detail. We shall confine ourselves to general results.

Following out in each case the above process, Mr. Palmer

* A paucity of reference to this part of the service is attributed to the secrecy, with which it was kept from the world. And the reason is valid during the fourth century at least.

† The "Apostolical Constitutions" are quoted by Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, A. D. 368: but it is very improbable that the work then existed in its present state; and the 8th Book, which contains the liturgy, may not have been written till the fifth century.—Vide Ch. LXXXV. of *Lardner's credibility of Gosp. Hist.* The liturgy, given in the *Constitutions*, bears the name of Clement of Rome; but it coincides with the substance and order of the Oriental, not of the Roman, liturgy. Palmer thinks that it "ought not to be regarded as an authentic copy of the liturgy of any Church..... In its order, substance, and many of its expressions, it is identical with that of St. James; but the author has evidently permitted his learning and devotion to enrich the common formularies with numerous ideas full of piety and beauty." It was apparently one of the attempts, in those days common, of improving the liturgies, which had lately begun to assume a recorded form. Palmer argues for the antiquity of this liturgy from the absence of the Lord's Prayer, which was evidently used universally in the fourth century. The circumstance is strange, but does not appear to prove any antiquity: since this prayer, from its divine institution, must be presumed to have entered into the composition of the very earliest recorded liturgies.

‡ Mr. Palmer attempts to carry up the proof a step higher—viz., by *Justin Martyr*—to the second century. But the notices of Christian service, given by that writer, are only such generalities, as we might expect regarding any service founded on our Lord's institution, in which the verbal detail was not yet fixed, or recorded.

classifies all liturgies, of which we have any remains or notices, into four great families, the differences between which, he apparently ascribes to variety in the primitive type, set up as he supposes, by the Apostles, or in the Apostolical age.

I. The ORIENTAL LITURGY. Under this head come the liturgies of Antioch, Cæsarea, and Constantinople. The first we have considered at large. The second bears the name of Basil, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, who composed it A. D. 370 or 380; and the third (now used in the Greek Church) differs from Basil's liturgy only in "a greater fulness of idea in one than in the other, but in nothing else."

The liturgy of Basil exists in three texts—Greek, Syriac and Coptic. The latter is used by the Monophysites of Egypt, and is considered to be of antiquity beyond the Council of Chalcedon. There are hardly any early notices of this liturgy beyond the historical fact that Basil was its author. Palmer considers it to be of great importance.

"In one respect this liturgy must be considered as the most valuable that we possess. We can trace back the words and expressions to about the year 370 or 380. This is not the case with any other liturgy. The expressions of all other liturgies, we cannot certainly trace, *in general*, beyond the fifth century."—*Section 2, p. 67.*

The order of the *Armenian* liturgy corresponds exactly with that of Basil. It is supposed to have been derived from Cæsarea by Gregory the Illuminator, who founded most of the Armenian Churches in the beginning of the fourth century. This supposition (it can be called nothing more) affords, according to Mr. Palmer, "a very strong presumption that the order and substance of Basil's liturgy prevailed in the exarchate of Cæsarea long before his time."—*Appendix, p. 191.*

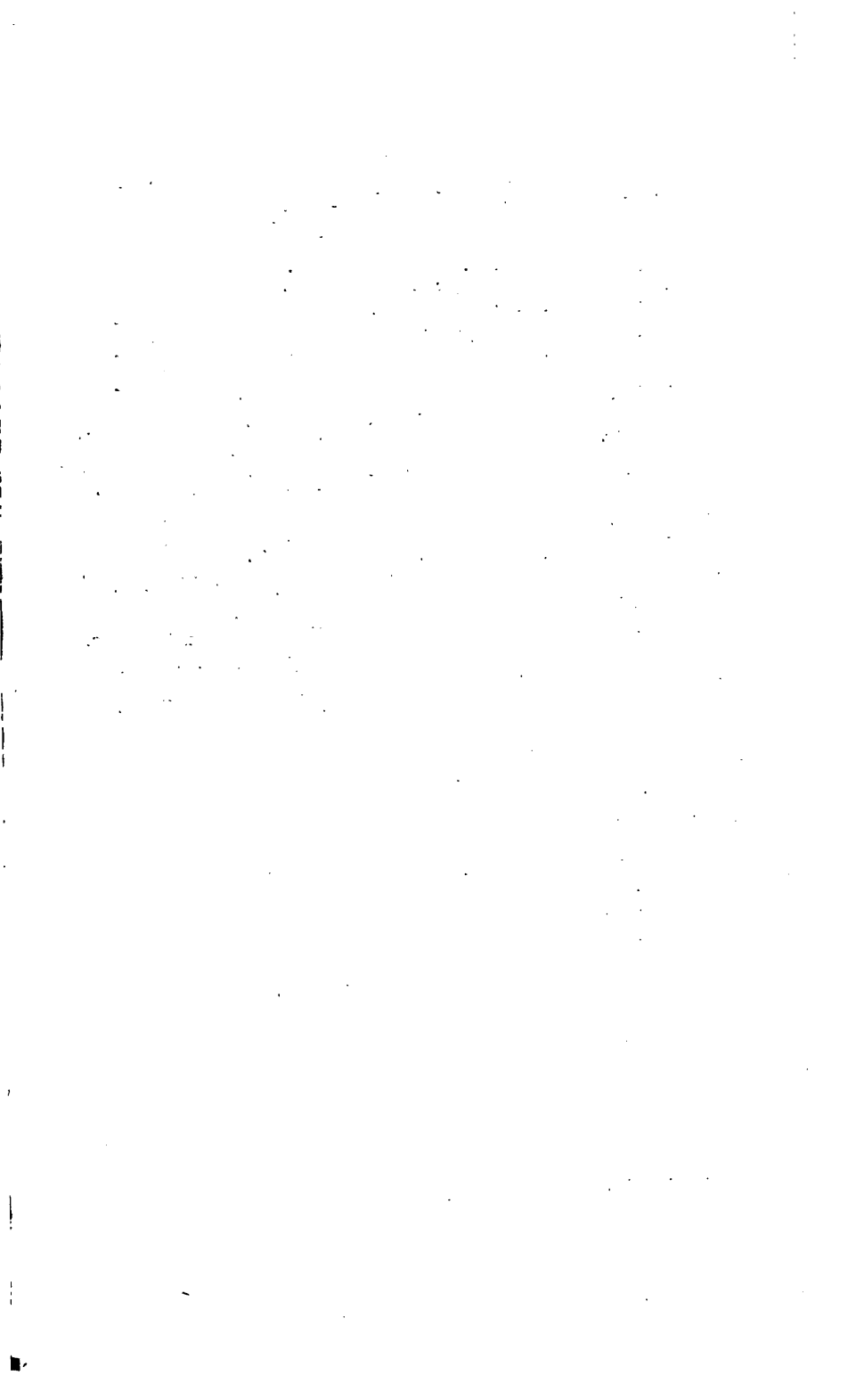
II. The ALEXANDRIAN LITURGY. The Coptic liturgy of the Alexandrian Cyril used by the Monophysites, is considered to be the ancient rite of Alexandria. It coincides in a remarkable manner with "the liturgy of the Ethiopians" and with the Greek Orthodox "liturgy of St. Mark." These three differ from all other liturgies, in the position of the prayers for all states.* Very minute and satisfactory allusions to the order, and expressions occurring therein, are quoted from Isidore, Cyril Alexandrinus, Athanasius, Dionysius, and Origen.

III. The ROMAN LITURGY is traced by some dubious notices up to the time of Gregory, Vigilius, and Gelasius.† Leo the Great, (A. D. 451) is said to have added "to the Canon certain words;" and it is therefore considered to be older than his time. There exist in the authentic writings of the primitive ages no collateral notices whatever of the liturgy of Rome. The "Ambrosian liturgy" of Milan is supposed to have been an early offshoot from the Roman, and retains the original position of the Lord's Prayer, which was altered by Gregory.‡ There are some slight allusions to this ritual in the works of Ambrose. The Roman rite is distinguished by the absence of any invocation, and by the position of the kiss of peace at the close of the service.

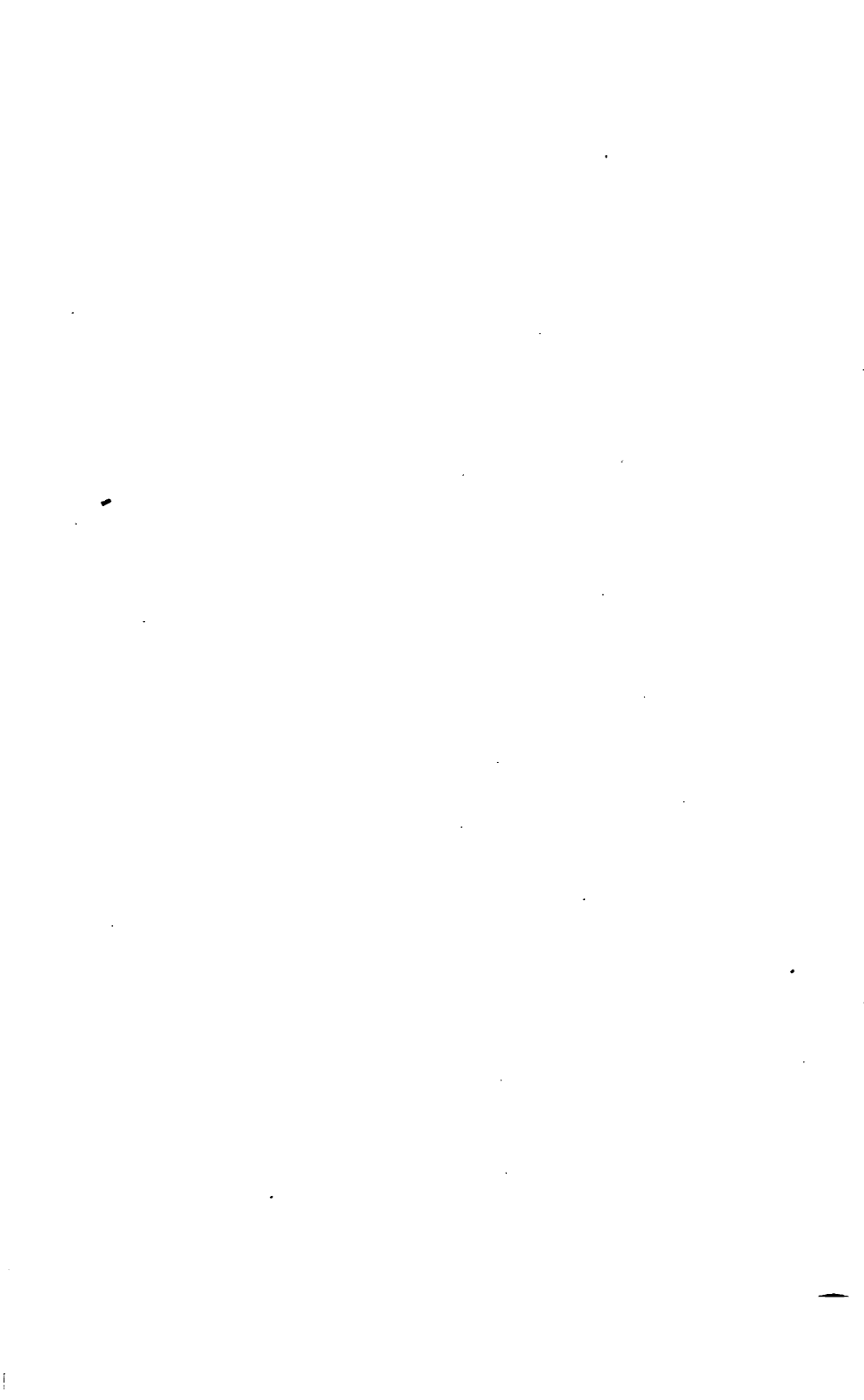
The *liturgy of Africa*, of which no remains have been left from the ravages of the Moslems, is classed by Palmer with the Roman, because, differing from all others, it agrees with it, in placing the kiss of peace at the conclusion of the Eucharist. It, however, fraternizes with the Oriental form, in having an invocation of the Holy Spirit. Many incidental notices, sufficient to give a clear outline of this liturgy, are gleaned from the African Fathers, viz. Fulgentius, Augustine, Optatus, Cyprian, and Tertullian.

IV. The GALLICAN LITURGY appears to have been distinguished by

* Vide Schedule. † Viz., to the years 600, 538, and 492, A. D. ‡ Vide Schedule.







I.—ORIENTAL LITURGY.

Liturgy of St. James, as extant.	Liturgy of Basil, Con- stantinopolitan.	Armenian Liturgy, as extant.	"Clementine Litur- gy," from the Apos- tolic Constitutions.	Cyril- lic
Prayers of the Faith- ful. _____	Three prayers of the Faithful. _____	Scripture, &c. _____	Lessons. _____	Was by
Salutation, and Kiss OF PEACE. _____	Kiss OF PEACE. _____	Dismissal of cate- chumens. _____	Sermon. _____	Kiss
Benediction. _____	Benediction. _____	Kiss OF PEACE. _____	Prayers of catechu- mens, penitents, &c. _____	Sur
Sursum Corda, &c. _____	Sursum Corda, &c. _____	Benediction. _____	Prayer of the Faith- ful. _____	Tha T
Thanksgiving. _____	Thanksgiving. _____	Sursum Corda, &c. _____	Kiss OF PEACE. _____	Inv G
TERSANCTUS. _____	TERSANCTUS. _____	Thanksgiving. _____	Ablution of hands. _____	PR
Contn. of thanks- giving. _____	Contn. of thanks- giving. _____	TERSANCTUS. _____	Benediction. _____	AT oc de
WORDS OF INSTITU- TION. _____	WORDS OF INSTITU- TION. _____	Contn. of thanks- giving. _____	Sursum Corda, &c. _____	Lo
Verbal Oblation. _____	Verbal Oblation. _____	WORDS OF INSTITU- TION. _____	Thanksgiving. _____	TH
Invocation of Holy Ghost. _____	Invocation of Holy Ghost. _____	Oblation of elements. _____	TERSANCTUS. _____	H d
PRAYERS FOR ALL ES- TATES, and comme- moration of living and dead. _____	PRAYERS FOR ALL MEN AND THINGS. _____	Invocation of Holy Ghost. _____	Contn. of thanks- giving. _____	Cor G &
Bidding prayer by Deacon. _____	LORD'S PRAYER. _____	PRAYERS FOR ALL MEN AND THINGS. _____	WORDS OF INSTITU- TION. _____	Th
LORD'S PRAYER. _____	Benediction. _____	LORD'S PRAYER. _____	Verbal Oblation. _____	pr cus tine
τα ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.	FRACTION of the bread. _____	Benediction. _____	Invocation of Holy Ghost. _____	
THE HOLY TO THE HOLY, and response of unity. _____	THE HOLY TO THE HOLY. _____	THE HOLY TO THE HOLY. _____	PRAYERS FOR ALL MEN AND THINGS. _____	
FRACTION of the bread. _____	Communion. _____	FRACTION. _____	Benediction. _____	
Communion. _____	Thanksgiving. _____	Communion. _____	THE HOLY TO THE HOLY, and response of unity. _____	
Prayer of thanks- giving. _____		Thanksgiving. _____	Communion. _____	
Blessing. _____			Thanksgiving. _____	
			Benediction. _____	

Sursum Corda, "Lift up your hearts," involves the reply—"We lift them up, &c.;"
The Salutation—"Peace be with you," with the reply—"and with thy spirit"—genera-
The Words of institution generally embraced also a recital of our Saviour's acts, as in
The Tersanctus is the Seraphical hymn, "Holy, holy, holy."

the position of the prayer for the living and departed Saints, which here preceded the opening kiss of peace. It seems also doubtful whether it contained any prayer for the catechumens, or any prefatory prayer of the faithful; in place of these, the deacon, probably in the form of a litany, made prayers for the people, which were summed up by the priest. The *liturgy of Spain* is thought to have corresponded with, and been derived from, the practice of France.

By a train of fine-drawn and, to our apprehension, inconclusive reasoning, the Gallican is traced to a supposed liturgy of Ephesus: "if this be so," adds Mr. Palmer, "we may feel almost certain that the Gallican liturgy was derived from a period of Apostolical antiquity." There are no early authorities, or rational proof, to support this assumption.

It is conjectured that the early liturgy of Britain resembled the Gallican. But in the fifth century the Roman ritual gained prevalence in Ireland; and, in the sixth or seventh century, the Sacramentary of Gregory was introduced into Britain also.

Now, to the main conclusions of Mr. Palmer, deduced by the process which we have thus briefly sketched, we do not hesitate to give in our adherence. The great result is this, that a fixed order of sacramentary service is traced back to the fourth century; and four grand variations are established, as prevailing in as many different quarters of the Roman Empire. The full force of these deductions will be best learned by an examination of the accompanying Schedule, which has been prepared chiefly from the details presented in Mr. Palmer's book. The English ritual is added to facilitate comparison. The Nestorian liturgy, which Mr. Palmer passes slightly over,* is also inserted.

* Vide Appendix to Vol. I., p. 194. A translation of the entire Nestorian liturgy is given by Etheridge, in his *Syrian Churches*, p. 221. From the Schedule it will be observed that the Nestorian differs from other liturgies in placing the prayer for all men between the thanksgiving and invocation. Renandot thinks that this is the rite, which was current in Mesopotamia, before the rise of Nestorianism. But Palmer discards this opinion, because Ephrem Syrus, "who lived at Edessa, the very centre of Apostolical preaching," in the passage already quoted, speaks of the general prayer, as following the invocation of the Holy Ghost. But his expressions are very general. He notices prayers (*pro servis orat Dominum, &c.*) as preceding the invocation, which might answer to the Nestorian petitions, considered by Palmer out of place: and the prayer after the invocation is also spoken of, in such general terms (*orationem pro cunctis faciente*), as might apply to the prayer for the peace of the whole world, the Church, empire, &c., and for the departed, which actually follows the invocation. This last-mentioned prayer agrees with the commencement of the general prayers, referred to by Cyril, much more closely than does the "liturgy of St. James." The position of this prayer moreover might not have been essential; it might have been customary partly before, and partly after, the invocation.

It will be observed from the Schedule that this liturgy possesses much in common with the Monophysite and Orthodox liturgies; it also coincides in some remarkable particulars with the Alexandrian liturgy; but with the Churches practising these rites, the Nestorians have, from the fifth century, held no communion. How could they then, upon Mr. Palmer's own oft-repeated grounds, have derived such common material from Churches, whose fellowship they abjured? The Nestorian Church is, besides, as ancient and as venerable as the Monophysite or Orthodox, and has been more independent, and at some periods more extensive. She was at one time a burning and shining example of Missionary zeal to the Church at large. And we cannot help assigning a position to her liturgy as honourable and ancient, as to that of the Monophysites:

But the clear evidence, on which these conclusions are founded, does not certainly go back beyond the middle of the fourth century. As you ascend higher, the incidental notices of acts or expressions belonging to the liturgy, such as we find in Chrysostom or Cyril, become fewer, and at length absolutely cease. Allusion and description are no longer detailed, but merge into what is strictly general. In a foot note, we have thrown together *all* the references we can find, having any bearing on the use of forms of prayer, prior to the time of Cyril of Jerusalem; and it will be observed that they give no rational evidence whatever of the general use of a uniform model of prayer reduced to words.* We have been particular

* (1.) *Athanasius* has few allusions to forms: he mentions the symphony of the people's one voice (implying some sort of stated prayer): their saying "Amen;" and their praying for the Emperor. He speaks of the oblation (*προσφορά*) being offered in the absence of the catechumens.

(2.) *Cornelius*, Bishop of Rome, (A. D. 250) as quoted by Eusebius, refers to the *Amen*, pronounced by the communicant on receiving the bread.

(3.) *Dionysius* of Alexandria (A. D. 250) similarly quoted objects to baptizing a man, after he had long been a communicant, "heard the thanksgiving, and added aloud his *Amen*, stood by the table, and stretched out his hands to receive the sacred food."

(4.) *Cyprian* (250) says that "before prayer the priest prepared the minds of the brethren by the prefatory "*Sursum Corda*," to which the people replied "*Hebemus ad Dominum*," &c.

He mentions the commemoration of the living and the dead; and he notices the recitation of our Saviour's sacramental words at the communion.—*Epist ad Cæcil*.

(5.) *Firmilian* of Cæsarea, in a letter to Cyprian, speaks of a woman, who administered the sacraments, and consecrated the bread "invocatione non contemptibili," and pretended "Eucharistiam facere, et Sacrificium Domino, non sine sacramento solitæ predicationis, offerre." The prayers, here alluded to, were evidently fixed as to their main character and tendency, and the juncture at which they were offered up; but whether they were fixed and recorded, as to *verbal* expression, is uncertain; the epithet given to the invocation argues rather for its being unfixed.

(6.) *Origen* mentions the kiss of peace, as founded on *Rom. xvi. 16*, &c.; the Eucharistal thanksgiving, and the sanctifying effect of that and prayer upon the elements; he also "appears to quote from the prayers," (*πολλάκις ἐν ταῖς ἐυχαῖς λέγομεν, Θεὲ παντοκράτορ, τὴν μερίδα ἡμῖν μετα τῶν προφητῶν δὸς. κ. τ. λ.*); and something of the kind is still found in the African liturgy. How far we are to understand that the forms alluded to were fixed, and uniformly and widely adopted, it is difficult to say.

(7.) *Clemens Alexandrinus*, early in the third century, speaks of the "congregation, prostrate at their prayers, having as it were a common voice, and one opinion." Unless this be metaphorical, prayers, fixed to some extent at least, are implied.

(8.) *Tertullian* mentions the kiss of peace "after prayer had with the brethren;" alludes to the use of the "Tersanctus;" the response "Amen," and ἀπ' αἰῶνος εἰς αἰῶνας. He states also that the emperors and public officers were remembered in their prayers, and adds, "denique sine monitore, quia de pectore, oremus."

(9.) *Irenæus*, in the end of the 2nd century, says that the earthly bread after receiving τὴν ἐπικλήσιν τοῦ Θεοῦ, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist; and refers to the expression εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, as said at the Eucharist, or thanksgiving, probably at its usual termination.

(10.) *Justin Martyr*, in the middle of the 2nd century specifies prayers common to the assembled Church (*κοινὰς ἐυχὰς*) after baptism: describes the assemblies on Sunday; the reading of the Apostles and prophets; the president's sermon founded thereon: and finally ἐπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν. The sacramental service is thus narrated: "Having ceased from prayer, they kissed each other: then bread and the cup are brought to the president of the brethren; and he, receiving them, offers praise and glory to the Father of all through the name of the Son and the Holy Spirit: a thanksgiving for these benefits is

in making this digest (as far as our authorities enable us) perfect, because the remainder of our argument depends mainly upon it.

Supposing, then, that in the early ages of the Church, there was *no* embodiment of prayer in a written form, how and whence did the liturgies arise, which, we have seen reason to believe, were recorded commonly, and with much general uniformity, before the close of the fourth century? Palmer's theory is this, that where a liturgy is noticed as prevalent, we must, from its very prevalence, regard it as already of long introduction; and that the concurrent uniformity of several such liturgies, as traced up to the fourth century, warrants us in ascribing the origin of their order and substance to the most primitive antiquity; as, for instance, in the Alexandrian liturgy, "to the instructions and appointment of the blessed Evangelist Mark." Thus in his Introduction:—

"The liberty, which every Christian Church plainly had and exercised in the way of improving its formularies, confirms the antiquity of the four great liturgies; for where this liberty existed, it could scarcely have been anything but reverence for the Apostolical source, from which the original liturgies were derived, that prevented an infinite variety of formularies, and preserved the substantial uniformity, which we find to have prevailed in vast districts of the primitive Church."—p. 8. So with respect to the different branches of the Oriental family; "the uniformity between these liturgies, as extant in the fourth or fifth century, is such as bespeaks a common origin. Their diversity is such as to prove the *remoteness* of the period, at which they originated. To what remote period can we refer, as exhibiting a perfect general uniformity of liturgy, except to the Apostolic age?"—*Sec. 3, p. 81.*

Nevertheless Mr. Palmer repeatedly holds* that "the primitive liturgies were not committed to writing at first, but to memory," (*pp. 9 and 121*;) and he is only "*strongly inclined to think* that St. James's liturgy was already committed to writing in the time of Cyril, or *before the middle of the fourth century.*" The Apostolical element, then, of whatever nature, was originally committed to memory, and by *memory alone* was it perpetuated. Mr. Palmer no where descends to discuss what

made at great length (*επι πολυ*); which, as well as the prayers, being ended, all the people say "*Amen.*" He repeats this, without any addition: *και ως προεφημεν, παυσαμενων ημων της ευχης, αργος προσφερεται... και ο προσεστως ευχας ομοιως και ευχαριστιας δση δυναμις αυτω αναπεμπει, και ο λαος επευφημει, λεγων το 'Αμην.* He also speaks of the food being blessed, *δι ευχης λογου*, which Palmer refers to the words of our Lord (*vol. i., p. 42.*).

(11.) *Pliny* (107 A. D.) speaks of the Christians singing a hymn alternately to Christ, as God; which is quoted by Bingham, as bearing on the subject; but hymnody is perfectly consonant with the use of unfixed prayers. We have already mentioned Bingham's references to *Lucian* and *Ignatius* as untenable.

* The same view is held by Bingham and by Renandot—*Vide Bingham, Book xiii., Ch. 5, s. 3.*

could have been the nature or extent of that Apostolical authority, or liturgical institution, which maintained itself so long essentially intact in the memory of the Church, and with such rare tenacity of its proper and original dress, that when, after centuries it began generally to be recorded, the result was everywhere such extraordinary uniformity. Such faithfulness might in vain be expected from the treacherous memory of man.

In what then does this supposed Apostolical element consist? It will be observed that Mr. Palmer's expressions on this point are vague, indecisive, and capable of the most elastic interpretation. They carefully exclude particulars; and it may be possible to construe them as referring simply to the general order and procedure in the sacramental service. The equivocal sense of the term *liturgy*, already noticed, helps forward this supposition.

And in this view, there would no doubt be a large substratum of solid truth in Mr. Palmer's theory. The liturgies composed by Basil, by Hilary, and by Cyril of Alexandria, would hardly have taken their place so quietly and generally, had they not been in accordance, either with a previously recorded liturgy, or with the groundwork of the service in current and established use.* Such groundwork, again, being in so many places common, argues that something common may be traced up to a convergent point—perhaps to the Apostolical era. Supposing then this common material to have been confined to the general order, or plan of procedure, in the sacramental worship, let us see whether there were any causes at work preparing the Church, in whole and in its several parts, spontaneously to adopt such a uniformity, as we find prevalent in the fourth century. The following appear to us important considerations of this nature.

First, then, from whatever source derived, strange and awful ideas regarding the sacramental rites began to spring up in the third century, if not earlier. The ceremony, irrespective of the faith of the recipient, possessed a mysterious efficacy. Baptism took the lead in this abuse; the *rite itself*, the “pool of regeneration,” was early talked of as wiping away sin, and a correspondingly early importance was attached to the verbal ritual accompanying it.† The Eucharist followed with willing steps:

* Thus Basil informs us that “the customs of divine service, which he had appointed, were consonant and agreeable to all the Churches of God.”

† We accordingly find that the formulas of Baptism were fixed long before those of the Eucharist. Thus Firmilian mentions that the woman, who administered the sacraments, “baptizarat multos, usitata et legitima verba interrogationis usurpans, ut nil discrepare ab ecclesiastica regula viderentur.” Much stress is also laid on the rite having thus been performed “ad imaginem veritatis” (*Epist. LXXV. Cyprian's Works*). Bingham adduces many early notices of the baptismal formulæ from Tertullian and others.

an unearthly virtue entered the elements ; they became (metaphorically at first) the body of the Lord ; and the commemorative act passed into a sacrifice offered up for the assembly, and for the whole Church. It became a most "dread," "awful," "tremendous mystery."* But what imparted this astounding character to the elements and oblation ? Evidently the consecration, or prayer of the priest, was the medium of its conveyance. No wonder, then, that a mysterious virtue began to attach to the *words* themselves ; and a deep anxiety, as to their adequateness and sufficiency, to pervade both priest and people, lest the efficacy of the sacrament should be impaired, or entirely lost, by the use of an illegitimate or informal ritual. Bishops of sanctity and learning would be looked to as the safest guides. Words used by *such* men might be adopted without any apprehension of a deficiency, that would vitiate the saving virtue. It was security even to err in company with a Cyprian, and a Gregory Thaumaturgus.† The consecrating forms, employed by such men, were imitated or reduced to writing, and came universally into use.‡ The *framework* of the sacramental liturgy already existed in the simple institution of Christ, and these written

* *Φρικώδεστατα μυστήρια*. "Most horror-inspiring rites." The contrast has been well drawn between these "terrible and astounding mysteries," and the simple "kindly soothing and gentle practice" of the early Church, by Isaac Taylor, in his *Ancient Christianity*, p. 537 : although he appears to fall back too exclusively on the celibate institution, in accounting for it.

See this subject, and its collaterals, well brought out in "Chrysostom ; a Sketch," in No. II. of Kitto's valuable *Journal of Sacred Literature*. Transubstantiation was not a formal doctrine of the Church in the fourth century, but the uneasy dread with which the *sacrifice* and *oblation* began then to be looked upon, led to the most equivocal expressions on the subject. Thus, as Jeremy Taylor remarks, Chrysostom's authority has been quoted on both sides.—*Works*, Vol. X. p. 84.

† The forms of Gregory Thaumaturgus were long closely observed in the Church of Neo-Cæsarea. Basil, speaking of the admiration in which he was held, says "for which reason they have not taken up any custom, word, or mystical rite, beside what they received from him. Inasmuch that Church appears *defective* in many respects, because they have nothing but what is *ancient* (!): for they, who have succeeded him in the government of the Churches, would admit none of those things, that have been since invented, but have kept entirely to the first institutions, as derived from him."—*Vide Lardner's Cred. Vol. VII. p. 621*. This illustrates the manner in which the liturgy grew up. Basil, endeavouring to introduce his own antiphonal mode of singing at Cæsarea, shows that they had admitted the use of *litanies*, since the time of Gregory.

‡ The following from Basil illustrates this position :—Τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἁγίου τῆς ευχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας, τίς τῶν ἁγίων ἑγγράφως ἡμῖν καταλείπειν· ὃν γὰρ δὴ τοῖς ἀρκοῦμεθα ὡς ὁ Ἀπόστολος ἢ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ἐπεμήσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπιλεγόμεν ἕτερα, ὡς μεγάλην ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ μυστήριον τὴν ἰσχύν, ἐκ τῆς ἀγράφου διδασκαλίας παραλαβόντες.—*De Spiritu Sancto*, c. 27. This seems to prove that there were, even in Basil's time, no written prayers, supposed to be of Apostolical authority. The only documents, even in that late age believed to be of primitive times, were the narratives of "the Gospel and the Apostle" (Paul). Besides the commemorative words and directions there recorded, they added "before and after, other things, as having great efficacy towards the mystery, taking them from the unwritten teaching."

formulae and prayers would now become salient points upon the framework, between which an entire recorded liturgy might easily and naturally be interwoven.

Next, the federal bond which united the early Church, and the constant communication kept up betwixt its various quarters, would produce an interchange and diffusion of the sacramental forms, when they came to be recorded. One cannot read the early Fathers, without seeing that there was a constant tendency to oneness of details throughout the Church. Cyprian's correspondence will illustrate not merely this spirit, but the mode, in which such correspondence was itself an efficient agent in producing uniformity.

The Councils of the third and fourth centuries tended directly to the same result. Witness the apparently annual synods of the third century;* the Council at Carthage (A. D. 256) regarding the baptism of heretics; that of Rome (251) against Novatian†; and the assembly at Antioch (269), to which bishops presbyters, and deacons hurried from all directions to convict Paul, "the defiler of Christ's flock."‡ Such gatherings would tend, not merely by the communion and sympathy excited among the Orthodox party, indirectly to uniformity of sentiment and of rite, but directly by the decisions then passed. Every heresy, real or supposed, and every Council denouncing such heresy, narrowed by degrees the sphere of private judgment; and the safest mode of avoiding the suspicion, or the reality of unsound doctrine, would be to adopt the practice of some approved Orthodox leader, and make use of forms of devotion sanctioned by his authority. The life-long struggle and truly heroic tenacity of Athanasius, for the finest drawn points of orthodoxy, had perhaps as much effect as anything else in setting the type of liturgical forms.§

Monasticism helped much to embody and assimilate the various forms of prayer. The spirit of the institute, as gra-

* Compare Firmilian, Bishop in Cappadocia, writing to Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage: "necessario apud nos fit, ut per singulos annos seniores et praepositi in unum conveniamus, ad disponenda ea, quae curae nostrae commissa sunt, ut, si qua graviora sunt, communi consilio dirigantur."

† At which sixty Bishops, and a greater number of Presbyters and Deacons were present, besides the district assemblies.—*Eusebius Eccl. Hist.*, vi. 43.

‡ Eusebius, after enumerating the chief bishops from various countries present at this Council, says that "the vast number of others, both presbyters and deacons, one could hardly number."—*Idem*, vii. 28.

§ The influence of Councils upon forms is well exemplified by the immediate effect of the Council of Nice in introducing generally, as an expression of belief at baptism, the creed then propounded.—*Vide Bingham, Vol. IV. p. 226.*—*B. xiii.*, 5, s. 7. An analogous influence was no doubt immediately exercised by this Council on the sacramental liturgy also, though the creed was not introduced for some time after.

phically described by the Author of "Ancient Christianity," required the continual excitement of an ever-recurring service, which thus provided for the unwholesome vacuity in the minds of multitudes of men and women, taken from the natural employment of public and domestic life. The daily and nightly prayers would soon settle down into a recorded form. The fraternities of monks and virgins, scattered over various countries, co-operated in giving a uniformity of character and detail to the services, in whose introduction they had themselves been instrumental.*

Lastly, the imperial establishment of Christianity supplied the place of an œcumenical authority.† The emperor summoned, and presided in, the General Councils of the Church. And the centralizing and formalizing influence, thus produced, must powerfully have contributed to stereotype, if not originate, general and uniform services of religion.

Now if these reasons be regarded as sufficient to account for a prevalent uniformity in detail of liturgies springing up in the fourth, or latter part of the third century, then the negative evidence, arising from the silence of previous writers, becomes irresistible proof that there existed no fixed, or recorded, liturgies at an earlier period.

Etheridge, in his *Syrian Churches*, gives a brief summary of sound reasons for "concluding that the practice of reading prayers from a MS. form was unknown in the Christian Church

* This may be illustrated from Palmer's account of the liturgy of Cæsarea. "To account for the introduction of this liturgy into Egypt is not difficult. Basil was no doubt particularly famous in Egypt, for being the great founder of the Monastic institute in Pontus and the neighbouring provinces. The Monastic rule whether of Macherites, or Cænobites, prevailed sooner and more extensively in Egypt, than perhaps any where else. And it was here, and in Syria, that Basil learnt the discipline, which on his return he established in Pontus. It is not wonderful, therefore, that his liturgy should have been gladly received in Egypt."—*Sec. 2, p. 62.*

† It does not seem probable that liturgies were introduced in Constantine's reign: but to the diligent peruser of his life, it will be evident, how readily the new element must have acted in formalizing religion. He gave a form of prayer to be used by his *heathen soldiery*.—*Eusob. Life of Const. iv., c. 19 and 20.* He called himself "a Bishop ordained by God, to overlook whatever externally related to the Church."—*Idem, c. 24.* The meetings of heretics were suppressed by him both in public and private;—involving an inquisition into the doctrine and form of worship.—*Idem, iii. 65.* He enacted that Sunday should be the special day for prayer.—*Idem, iv. 18.* He arrayed his Palace like a Church; and himself read the Scriptures, and offered up the regular prayers, *εὐχὰς ἐνθεοποιούς*.—*Idem, 17.* What sort of prayers those were, that an unbaptized person, like Constantine, could offer up (on the liturgical system), does not appear. The last mentioned is almost the only expression in his life which might refer to fixed prayers, and even that is very general. In the 36th chapter of the 4th book is a letter from Constantine, commissioning Eusebius to procure fifty copies of the sacred Scriptures for the increasing number of Churches in Constantinople, "the provision and use of which you know" to be most needful for the instruction of the Church." He gives detailed instructions as to their preparation; but he does not allude to any other sort of book, or formulary, as required for the Churches.

‘ for the first three hundred years.’ In the persecutions under Diocletian, the books of worship, used in the Churches, were demanded under pain of cruelties and torture: we read of the Scriptures, of sacramental vessels, &c. being delivered up: but there occurs not the remotest allusion to manuscript services.*

Again there is the use of expressions, such as *ὁ αἰνῶν*† with reference to the eucharistical prayer and thanksgiving, ‘ which evidently betokens an extempore effort, and precludes ‘ the idea of a defined and limited document.’†

Had the several Apostles left forms of prayer, which, preserved by memory or writing, became the types of the four great liturgies, we should unquestionably have found them referred to specially, as the production of their inspired authors, or bearing their names. The testimony of Palmer is, however, clear against such a practice.

“In my opinion, this appellation of St. Mark’s liturgy began about the end of the fourth, or beginning of the fifth century, after Basil had composed his liturgy, which appears to have been the first liturgy, that bore the name of any man. Other Churches then gave their liturgies the names of their founders. And so the Alexandrians and Egyptians gave their’s the name of ‘St. Mark,’ and they of Jerusalem and Antioch called their’s St. James’s.”—*Sec. 4, p. 93.*

Moreover, before the middle of the fourth century, no single doctrine or expression of a liturgy, is quoted by any writer in

* This argument is stated at length by Bingham. Speaking of its conclusiveness against the existence of images in the age of Diocletian, or the beginning of the fourth century, he adds, “And I think that the argument will hold as well against having their liturgies compiled into books and volumes, since it is scarce possible that such things, in difficult times, should have wholly escaped the notice and fury of their enemies.”—*B. xiii. 5, s. 3.* This considering Bingham’s views, is an important concession.

+ Justin Martyr. The expression of Tertullian “*sine monitore, quia de pectore,*” is not so conclusive; but he elsewhere states that there was no written law (*scripturam nullam invenies*) for the modes of solemnizing the Sacramental rites.—*De corona.*

† It is unnecessary to mention the absence of allusion to forms in the Acts and Epistles: for it will be acknowledged by even the most ultra-formalist, that there is no trace of the prescription of a liturgy there. In the chapter, that most bears on the subject (1st Cor. xiv.), the only indispensable requisite, insisted on by the Apostle, is that the prayer be not only “with the spirit,” but in the common tongue, and intelligible to the unlearned. It is not indeed impossible that a few simple customary forms, as “for ever and ever, Amen,” at the close of the thanksgiving; *Amen*, at the reception of the elements: *sursum corda*, and *peace be with you*, with their responses, may have been of Apostolical usage, and so perpetuated in the Church. But this is *mere supposition*: and, even if admitted, it would not follow, that they had been *laid down*, or *imposed*, by the Apostles. Indeed if one reflects on the great disease of the human mind to seize upon accidental ceremonies or forms, and turn them into talismans of saving virtue, and into religion itself; the unceremonial simplicity of the New Testament cannot be sufficiently admired. When even those simplest of simple rites, Baptism and the Lord’s Supper, have suffered so wonderful a transubstantiation; what would not the fate have been, of the most perfectly-framed liturgy drawn up by the Apostles?

proof or illustration of what they have in hand.* But mark, the moment we come to the acknowledged age of liturgical forms, we meet with a profusion of references to their substance, teaching, and words. Augustine makes repeated quotations, as we have seen, against the Pelagian heresy; Jerome quotes, with the same object; Chrysostom's works abound with such references; and subsequent Councils support their positions by open citation of liturgical authority. Now of the Fathers, previous to the era specified, we have remains of all descriptions, epistolary, didactic, allegorical, hortative, exegetical, commentary, historical; nay, there is a discussion in Cyprian as to the mode of celebrating the Lord's Supper itself, and yet no quotation from, or reference to, a liturgical service! Surely then we are entitled to conclude, that there was no prescribed form of words in current and general use before the fourth century.†

In conclusion, it must also be borne in mind, that, even in the fourth and fifth centuries, the liturgical quotations and allusions, refer almost exclusively to the *Sacramental liturgy*. But this was not the *only* service in early times.‡ Justin Martyr speaks of the prayers having *ceased*, before the communion service begun; and it is evident, that there were other occasions of public devotion besides. It is most probable that these remained unrecorded and unfixed, long after the Sacramental Liturgy had assumed a prescribed, and even recorded, shape.

From this long digression we feel warranted in returning to

* The expressions of Cyprian and Origen, formerly quoted, can hardly be viewed as exceptions; and if they were, would prove little. Forms might have been *beginning* in their times.

† A farther proof, that there were no ancient liturgies prescribed by the Church, occurs in Euseb. Eccl. Hist. B. v. ch. 28, where a late author is quoted as combating the argument that Unitarian Doctrines were held by the Apostles, and were introduced by Victor in the beginning of the third century. He does so, by appealing to the Scriptures, to writers more ancient than Victor, and to "the psalms and hymns written by the brethren from the beginning, which celebrate Christ the Word of God, by asserting his Divinity." Had there existed any liturgy in prescriptive use, it is hardly conceivable but that it would have been appealed to before any other human authority.

‡ Chrysostom, and the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, are the only parties that give detailed references to the expressions in the catechumenical service. The "small number of collects," appearing in the early liturgies, seemed to Bingham so unfit to take up the space of time reasonably allotted to public service, that he concludes much of it was occupied in the "silent prayers," (δὲ σιωπῆς.) One such mental prayer is expressly directed by the Council of Laodicea.

A circumstance full of meaning is related by Palmer regarding the Roman liturgy. At a particular point of the service, the priest said "Oremus," and the whole Church prayed in silence. "This custom of secret prayer became obsolete at Rome from no form being appointed for the purpose." In the sister liturgy of Milan, however, a collect was provided, which still continues. At Rome we have still the "Oremus," but no prayer. It is an affecting relic of secret and warm devotion now departed.—*Vol. I., pp. 128 and 129.*

An instance of silent prayer will be found in the office of "ordination of priests" in the English service.

the Indian liturgy, and putting our proposition upon the example of the early Church. By all means, let her Native Christians have the Anglican liturgy adapted to them. But to its regular and canonical use, add likewise the primitive and Apostolical practice of unfixed and unrecorded prayers; for, without these, her liturgy can never be entirely suited to the ever-changing character of the Churches of Hindustan. At the very least, let *permission* to do so be freely accorded, and let the custom be encouraged.

If this proposition be negatived, then the only remaining alternative is, as formerly explained, to adapt, alter, and add to the recorded liturgy, much more largely than would otherwise be required. The catechumens, or enquirers of the various classes, that attend our services, must be prayed for, and encouraged to pray for themselves. And the "incredulous nations" must be extensively introduced into our petitions, both as subjects of intercession, and in connection with the reflex influence they exercise upon the state and prospects of the Church itself. All this we have shown to be imperatively required: and regarding all this, the English liturgy presents a vacant blank.

Throughout this article, we have expressed ourselves freely regarding the English liturgy. But we think nevertheless that England owes to it a weighty debt of gratitude.

A liturgy has necessarily a conservative influence; and where the ritual is sound and evangelical, it is conservative of the gospel itself. Had Germany possessed the liturgy of England, we should probably not now have had to mourn over her rationalism. Sound doctrine may, no doubt, as in Scotland, be preserved by an unliturgical "Confession of Faith;" but the actual embodiment of doctrine in the devotional services of the Church *ought*, at least, to perform this office in a warmer and more influentially pervading manner.

A liturgy is also conservative of an approved *order* and *mode* of public devotion. It continually holds forth to imitation a model, in which every material constituent of public worship ought to hold its proper place. Where there is no prescribed form whatever, the several components of confession and deprecation, thanksgiving, supplication, and intercession, may be omitted, or their proportion marred: and this cannot well be provided against by any bare canons, or rules. The spiritual mind is no doubt, after all, the best meter and regulator: but spirituality and judgment cannot invariably be looked for in the minister. Exclusive extemporism may also run to extremes of fanaticism, or presumptuous address: and here again, a liturgy should prove beneficial as a model of *style*.

Lastly, the liturgy invariably presents some material for the devotional mind. The extempore system is entirely dependent on the ability of the minister: and where his capacity, intellectual or spiritual, is deficient, there always exists the possibility of an inadequate presentation of devotional matter.

But there is a danger of conservative influence passing into absolutism. And such we conceive to be the tendency of formal services, pursued to the entire exclusion of voluntary prayer.

The exclusive adherence to written forms of prayer generates formality; and the unvarying repetition of the same expressions encourages indifference. The confinement of prayer *entirely* to the recitation of forms from a book has a tendency to repress the current of devotion, which the addition of extempore or unfixed prayers would help to flow on with a warmer circulation.* Fixed forms, again, are necessarily *general* in the ideas they present; and though these may, by the busy and aspiring mind, be suited to individual circumstances, and the necessity of the moment, yet most worshippers always, and all very often, require something more than the general expression to call up its special application. The comprehensive whole must, as occasion requires, be broken up into its parts; the ideas must be amplified, and the thoughts presented in new light, and with variety of circumstance; else there is great danger that prayer will lose itself in generalities, or stagnate in the channel of formal repetition.

Another danger of exclusive liturgism consists in the tendency of the ceremonial, to take the place of an essential. The human mind is prone to this tendency, even where it finds none of the encouragement offered in the present case. It is also unfavourable to Christian liberality; the Church,

* There is, perhaps, no other subject in which habit and pre-conceived opinions so warp a man, and render him incapable of passing an impartial judgment. A person long accustomed to extempore services feels his devotion chilled, when he witnesses the celebration of a ritual, confined entirely to recitation of fixed forms; the scene appears to him theatrical, and the service devoid of the spirit of prayer; it is often long before he can view it in a devotional light, and sometimes the dislike can never be got rid of. The man, again, long used to exclusively liturgical services has a strange sense of bareness and uncertainty, when he listens to a public extempore service. The nakedness of the ritual, and seemingly irregular informality of permitting the spontaneously arising thoughts of one individual to guide the aspirations of the whole congregation, and the undignified specialities of detail, contrasted with the stately decorum and cautious generality of the liturgic forms, are so utterly different from all he has been accustomed to, so opposed to all his ideas of propriety, that his first impression is unqualified condemnation. Thus neither party enters into the feelings of the other, or is qualified to form a candid and unprejudiced opinion, as to the relative merits of the two modes of worship. Hence the uncompromising and extreme views, which we have before noticed, as peculiarly characterizing this question. It is absolutely necessary for any one, who pretends to pass a fair judgment, that he should have had long experience of both systems.

lay and ecclesiastical, becomes impatient of other practice than its own, and a spirit of narrow-minded intolerance is fostered, or confirmed.

Again it encroaches on the field of private judgment. An exclusive liturgy must needs extend over a vast variety of topics, and treat them with much detail; and this detail, being wrought up into the liturgy, becomes an authoritative declaration of belief. The opinions, thus expressed, are virtually imposed upon all, laity and clergy, who use the liturgy; although they may embrace points, that are open to variety of view (as the extent of divine influence at Baptism), and might well have been left undefined, to the discretion of the minister.

These appear to be abuses arising out of the extreme application of the liturgical principle: and to our apprehension they are even more dangerous than those resulting from exclusive adherence to the opposite system. The two modes of worship may be viewed as the representatives of contrary and opposing principles. The one involves order and regularity, but also the dangers of ceremonial formality and cold indifferentism. The other is full of spirit, life and heart, but runs the risk of irregularity and confusion. With other opposing principles of analogous nature, the *via media* is obtained by combination; and thus, as in the political constitution, not only safety, but a high degree of good are secured. And so in the present instance, it appears to us that a combination of both systems, is a form of religious worship on the whole free from objection; and which, comprising the opposite elements, conservatism and freedom, must always possess the power of maintaining both order and spirit,—at once the form and the soul of devotion.*

Should these remarks tend to make any one in either party view the practice of the other with less disdain and repugnant intolerance, we shall bear with cheerfulness the reproaches of "compromise," "expediency," or "utilitarianism," which, we are quite prepared to expect, will be showered upon our beau-ideal of Christian worship, by the extreme partizans on either side.

* The combination here proposed nowhere exists, and, we fear, (with the views current on both sides) is nowhere soon likely to exist. We may therefore be permitted to view with satisfaction the counterbalancing influences, which the two opposite practices exercise; and that, as one is established by law in England, so the other has the equal prestige of a legal establishment in Scotland. Thus the great Neander says:—"Life moves on in the midst of diversified and ever-commingling prepossessions, especially in our own time, which, torn by contrarieties (CONTRARIETIES, HOWEVER, WHICH SUBSERVE A HIGHER WISDOM BY BALANCING EACH OTHER) forms the period of transition to a new and better creation."—*Life of Christ, Introd. ch. I.* The words in capitals are those of a profound philosophy. There are few religious subjects, on which they will not bear; and they have a depth of application to the interesting topic, which we have been discussing.

So much space has already been occupied, that our notice of the Urdu work, placed at the head of this article, must be brief and rapid. It is a complete translation of the English prayer-book, embracing, with a few exceptions,* the whole services, ordinary and occasional, with the Articles. It has been printed separately in the Roman and Persian character.†

We have before us another Urdu translation, embracing all that the present work does, except the service on the anniversary of the Queen's accession. It was printed in 1829, at Calcutta, "for the Prayer Book and Homily Society." It is a literal rendering of the prayer-book, and in the main executed with ability. It abounds however with high and difficult words, and would, in many parts, be unintelligible to the ordinary frequenters of our Churches.

The translation of 1829 has apparently formed the groundwork of the present; and has been so far improved upon, that the great mass of the learned and rare words have been vernalized, and brought down to the comprehension of common hearers. Much skill and knowledge of native idiom have been brought to bear upon this task. The natural language of every-day life has often been applied with great happiness to the expression of what was before conveyed in a learned and recondite style. Nevertheless there still exist in the present work many rare and learned terms, which might, without much difficulty, have been replaced by more common words.‡ But the great demerit of this work arises from the attempt to make it a *literal* translation. It is more servile to the letter of

* The exceptions are, the services for use at sea, the *Gunpowder Treason*, *Charles the Martyr*, and the *Restoration of the Royal Family*. The addition of the ecclesiastical tables (above 40 pages) has much swelled the book, and added to its expense. The greater part of them were quite unnecessary for the present. The perplexed calculations regarding the *golden numbers* and the *dominical letter* (ahdi haraf, aur zehbi adad) were especially needless. It has a curious effect to read so much about the *Vigils*, *Fasts*, and *Days of Abstinence*. "I adwal Beddrion aur Rozon aur Ridzat ke dinon ki sal bhar ke liye." Considering the terms employed, and especially the associations connected with the words *roza* and *ridzat*, it is unfortunate that so much has been said about them, in the present unfixed and unenlightened state of our Native Christians. By and bye they will find out that we mean no harm by them: but, at present they may either do damage by creating wrong impressions, or possibly lead the exclamation.—"Ye observe days and months and times and years; I am afraid of you."

† The chief author of this translation is, we believe, the Rev. Mr. Smith, an excellent and talented Missionary of the English Church at Benares. The opinion and advice of other Missionaries were taken regarding it. The Missionaries at Agra (no mean judges on such a question,) were not favourable to its publication, without important alterations, which were not adopted.

‡ As examples of these we may mention معمر تقدیس التجا تایب جامع تحمل کر مصنوع تغییر عمیم; the latter, by the way, does not give the meaning of 'spare,' for which it is frequently used.

the original than the rendering of 1829, and, just in proportion to this servility, is the real spirit and idea of the English version injured or lost.

It is, in truth, one of the most illusory of conceits to fancy, that, by verbal transference, a correct counter-part is obtained of the idea and spirit of a passage. A translation may be etymologically perfect, and yet no more give the force of the original, than the awkward dancing of a bear represents the graceful pirouettes of the ballet. The reason is obvious. Words and phrases gather around them an idiosyncrasy of their own, often quite independent of their grammatical derivation. The peculiar meaning and associations connected with them are the birth of place and circumstance, of national temperament, and the progress of civilization. A word or phrase, which has grown up in Indian Society, may thus have acquired a totally different colour, and convey an utterly divers meaning, from a word or phrase occupying nevertheless, in the English lexicon and grammar, a perfectly analogous position : and so likewise with words in construction, and the interminable diversities of relative meaning, caused by the reflex influence of one word upon another. Each bears the stamp of its own nationality ; and thus ideas, conveyed from one language to another by a simply grammatical transfer of words and sentences, are liable entirely to differ from the original. "There may be a verbal counter-part, and yet no approximation to an ideal counter-part. To transfer the spirit and mind of a passage is an incomparably harder task. It requires an "intimacy with native processes of thought." The idea of the original, thoroughly grasped, must first be thrown into the mental cast and habitude of the people, for whom the translation is intended, and then into their language. An accomplished author, himself accustomed to translation, well remarks that this intimacy with the working of the native mind "is the most essential requisite" in translation.

"For where, languages, like Urdu and English, are the product of a civilization differing in history, tendency, character and development, it is obvious that even the most simple and elementary ideas, having been obtained through different channels, and having clothed themselves in forms altogether foreign the one to the other, can only be fully realized to the mind by reference to the sources whence they are derived. But any one, who has mixed with the people, and has informed himself of their social state, of which the vulgar tongue is the index and the exposition, and who knows the inlets by which truth can best insinuate itself into their minds, will

‘ not find any great difficulty in presenting to them a strange
 ‘ idea in its most significant shape, and in determining how
 ‘ the meaning in each sentence can best be expressed, so as
 ‘ not to run counter to the general current of their experience.
 ‘ Should there be no other alternative than to introduce an
 ‘ innovation, it will be easy for him to consider what novel
 ‘ mode of expression—what parallel metaphor—can be de-
 ‘ vised, consistently with the scope and genius of the language,
 ‘ and with least violation of idiomatic propriety.”*

We are far, indeed, from saying that, in the work before us, there is no attempt at the adaptation here so excellently explained; or that the attempt has not often been successful, where it was possible to assimilate the English and the Indian composition, and preserve the idea also. But there are innumerable cases in which this was not possible, and in which the translation must be pronounced, as a transfer of meaning, entirely or in part defective.

The close adhesion to English idiom has, besides these tangible effects, given a stiff, foreign and repulsive air to the whole work. It is not calculated to win its way among the native communities by coming amongst them in a naturalized and attractive dress, and must therefore share the dislike, with which every thing foreign and strange is viewed by a society on whom it is imposed.† Some of the quotations made below may illustrate this position: but the impression we refer to, it is not possible to bring out in a brief space. It is a pervading colour which affects the whole stream, though perhaps hardly perceptible in a few detached drops. This general repulsiveness destroys the effect of the happy renderings before commended. The lustre of the gem is lost in the rudeness of the setting.

No doubt the necessity of a literal version was forced upon the translator, either by the strictness of his own views, or the mandate of his ecclesiastical superiors,—which, we do not know. For our own part, we cannot perceive any reason whatever for enforcing such excessive closeness in the translation of a liturgy, at the cost of greatly impairing its usefulness. With the inspired Scriptures, it must ever be, for obvious reasons, a deeply important object to cling, with as close tenacity as possible, to an undeviating *etymological transfer*; though even there too strict an adherence will defeat its own purpose,

* Letter of Sir H. M. Elliot to the Government of India, prefixed to a “Specimen translation of the Penal Code.” Calcutta. 1848. For private circulation.”

† There is a note at p. 452, Vol. iv. of this *Review* (No. VIII., Art. 6), which bears directly upon this subject, and to which we refer the reader.

and injure the translation, as a *transfer of ideas*. But with an uninspired production, the great object of which is to hold up a standard of Christian thought and faith to be the guide of public devotion, and to come in contact with many points of social life, surely it is the most unnecessary and mistaken strait-lacedness, by insisting upon a verbal translation, to impair its efficiency, and injure its suitableness for accomplishing the very objects designed by its introduction. We contend for a more common-sense and liberal course than this. We plead for the translator, that he be allowed a wide field for adapting the sense and spirit of the liturgy to native apprehension, and that a sufficient license be given him for "considering what novel modes of expression, what parallel metaphors, can be devised," to make the liturgy "consistent with the scope and genius of the language," and the mind of India.

We shall confine our remaining remarks on this translation, chiefly to a few brief notices of the daily service, as the most important and frequently repeated portion, and that on which perhaps most pains have been spent.

The preface opens "Ai piyāre bhāio Bible kái muqāmon men hamen *shauq dilātā* (dilātī?) hai, &c.* The words marked in italics are not only inelegant, being a Persicism, but do not give the idea of *moveth*, which could only be attained by a change of expression, or perhaps by a periphrasis. "To set forth his most worthy praise," is most literally rendered "uske bahut hi lāiq-ki tārīf karen;" which gives the idea of the praise (concrete) rendered by us, being most worthy of God's acceptance,—not that praise (abstract) is most fitting to be rendered to God. *Uski wājibī tarfī karen*,† would express the idea, though weakly. The beautiful sentiment of the English original must be cast into another mould, to reproduce its strength in Urdu.

There is a very inelegant use of the word *kamāl*, both here,

* We quote in the *Roman* character much against our will, to facilitate the press. But we would strongly dissuade from the use of it, any party who wishes to write clear and idiomatic Urdu; while you write in the English character, with English stops, capitals, and paragraphs, the mind intuitively reverts to the English period and construction, and forgets the native mode of composition, formed entirely on another model. The necessities of the native reader, on the contrary, are constantly kept before the mind's eye by writing in the native character. There you have an entire uniformity—no stops, capitals, or landmarks, to guide the eye to the sense, or help the voice to modulate with the period. You are thus forced to compose independently of these helps, and are much more likely to write in a style intelligible to a native who wants them also, and whose language has gained some of its peculiarities from their absence.

† So the Persian version *و ذکر کنیم به تسبیحات مستوجبۀ او* and the Arabic *ولنخبر بتسبیحاته الجليلة*.

and throughout the book : thus “Kamál muqaddas kalám,” “Kamál rahím Bap,” “Kamál azéz Beta.” It is a noun signifying *perfection*, and is sometimes used adjectively in construction with another noun ; but it is a solecism to use it, as qualifying an adjective ; and its frequent appearance in such position is objectionable, if not offensive ; while the superlative force, proposed by its adoption, might have been secured in other ways.

The general confession is termed “Iqrár i *Amím*.” The latter word is a very uncommon one ; and yet it frequently occurs in this translation. Thus the little *common prayer* is rendered “Duáe Amím,” and *common supplications*, “Amím duáen.” Now in all these instances the usual form *ám* would have given a meaning equally good,* more idiomatic, and incomparably better understood. An unfortunate mistake has been committed in the confession. “And we have done those things which we ought not to have done,” is translated, “aur jo ham ko karná lazim na thá, so hám ne kiyá”—literally, *And that which it was not incumbent upon us to do, we have done!*—which might include anything beyond the commands of God, either good or bad. This equivocalness might of course have been easily avoided.

The fifth petition of the Lord's Prayer transposes the original order thus : “aur jis tarah ki ham apne taqsírwáron ko múáf karte hain, tú hamárá taqsíren múáf kar.” The primary idea, and chief stress, are thus laid upon the petitioner's forgiving spirit, which, in the Greek and English, is a simple pendant upon the main supplication for forgiveness. The original relation of the two clauses should not be altered.† *Deliver us from evil*, is rendered “Bure se bachao.” This use of “bure” as an adjectival noun, is inadmissible. The translator probably wished to keep close to the Greek—*τοῦ πονηροῦ* : but no such object would justify a gross breach of idiom.

The Holy Catholic Church is translated “Pák kalísíyae jáme,” جامع (Qu. *جامعه*) ; and one Catholic and Apostolic Church “ek jáma Rásúli kalísíyá.” Why so very unusual and learned a word as جامع should have been selected, when the widely understood عام would have answered remarkably well, appears strange. The second translation is particularly forced.

* No derivatives of this root, however, give the full force of *common*, as conveyed in the Greek κοινῇ—that is, prayers preferred in *common* by the whole assembly, and thus common to it. *Am*, and its correlatives, merely imply that the subject of prayer is of a general nature.

† So the Arabic واغفر لنا ذنوبنا كما تغفر نحن لآذينا اذنبوا علينا ; corresponding exactly with the original και ἀφες ἡμῖν καὶ ἡμεῖς—*and such arrangement would equally suit the Urdu idiom.*

Rasûlon ki ek âm kalisiyâ, gives the meaning equally, and is infinitely more simple. The same remarks apply to "Aqádae jámeá," عقيدة جامعہ, for *Catholic faith*, and "Dín í jáme," for *Catholic religion*. "Am kalísíya ka dín, &c." would have been an easy, and perhaps more accurate, rendering.

The criticism of particular passages might have been indefinitely extended, but we forbear for want of space. The following remarks are of a more general nature.

Mazbút is, throughout the translation, employed as an epithet of faith, signifying *strong, firm, &c.* Thus "zindá aur mazbút íman," for a *lively and stedfast faith*; so to *strengthen* (spiritually) "mazbút karná;" "eitqád mazbút, &c." In all these and other analogous cases the use of *mazbút* is violently un-idiomatic. The same may be affirmed of the following combinations; "shitáb madad" (*ready help*); "púrâ irádâ," "kamál chain," "murád i muqaddam" (for *predestination*); "nihâyet sachcha," "jalál ka dab daba," "bair o bugzwale" (*slandering folk*); "koí दूसरा láiq wálâ" (*other fit person*); "zindagí ámez kalám" (*lively word*); "nihâyet bashiddat" (*most grievously*); "gunahgár badan" (*sinful bodies*). These are all opposed to the genius of Urdu composition; and they are the more strongly to be reprehended, because, without much trouble, and with little or no departure from the original, other phrases, adapted to the native mode of thought and speech, might have been obtained. The translation of 1829 has none of these transgressions of idiom.

The constant use of the participial form instead of the infinitive, e. g. *diyâ cháhiye*, *kiyâ cháhiye*, for *denâ cháhiye*, &c., is inelegant and objectionable. Occasionally it may be employed with a frequentative signification, but its reiterated adoption should be carefully avoided.

The present tense is frequently employed without the auxiliary (*hai, thâ, &c.*): and the sense, which was intended as indicative and absolute, is thus made conditional. In these cases, which occur chiefly in the latter part of the work, the sense is entirely defective.

The English idiom has been copied, even in the use of copulatives, and frequently to the injury of the Urdu style. Thus:—

URDU.	ENGLISH.
Gharíb ájiz táeb aur tábedár dil.	Humble, lowly, penitent, and obedient heart.
Ek puri kámil aur káfi qurbání nazar aur jarimana (?).	A full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction.

The Collects are in general translated with care; but we are sorry to remark that many parts of the baptismal and sacramental services are done in an inferior style. The Articles are

translated with less ability than any other part of the book ; so badly indeed, as to be in some places, we fear, scarcely intelligible.

The prayers for the Queen and Royal Family ought unquestionably to be remodelled. Whoever has attended a native service, needs not to be told that they are altogether unsuited to the knowledge and ideas of the Hindu congregation. In place of these, and the prayer for the Parliament, &c., a new prayer, or series of prayers, suited to the notions and positions of the native community, might with great propriety be substituted.

The "form of prayer with thanksgiving for the 20th of June, being the day on which Her Majesty began her happy reign," and which has been verbatim translated into Urdu, appears to be remarkably ill adapted to the natives of this country. A service, embracing all the references to Her Excellent Majesty, which her Indian subjects are capable of appreciating, might with benefit be constructed out of it ; and advantage might be taken to introduce suitable notices of the blessings gained to India by the British accession, thanksgiving for the benefits of peace, justice, and the light of the Gospel, &c., therefrom accruing, and prayers for their continuance. A service in behalf of the Supreme Authority in the state, thus modelled upon the conceptions and feelings of the people, would reach their hearts, and be offered up with a fervency never attainable by a foreign production, possessing so few points of contact with the native mind as this does.

But we have more than occupied our allotted space. We conclude by again repeating that the liturgy will never gain thoroughly the affections of the people, till it be thoroughly adapted to their circumstances,—their modes of thought, as well as modes of speech. Let the subject matter be that which affects *their* life and exigencies. Let that be the paramount consideration, and forbear to introduce any thing, foreign in its reference, or inappropriate to the Indian mind, *simply* because it is found in the English liturgy.

The importance of the object, demands that it be not trifled with, and that the task be not carelessly slurred over. It calls for the best abilities and the highest talents in the ecclesiastical body. It is plain that those, who have authority in the Episcopal Church, should take early and vigorous measures for securing to their native flocks, that which they have a right to expect and to demand—A LITURGY SUITED TO THE WANTS OF INDIA.

- ART. IV.—1. *Bombay Cotton and Indian Railways*, by Lieut.-Colonel C. W. Grant, *Bombay Engineers*. London. 1850.
2. *A Railway Caution!! &c.*, by Major J. P. Kennedy. Calcutta. Lepage and Co. 1849.

It is with the greatest pleasure that we hail the appearance of Lieut.-Colonel Grant's book on Bombay Cotton and Indian Railways. The practical nature of his remarks and the sensible tone of the work incline us to hope that it will be of considerable service. We have often had to lament the ignorance of the public at home on all that relates to Indian affairs. This is the more to be deplored, as it enables impudent and forward men to impose upon the public, and induce capitalists to enter into useless and fruitless speculations, which never could, and never can, do good either to the Indian cultivator, or to the capitalist who embarks in them. Unprofitable and ill-considered speculations are not only injurious in themselves, by the actual loss of capital involved, but have always a tendency to lessen the efforts of capitalists towards the real improvement of the country. When any large concern either fails, or becomes unprofitable, a panic and proportional discouragement immediately ensue. It should be the object therefore of all who seek to develop the resources of this vast empire, well to consider the measures they propose for its improvement: and we are glad to find that Colonel Grant has, in the opening pages of his book, endeavoured to undeceive the factory interests, in respect to the great benefits which had been held out to them by the proposed establishment of the Grand Trunk Railway.

This railway will not pass within 120 miles of the cotton districts, whence the Bombay cotton markets are principally supplied by sea, at a cheaper rate of carriage than is possible by land. It would be a great imposition on the public at home to permit them to suppose, that the cotton market in Manchester could be affected to any great extent for one instant by the establishment of this, or any other, Grand Trunk line in India; and we consider that Colonel Grant has done real service by exposing this mis-statement, and by pointing out clearly the true causes, which have led to the present declining state of the cotton trade at Bombay. But in saying this, it must not be supposed that either we, or Colonel Grant in his work, wish to disparage the utility of the Grand Trunk Railway; indeed he fully admits, as we also are disposed to do, that it will in a measure, and indirectly, do good eventually to the cotton trade also. But this is very different from what the Manchester people expected; nor will the good to the cotton market be derived so much

from the districts through which the rail will pass, as from the Guzerat districts where the cotton grows: for exporters will be led to improve the staple of their produce, and to cease from deteriorating it by adulteration, in order to enable them to keep their place in the market, against the inferior up-country cotton brought down by the rail. That good cotton can be cultivated with effect in India, we have every reason to believe; and that it will pay well, when superintended by European agency, and grown on a sufficiently extensive scale, we have not the smallest doubt. By a sufficiently extensive scale, we do not mean only to allude to the breadth of land, which one individual, or even one company, could manage to bring into cultivation, but we allude to the general improvements of the whole cotton district, thereby enabling not only individual proprietors of land, or single companies, but the whole cultivating population, to employ themselves profitably in this cultivation. The work now before us shows most satisfactorily how this may be done: but as what the author proposes, will involve expence, and that too expence to Government, it is not to be supposed that any measures of the kind will be quickly introduced. Colonel Grant considers that by the formation of canals for irrigation, the cotton districts of Guzerat would be greatly improved. It is plain that the cotton plant requires a certain amount of water for the full development of its pods, and that, unless in favourable seasons, it must, when deprived of this nourishment, deteriorate proportionally. The plain and simple remedy then is to supply this nourishment artificially: and Colonel Grant proposes to do so by canals of irrigation, which he says will also (some of them at least) serve for the purpose of transporting the crop. He gives a line of canal for connecting the Nerbudda and Tapti rivers, running from the left bank of the former, a little above the city of Broach, to the Tapti near Surat, somewhat more than forty miles in length and intersecting the finest possible cotton soil:—

The point, at which the canal would leave the Nerbudda, being some thirty miles from the sea, whereas it would join the Tapti about ten miles from the sea, there could be no fear of a sufficient fall throughout the canal. From this main channel, the small nullas, that here run westward to the sea, might be filled; and small branches might be cut, as the undulations of the ground afford opportunities, for running into the country, in such a manner as to bring an immense tract into irrigated cultivation—the main canal serving not only for the purposes of irrigation, but also to convey the produce of the fields to the shipping port, Surat, and affording the means of drainage from excessive rains.—*P.* 23.

He considers also that there might be carried—

From the right bank of the same river, about fifteen miles above Broach, near the village of Shahpura, a smaller canal, above twenty miles in length, to the Gulf of Cambay, by the village of Nyor, near Ahmode, thus

intersecting the Broach Pergunnah, as the distance to the sea by the canal would in this case be only fifteen or twenty miles; whereas, by the river itself, it is fifty miles, thus securing a sufficient fall.—*P. 23.*

The old Indian monarchies, or governments, paid the greatest attention to irrigation. Witness the magnificent remains of tanks and bunds, that still exist in Southern India. Our Government is also more and more turning its attention to this great source of improvement. Witness the present important, and not less costly, works on the Ganges Canal, of which we treated at length in a former number. But the work that is done, and the improvement in India that has been effected in this particular manner, bear no manner of proportion to the work that yet remains to be done. Something trifling (our author tells us) has been done in Candeish in the way of irrigation; but, says he,

It is painful to see the magnificent volume of water, that, for four months at least of every year, runs fruitlessly to the sea, which, if but a fraction of its contents were retained, would fertilise whole districts that, now parched and dry, witness the passage of what they so much need flowing by unheeded.

With an annual supply of water from the heavens, of ten to twelve feet in depth, all along the Western Ghâts, at Mahabâleshwar, upwards of 280 inches, or nearly twenty feet, of rain fall in four months of the year. Few parts of India afford better opportunities of cultivation by irrigation than a great portion of the Bombay Presidency; although, strange to say, scarcely any advantage has hitherto been taken of this valuable assistant to agriculture. India possesses the three grand requisites for the most abundant and luxuriant cultivation,—a rich soil, great heat, and great moisture. The two former are always available; but the latter is supplied during four months of the year—the remaining two-thirds of the year scarcely affording any. To benefit by these natural advantages, it is absolutely necessary that means should be taken to secure to the land, throughout the year, that moisture which is communicated during only one-third of that time; which can only be done by retaining the water, or a certain portion of it, that now runs by the river channels uselessly to the sea, in such a manner, as to admit of its distribution, throughout the year, over the country, for the purposes of irrigation.—*P. 24.*

The revenue, derived at Madras to Government from crops given by irrigation, is estimated at one and a half crores of rupees, or one and a half million sterling. This vast profit to Government, which can only be derived from extensive improvements in irrigation, will, doubtless, quicken their zeal, and induce them, sooner or later, to attempt something towards the improvement of the cotton districts: but

“What they do, were best done, were it done quickly.”

In all measures of improvement and reform, delay is dangerous. What would now serve to sustain the declining cotton market of Bombay, may not be sufficient to create again a trade in this staple, if once it is lost. That sum, which, if

expended now in canals of irrigation, might gladden the hearts of the indigent peasant cultivators, may not be sufficient to renew a local interest in a cultivation, where it has been utterly annihilated. The ryots of Guzerat will gradually cease to cultivate a plant, which does not prove remunerative to them; and we all find the difficulties that beset the introduction of any new product, and the ten-fold difficulties of renewing that which has already proved, not only unremunerative, but destructive, to the cultivator by its absorption of his little capital. Such appears to be the case at present in many of the cotton districts; and as American cotton is more and more introduced, this evil will go on increasing. It is manifest, therefore, that now or never is the time. And yet we see the difficulties of what we propose. It is always easy to say that Government must do it: but Government has not always the means at its disposal. If a road has to be made, or a bridge built, or a railway made, or canals dug, or cotton cultivated, or machines introduced, Government is always the *Deus ex machinâ*. The fact is, that private companies do not answer: they do not pay: and, in respect to all improvements on the land itself, Government, being the principal proprietor, invariably derives the greatest benefit; and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that Government should undertake the outlay. However, this is a matter we leave the Manchester people to settle with the Home Government and the Board of Control. If they want cheap cotton to be grown in India, and the market to be improved, it is for them to bestir themselves in the matter: we can but indicate the way. As to the expence, we are told that—

The construction of a small canal, forty miles in length, would probably cost 300,000 rupees, or 30,000*l.*; a large sum in the abstract,—but a trifle compared with the benefits that would be derived from it. The writer would, therefore, urge those interested in the future welfare of our cotton cultivation, not to look too much to the benefits to be derived from the introduction of railways into India, but at the same time to pay attention to the improvement of the culture of the plant; as it is believed that by so doing, more will be accomplished towards enabling our Indian cotton to compete with that from America in our English markets than by the introduction of railways, which will never lessen to any extent, the cost of the cotton from our best and most productive districts.
—P. 26.

Look to this, ye cotton lords, and men of Manchester! for without good cotton your mills will stop, and that trade, which like this, our Indian Empire, is but the growth of a hundred years, will be rapidly ruined. Without due care both may fall as rapidly as they have risen: but we hope for better things: we trust that these two empires, which have arisen together *pari passu*,—that over textile manufacture, and this over broad

and fertile lands fit for the cultivation of the staple to produce that manufacture, may mutually support each other. You want cotton, and we want exports from India: and in this way we may be able mutually to accommodate each other. But, as we said before, you must bestir yourselves—for one word at home is of ten times greater force than whole books written in India. Every one in England, who has power, ought to know that any proposition, coming from the Government at home, or sent to India with the sanction of the Court, however impracticable it may be, is sure at least of a more favourable reception here, than any proposition formed in India, and forwarded to the Government on the spot. In the one case the proposition, however important it may be, is referred home to the Court, bandied about from post to pillar for a number of years and, in nine cases out of ten, is invariably lost: but what comes from home, with the sanction of the Court, is much more likely to be carried into effect.

Colonel Grant insists much on the following rules for the cultivation of cotton in order to secure a good and full crop:—

Contiguity to the sea.

An alluvial soil.

Ridge cultivation.

Drainage to save the crops from inundation.

Irrigation to the crop when the rains fail.

Careful weeding and cleaning of the beds: and,

Careful picking of the cotton seed from the pod.

By due attention to these important particulars, and by the distribution of good seed amongst the ryots, Colonel Grant hopes that much might be done towards producing *a larger quantity of superior cotton from the same breadth of land*: and it is to this, he says, we must look “for being enabled much longer to compete with America, in supplying the English market with cotton.” The subsequent chapters in Colonel Grant’s book relate to iron, tram, and railways in India.

In common with other writers of the present day, he sees the absurdity of the extravagant outlay in several of the principal lines in Great Britain. Both he and Major Kennedy (the able author of the *Railway Caution*, a little work published in this country for the purpose of warning the Government of India against the extravagant home system) agree that railways in India would pay, and should be introduced at once. Some writers have supposed that India is not yet fit for railways, and that it is necessary for a country to go through a preparatory state of gradual improvement, previous to the introduction of the best means of locomotion that the advanced science of modern times has introduced. On this point we beg leave to differ from them. Such writers do not consider, that to

make the high-roads and other similar works, which they think should, as they did in England, precede the introduction of the rail; the rail itself is necessary. It is a fact that the cheapest way to make a high-road is by means of a portable rail, on which to transport the materials for the road. In the digging of canals, or tanks, or the raising of bunds, the same means of transport are invariably necessary, as being the cheapest and the best, by means of which less time and less labour are involved in the construction of any extensive work. The rail in modern hands is in fact an instrument of vast power, enabling us, at a much more economic rate and with great saving of time, to construct roads, dig canals, work mines, or do any other similar work. This instrument is quite as capable of carrying produce itself, as it is of making the high-road for that purpose: but it is only within the last twenty years that this property of the rail has been sufficiently developed. It has superseded, and will, to a much greater extent supersede, all high-way roads; as good and cheap articles must invariably supersede comparatively bad ones: and it would be as wise to condemn the introduction of railroads in India, upon the ground that we should first trace high-roads, as it would be to condemn an artisan to work with inferior tools. We take it to be an established fact that, for all commercial purposes, the rail is the best kind of road that has yet been invented, and, in the long run, it is the cheapest. It is the best, for it is the safest, easiest, and quickest; and it is the cheapest, for by it men, or steam, or animals, are enabled to do at least ten times the amount of work, which they can do with a common road. For instance, if a poney can drag four or six persons on a common road, he will be able to draw ten times that number on an iron rail. The economy of traction is so great, that it speedily reimburses the whole original cost of the rail. Modern science has led to the introduction of steam-engines upon railroads, as they are the cheapest motive-power in England; but, though they have been introduced with great propriety at home, it does not follow that they should be required on all rails in India, if other motive-power can be had cheaper. Above all things, it is not necessary in India to provide rails for the passage of monster locomotive engines, which have already half ruined many of the lines in England:—

The consequence of this great increase in the weight of the locomotive engines has been to wear and tear the rails to such an extent that, whereas it was a few years ago supposed, or rather asserted, from experiment and calculation, that railway-bars would last for thirty years, it is *now* stated that they require to be re-laid every *eight* years, where the traffic is great; and, where exposed to the effects of these monster engines, that the rails will now last only about *one-fourth* of the time it was formerly supposed they would.

Indeed, it would appear from a paper read before the Society of Mechanical Engineers, in April, 1849, that the metal of the rails is now supposed

to be actually, to a certain extent, crushed by the extreme pressure of the wheels of these monster engines, which caused a remark, "that it looked as if they had almost reached the limit of their powers, when they began to crush the material." This crushing is supposed to occur with driving wheels loaded with a weight of six tons, so that one cannot be surprised at the rapid deterioration of the rails and permanent way, over which a load of six tons, acting on only three quarters of a square inch of surface, is made to run at the rate of forty or fifty miles an hour.

* * * * *

This great excess of weight in these monster engines has, as before stated, arisen from an erroneous belief, inculcated by the casual coincidence of the improvement in the speed of the engines with their increase in weight, which was consequently considered as absolutely necessary to keep an engine on the rails at great speed—forgetting, apparently, that the greater the weight, and consequently the momentum, of the engine, the greater the springing action of the rails; but this idea has now been practically shown to be a mistaken notion by Mr. Samuel of the Eastern Counties Railway, who has had constructed for himself a locomotive carriage and engine, weighing only 25 cwt., including coke and water, and attaining a rate of forty-four miles an hour, with a greater steadiness at maximum speed than a first-class carriage."

* * * * *

For the conveyance of passengers by rail in India, the carriage engines of Mr. Samuel appear peculiarly adapted; and it is also said that they can, by lessening the speed, be used for goods and traffic, drawing a light carriage behind them: or, at all events, steam locomotives of light weight, say ten or twelve tons, would answer every purpose. The advantages of Mr. Samuel's locomotive carriage engines are, that they are comparatively safe, from the centre of gravity of the carriage being so low down; and from the facility, with which they can be brought to a stand-still, and the comparatively short distance required to effect this purpose. This is an object of the utmost importance in India, especially on the first lines of rails, where from ignorance of the consequences, from habitual carelessness, and other causes, obstructions will very probably be found on the rails, unless the viaduct system be adopted, requiring a description of engine to be employed, much more under command than the monster engines now in use in England: and, moreover, for the conveyance of passengers, certainly, if not for goods, Mr. Samuel's steam carriages convey a far greater proportion of load to the weight of the moving power, than any locomotive engine. Such a steam carriage, as previously described, weighing only ten tons, or thirteen tons when loaded with forty passengers, would not, for the length of which it must be made, weigh more than *one-third* of a ton per foot lineal, instead of *one* ton the weight allowed for the heavy locomotives; so that for a single line, supposing one of Mr. Samuel's engines to be introduced on our Indian Railways, the bridges, viaducts, permanent way, rails, &c., if constructed for a load of *half a ton* a foot lineal, for a single line, would be sufficient to meet all contingencies of the traffic in the districts; in fact, so great would be the difference of cost, especially if the system of bridging and viaducts now proposed were introduced, in connection with these steam carriages, that it is believed a double line might be constructed and maintained at a very trifling excess of expense over what would be incurred on a single line for the heavy locomotives now in use in England: and the great advantages of a light double line over a single heavy one cannot be doubted.

Of the capabilities of these steam carriages, and of the very small expense at which they can be laid upon a line, an idea may be formed from the following extract from the *Civil Engineers and Architects' Journal*, for December 1847—alluding to the steam carriage that was subsequently built and tried on Mr. Samuel's principle—"We have now before us a

BOMBAY COTTON, AND INDIAN RAILWAY

practical tender, from persons fully competent to carry the plan into to furnish steam carriages, rails, and timber work, ready for use, pro. the land be delivered, levelled, and ballasted, ready for the permanent way, at the price of 2,000*l.* per mile of single way, the carriage to travel fifty miles an hour, and to carry 1,000 persons per day of twelve hours, over a line twenty miles in length, with greater safety than with the present engine."—"Grant," pp. 49-52.

We can add little to the value of these extracts by our remarks: it is sufficient that we note how they bear out our observation. In place of monster engines of thirty and thirty-five tons weight, with a pressure, or crushing weight, of six tons on the driving wheels, tearing the rails to pieces—from which it has been necessary to increase their weight, as on the Manchester and Liverpool line, from thirty-five pounds per yard, to sixty and eighty pounds per yard (and it is even proposed to increase them higher) at enormous expense—we have a tender for the construction of both rolling stock and rolling block, both the permanent way and the carriages, at a cost of £2,000 per mile—the carriage to travel fifty miles an hour, carrying a thousand persons a distance of twenty miles every twelve hours, with greater safety and far less cost than with the monster engine. Here is the matter calculated out for India by Colonel Grant:—

This little carriage (Mr. Samuel's) with its coke and water, weighing only 25 cwt., expending only 2½ lbs. of coke per mile—and in England, the total expense for drivers, coke, and oil, being *only one penny per mile*—and carrying seven passengers, besides the driver, at a rate of upwards of forty miles an hour, ascending steep gradients, *and with the power of bringing up from speed in about fifty yards*, appears peculiarly suited for an *express train* on our Bombay line. Such an engine *might* reach Delhi, with the mail in thirty-six hours, instead of eight or ten days, its present time of transit; or, if travelling on by daylight, *three* days would be sufficient time to reach Delhi with passengers and the mail; so that there could be no doubt of this mode of conveyance being taken advantage of by all officers and others, proceeding to, or returning from, England, from the North-West Provinces; whilst the actual cost of thus carrying seven passengers and the mail, all the way from Bombay to Delhi, would, at the English rate of one penny per mile, amount to only 3*l.* 12*s.*; or, say that this cost is increased three or four-fold, it would pay even for the conveyance of the daily dawk, not to mention the profit from the constant passenger traffic.

Not only would the mail, passengers, and light articles of value, thus be conveyed to the Punjaub and to the North-West Provinces, but in time, Bombay would become the line of transit also, from England to Calcutta and Madras. To Calcutta is 1185 miles, a distance at thirty miles an hour for thirteen hours of daylight, *capable* of being accomplished in *three* days; to Madras from Bombay is 763 miles, or *two* days' journey at the same rate. Compare these times with the length of the voyage from Aden to either of these places—and see the advantages Bombay would possess for the conveyance of the mails and passengers, and all such articles, as are usually brought by the overland route. These are no ideal advantages: they are matters of fact and calculation. Whether an express line of the light rails and construction, capable of carrying the small light express engines now under notice, would pay—and pay better than any other description of railway in India, let the above facts show.

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The smallness, the cheapness, and the astounding low rate of working such a little engine for the express mail, as has now been proposed, may cause it to be looked upon as a toy; be it so—a toy, that could carry the mail from Bombay to Delhi in thirty-six hours on an emergency, or, travelling only by daylight, convey passengers in three days, would be the prettiest and most favourite toy, we have ever seen in India; *indeed, do we want at present for passenger traffic more than this toy?* Seven passengers, or, by the larger engine-carriage of the same class, forty or fifty passengers, travelling thirty or forty miles an hour, might leave Bombay every hour, if necessary.—*Pp. 55-57.*

Colonel Grant adverts to the tram lines lately proposed by a writer in Calcutta, to be worked by cattle, costing about £600 per mile: and he considers that these tram lines might be most advantageously employed for the transport of cotton and other goods, or raw produce from depots to this main line of railways, by which the benefits of the railway system might be disseminated more universally over the country. Such lines, even with light engines, are now recommended at home for landlords and farmers, to connect their farms and stock depôts with the Grand Railway Trunk lines, in order that the agricultural interest may be able to compete more readily with the manufacturing interests. Agriculture at home may now be said to be at a stand-still, waiting for the rails. Already, on some farms, rails have been laid down: but it is by a simultaneous co-operation and combination of their interests, that farmers or landlords will be able to bring the principle of the rail into operation, so as to derive the fullest amount of benefit at this lowest rate of cost from this efficient means of transport for this produce. In India there is no public to do this, as the native landholders are unable to appreciate the advantages of the rail; and there are no main trunk lines yet for them to communicate with; it is therefore, on the soundest principles, that Colonel Grant advocates that main lines for steam locomotive engines should be constructed, with which should be connected short tram roads, where necessary for land communication, acting as feeders to the main line. When Cuba and Jamaica and Demerara can afford to carry their sugar by steam rail, and make it pay well too, surely in British India we can do the same. Our sugar, or our opium, or our indigo crops, are articles quite as valuable: and many of the comparatively coarser and lower-priced products of this country would eventually be carried by it. Many people imagine that it is only valuable merchandize and wrought articles, that can afford to pay for their carriage by rail, and that, in England, bulky produce is seldom so transported. This is however a very great mistake: and, as it is one into which the author of the Calcutta pamphlet has also fallen, we feel obliged to extract largely from the table compiled by Colonel Grant from the "Railway Statistics" of Hyde

Clarke, Esq., showing that all descriptions of produce are to a very great extent carried by rail in England.

NAMES OF ITEMS.	<i>Average Rate of Carriage per Mile.</i>	<i>Total Amount conveyed by all the Rail- ways in Eng- land in 1847.</i>
	<i>D.</i>	<i>Number.</i>
Passengers..... each	1½	51,352,163
Cattle, that is, Bullocks, Cows, &c. " "	¾	500,000
Sheep " "	1-7th	2,000,000
Swine " "	1-7th	390,000
		<i>Tons.</i>
Coals per ton	1½	9,000,000
Ironstone "	1½	628,000
Iron..... "	1½ to 1¾	272,000
Limestone and Lime: Limestone...	1½	} 146,000
Lime..... "	1½	
Copper and Tin..... "	3½	23,000
Stones for Building "	2	500,000
Sand for Building, and Manure ... "	2½	27,983
Ballast for Shipping..... "	2½	36,567
Slates for Roofing..... "	2	
Bricks and Tiles, returns imperfect about "	2½	4,000
Total amount of Mineral Traffic, Coal, Iron, Stone, &c.....		11,000,000
Timber, uncertain, but about "	2½	10,000
Building Traffic, Stones, Timber, &c. "		715,000
Fish..... "	4½	43,000
Grain, reckoned at..... "	3	300,000
Provision Traffic, Fruit, Meat, Ve- getables, &c. "	3	300,000
Ale and Beer are carried largely on some Lines..... "	2	
Milk is also largely carried.....		
Total Provision Traffic, including Fish.....		680,000
Wool is carried..... "	3	
Manure Traffic, Guano, &c. "	1½	40,000
Bones are carried at..... "	2	
Hops "	2½	7,428
Also Malt "		
Bark "		
Brooms "		
Hay is carried, but is considered dangerous "	3	
Total Amount of Farming Pro- duce, Building Materials, Coals, Manure, Live Stock, Provisions, &c.		6,000,000

The foregoing table shows, that not only light and valuable articles are carried by rail, but heavy goods, iron, iron ore, even *ballast* for shipping, stones for building, bricks, tiles, lime, slate, timber, *manure*, cattle of all kinds, fish, milk, fruits, vegetables, grain, liquor, horses, dogs, carriages, even gunpowder and vitriol, parcels containing every description of goods—in fact, every enumerable thing, light, heavy, costly, of little value, live or dead, or inanimate, both the raw material in bulk, and the manufactured article. How can it be affirmed after this, that the coarse heavy low-priced products of this country cannot afford the expence of steam locomotive traffic? or who can now doubt but that a railway properly established in India would pay? The foregoing table is drawn up from the most authentic sources, and is of itself worth a whole chapter of arguments on the value of railway steam locomotive communication.—*Pp.* 68-70.

Major Kennedy's testimony is also to be received by those who are still incredulous on the subject of railways. He shews in a few plain words, what we have before stated, that the rail is the cheapest of all means of carriage: and while he deplors that the characteristic energy of Englishmen, which has produced such marvellous results at home, should have done so little towards the improvement of India, he yet considers it fortunate that we have not had to pass, as some would say, through the progressive steps of improvement. Those, who consider that a country should advance by progressive steps, as they call it, do thus, as it were, by a misuse of terms and confusion of ideas, beg the whole question at issue. No one denies that a country must advance gradually: but, to advance, it must use the most perfect tools and instruments, that are at its disposal. We do not in India, because it is two centuries behind the European civilized world, recommend the use of the imperfect weapons of the middle ages. We have conquered the monarchies of the East by the use of the most powerful weapons of modern warfare; witness the thunders of Guzerat, and their effects at Múltan, Hattras, or even Bhurtpore; and in like manner we must conquer the material empire of India, by the employment of the first and best principles of modern science. We use not the weapons of our fore-fathers to battle with the physical world: neither should we go back to their instruments, or roads to subdue the material world around us. India must profit by our experience. We have but little capital, and must therefore husband our resources, and make the best investment with what we have. As Major Kennedy well says,—

In England no fewer than four successive investments have occurred to effect nearly the same object, each, in its turn, superseding and rendering almost useless, that which preceded it. We have had,—

First.—The defective roads of intercourse of our forefathers, crossing hill and dale, and accessible only to back-loads, or lightly laden carriages.

Secondly.—The more civilized and profitable carriage roads of the present generation, which set the former aside.

Thirdly.—The network of canals for carriage of merchandize.

Fourthly and Lastly.—The railways of the present day, capable of doing the work of all, and with much greater profit and economy, if the errors at their introduction had been avoided.

The position of India at this moment, therefore, enables her to save the three first progressive classes of investment, and to effect at once the fourth and perfect class.—*Pp.* 13-14.

That this investment of our capital in railways in India will pay, he gives us every reason to believe. He expatiates on the peculiar and general fitness of India for railroads, possessing, as he says,—

A rich and varied produce, widely separated capitals, extensive lines of traffic, defective and costly modes of transport, with a warm and enervating climate, increasing the numerous obstacles to that locomotion, which promotes civilization, and which is essential to the expansion of all those agricultural, manufacturing, and mercantile operations, that are the sources of national and individual wealth.—*P.* 3.

He shows us that, although it cost him twenty-two days hard work to reach Umballah from Calcutta, a distance of 1000 miles,—a good railway train at a moderate speed would accomplish the distance in forty hours: and, as to the expense, he calculates that it would save £10 a ton even on heavy goods:—

The time that heavy goods require to make the same journey, by the present conveyances of the country, is from two to three months, at a cost of £12 to £15 per ton. Whilst, if a train existed, they would be conveyed this distance in forty-eight hours at a cost of £4 to £5 per ton.

The cost to a traveller making this journey, by the present covered conveyances, in twenty-two days, cannot be less than from £50 to £70. By the train, it ought to be done within forty hours for less than £6 cost.

The information already obtained from official and other sources shows, that there is at present a sufficient amount of goods and travellers, passing over this line, to remunerate a judiciously managed railway investment; and it is difficult to estimate the increase of mercantile and industrial activity in all its ramifications, which must follow the vast reduction of cost, delay and inconvenience in the transport of goods and passengers, that the establishment of a railway would produce.—*Pp.* 4-5.

In one most important particular, his opinion must not be despised. He considers that these important national works should not be considered as private enterprizes. Whether the cost of their construction comes from private or public sources, the association which constructs them, and the public which benefits by them, should each receive the cordial protection of the Legislative. The Government must neither permit the public to be imposed upon by the excessive rates of a grasping proprietary, or ignorant and too credulous shareholders to be ruined and abused by an extravagant or profligate management. Both parties are entitled to a fair protection: and, in all associations for the development of the resources of India, or for its improvement, gentlemen in the service, who know the country,

should be encouraged to join, and protected in the exercise of their lawful right to do so. A better tone would thus be imparted, when it is done openly and fairly, and with the full sanction of Government. The principles, which Major Kennedy lays down for the general superintendence and controul of the Waterford and Limerick Railway, are so good in themselves, and so very applicable to all companies and joint-stockeries whatsoever, that though, we have already swelled our extracts rather too much, we must give them for the benefit of such of our readers as may be interested in companies of the kind. It appears that the Directors of that Company had been in the habit of meeting weekly in a Board room, at a distance from the scene of their expenditure, and leaving that, which they were thus unable to controul, to the entire discretion of irresponsible men—in consequence of which their shares had fallen to a discount of eighty per cent. Major Kennedy advises them to adopt a contrary system by establishing a distinct responsible controlling superintendence—which, he says,—

Whatever it may be called, whether a Secretary, a Managing Director, or an Executive Committee of three Directors, should act upon a strictly defined course laid down by the Board—the principal feature of that course being to *render a MONTHLY ACCOUNT of every outlay and liability incurred, and of the progress effected*, to a meeting of the Directors, to be held *at the advanced Terminus. Every account should be settled monthly*; and the report, given to the Directors, should contain a *full abstract of the account*. There is no difficulty whatever in keeping the accounts upon a principle that will admit of this, which is the only solid protection that any Company can have.

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The functions of a many-headed Directory are generally misunderstood in conducting any intricate or ramified executive administration.

They should invariably have a responsible and despotic individual superintendent in the executive charge under them. They should keep up a constant and strict scrutiny to ascertain that he is efficient, without ever venturing to interfere, except through him, with his subordinates in any department.—*Pp. 48-49, and Note, p. 65.*

Would that all Directorial bodies would, but consider their responsibility, and attend to these two concise principle;—1st, in the commencement to make their plans as perfect as they have the means of doing; and 2nd, to *work* so as to ensure a return for the capital laid out; and, says he,—

If, after a careful consideration, we find this result likely to be attended with doubt, it would then be our duty to tell the shareholders so, and not to allow their interests to be endangered, whilst trusted to our direction, without affording to them the most clear statement of every circumstance affecting them.—*P. 49.*

But to return to Colonel Grant, and his book. He proposes to adopt in India a railway, raised on a system of bridges, form-

ing a continuous viaduct about six feet clear of the ground, thus giving passage to all animals, native carts, &c. He considers that, in an unenclosed country like India, stray cattle would dangerously obstruct the passage of a train, and that the embankments would be injured by them. The cost of this system would be about £8,500 per mile for a single line, and £17,000 for a double one. It is not necessary that we should particularly describe this system, as we think that it is not likely to be carried into effect. It is objectionable on many accounts;—1st, on the score of expense, without any real benefit gained; and, 2nd, we do not agree with Colonel Grant that all animals could get under six feet arches. Bullocks and country carts might, but elephants, and even camels, would find it difficult, nor would it be quite safe for a man on horseback. In Germany the fields are almost as much unenclosed as in India; and we remember bolting along on a train through the fields, which, we remarked, were cultivated close up to the rails, and that too without any intervening palisade, or hedge, or protection. Colonel Grant should remember that, in thinly inhabited districts, land is comparatively little valuable: and there, as Major Kennedy suggests, good strong fences of prickly pear, bambu, and aloe, of sufficient depth can be formed, constituting a very efficient protection, both to the embankments and the rail itself. The system of raised wooden viaducts, which Colonel Grant alludes to as being recommended by an American author, is intended, we take it, to obviate the use of the costly stone constructions in use in England, for crossing valleys and ravines. These have, in many instances, been formed at a cost, for which no amount of traffic can ever repay the shareholders. Colonel Grant purposes to run his viaduct over the level country—an idea which never entered the brain of the cheaply working American engineer, who merely uses his wooden viaduct to cross deep ravines, in situations where bridges are necessary, and where the cost of stone bridges would totally preclude their construction. What he says respecting the termini of any proposed line is much more to the purpose. Railroads must not be made at random in any direction: nor is it sufficient that one terminus is a large and important port of export. We must look to the general direction of the line, and also to its other proposed terminus, ere we commence such an important work. Nor is Colonel Grant altogether satisfied in this respect with what is proposed at Bombay for the Grand Trunk, or “Great India Peninsular” Railway. We like to give it its full name, although it is apparently at present only destined to lead from Bombay to

Callian, and thence up the Malsej hill to the plain beyond, at an enormous outlay. Colonel Grant thinks it would be more profitable, and also more practicable, to make a railway from Bombay to Pùna, and make that place the terminus. This is a large station for troops, is 1800 feet above Bombay, enjoys therefore a comparatively cool climate, and is consequently a place of general European resort: and it would, were there a rail, doubtless rapidly increase in size and importance:—

Poona, the seat of Government, and the head-quarters of the army for *one-third* of the year, a military station usually occupied by at least 3000 European troops, among whom is a regiment of Dragoons and a brigade of Horse Artillery, constantly requiring large supplies of every kind; besides native troops, and a native population of 7000 or 8000 persons connected with the camp bazar, with a large arsenal and depot of military stores, the resort of a numerous European community for several months of the year;—the capital of the Deccan, a city containing 70,000 inhabitants, on the direct road to Ahmednuggur, the head-quarters of our artillery and principal depôt for guns and military stores, in the direct line to the valuable districts of Sholapoor and the Southern Mahratta country, and onwards to the Madras Presidency, also to the Nizam's dominions and the Calcutta Dawk line—Poona, with all these advantages, with troops, military stores, European supplies of all kinds, and in vast quantities, constantly passing and repassing, might well support a Railway of her own, were it not that the line of intervening Ghauts presents an obstacle, which it seems absurd to overcome at more than *one* point; but, with the advantages of its position, as the first terminus between Bombay and the whole of India, added to its own requirements, it does seem a pity that the Ghauts, which must be surmounted, should not be ascended in the line to Poona.

By the completing a line at once to Poona, leaving the Ghauts for the present to a system of portage, until the expense of carrying a rail of some kind up it can be better afforded, the advantages of steam locomotion would be at once exhibited, and the Government, without whose liberal assistance the Railway must have died in embryo, would be among the first to reap the advantages of its liberality. The saving, that would be effected on the transport of military stores, ammunition, and commissariat supplies of all kinds, to meet the demand of 4000 European troops, including those at Ahmednuggur, would be immense. The permanent conveyance establishment of the commissariat at Poona amounts to 6000*l.* a year. The economy, not only in money, but in life, in moving a European regiment from Bombay to Poona, on its first arrival in the country, and whenever required for immediate service (thus making Poona the garrison for the European troops of this Presidency) would be equally remarkable. The facilities also of communication between the official organs of Government, especially during the four months of the monsoon—these, one and all, would make Poona almost a suburb of Bombay, at an elevation of 1800 feet above it, with all the advantages of a healthy climate, to be reached by a journey of four hours' duration, even allowing one hour for the passage of the Ghauts.

Thus the first constructed line would be complete within itself, whilst its advantages would not be confined solely to one object,—that of the conveyance of merchandise,—but would be felt and appreciated by all classes of the community; and these 100 miles of rail would do more to give

a favourable impression of the value of this (to India) new system, than 300 miles of Railway would, if extended in the proposed direction towards Indore.

Poona would also be equally efficient as a terminus for merchandise and the produce of the country, with Alleh, the proposed point of bifurcation of the lines north and south; for, suppose the line of rail to be carried from Bombay to Poona, thence by Seroor to Ahmednuggur, thence to Aurungabad, and thence by the pass at Adjunta to Boorhampoor: by this line the distance to Boorhampoor on the north, and Seroor on the south, whence the southern line would be continued, would be about 356 miles; whereas, by the proposed Malsej Ghaut line, the distance to Boorhampoor on the north, and to Seroor on the south, is about $330+36=366$ miles. By the Aurungabad route the 356 miles of Railway would connect Bombay with the large city and military station and entrepôt of Poona, the city and artillery dépôt of Ahmednuggur, and the large city and station of the Nizam's army, Aurungabad; thus opening up the whole of the Nizam's dominions to the rail; whilst, by 366 miles of rail by the Malsej Ghaut, the single small station of a wing of a native infantry regiment, Malligaum, would be passed, and that is all. The small camp of Seroor is common to both lines. On the one line, not only merchandise, cotton, grain, salt, &c., but light valuable goods and parcels, passengers, troops, military stores, English stores and supplies of all kinds would pass. On the other, nothing but cotton, grain, salt, and such heavy and bulky articles could be required. On the Poona line, the Electric Telegraph, which is made a *sine qua non* of the Railway system, would virtually seat the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Presidency at the Council Board in Bombay, whilst residing at Dapooore and Poona: whilst on the Malsej line, for the first 350 miles, the Bheels of the jungles, or wild beasts of the forests, would be nearly the sole representatives of animal life, with whom such communication could be made.—Pp. 85-87.

We trust that Colonel Grant's suggestions will meet with the serious attention which they deserve, that the money of the shareholders will not be wasted in excavations at the Malsej Ghat, and that the seven miles of tunnel will be forthwith abandoned.

In his Appendix, Colonel Grant gives us some interesting calculations as to the comparative value of draft, both of Steam and Cattle. Though he seems at times, to a superficial reader, to contradict himself, yet, (we take it) his meaning is to recommend whichever system of draft will pay best in the particular instance, that may be under discussion at the time. Thus he recommends a tram-road with Bullock draft, on the Thul Ghat, on the road leading to Nassick and Malligaum; and haulage by Steam on the road or line to Poona. He also strongly recommends the tram road worked by cattle in Guzerat; though in general he thinks that all main lines should be traversed by light locomotives. From his tables we extract the comparative cost of carriage of a ton of grain.

By railway and steam haulage..... 2.7 pence per mile.

By common cart on the Poona

& Parell road..... 2.9

By common cart with an organized system	1.9 pence per mile.
By a line of plate rails and bullock draft	0.272

In this way he shews that, on plate rails with bullock draft, a charge of one penny per ton per mile would give a dividend of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In this calculation he has not stated clearly the time consumed in travelling each mile in each case : and that this must have an important influence on the calculation is evident, from the significant fact that, in England, with all its expensive system of railroads, and consequent high charges, 16,000,000 tons of goods are now yearly carried on railways, hauled by steam. Time is no doubt more valuable in England than it is in India ; yet still it must be considered even here as an important element ; and the length of road in India, that has to be traversed, will tell much in the calculation. Goods, which in England were carried by a steamer round the coast in a few days, or inland by waggon in the same time, are now taken by rail in one day, counting also the time for loading and unloading, which is the same for all lengths of carriage by rail. But here in India, goods, which would not reach Umballah with any certainty in three months, could be conveyed by steam rail to that station in forty-eight hours, at one-third of the cost ! In the one case, days are compared with days ; but, in the other, the comparison is with months—long tedious months of uncertainty, whether the goods will ever arrive or not.

We cannot conclude our notice of these two works more appropriately than in the words of Major Kennedy in his address to the Most Noble the Marquis of Dalhousie :—" We cannot close this paper without expressing to your Lordship, our firm and daily encreasing conviction that, in whatever view one regards the interests of India—whether in respect to the application and consolidation of its Military power ; the efficiency of its Civil Government ; the development of its industrial and mercantile resources ; the advancement of its native population ; or the health and security of its European Residents, the first effectual impulse must consist in giving facilities to intercommunication through the instrumentality of Railways, which, we have not the least doubt, if properly managed, may be introduced with great profit to their undertakers."

ART. V.—1. *A Digest of the Criminal Law of the Presidency of Fort William, compiled by F. L. Beaufort, B. C. S.* 1850.

2. *A few remarks on certain Draft Acts, commonly called the Black Acts, by Ram Gopaul Ghose.*

3. *Register of the Bengal Civil Service, by Ram Chunder Doss.* 1845.

4. *The Madras, Bengal, and Bombay Almanacs for 1850.*

“THE laws of a nation,” says Gibbon, when compressing into one memorable chapter the reading of half a lifetime and the contents of well-filled libraries, “form the most instructive part of its history;” and yet, “a country governed solely by law,” says Dr. Johnson, “will always be badly governed.” It is with reference to the spirit of these observations that we would devote a few pages to the present state of our Criminal Law, on which recent agitation has most properly fixed the attention of the public.

The Criminal Law, which the magistrates and judges of Bengal and the North West Provinces administer, is scattered over some ten or twelve volumes of “Regulations.” It is moreover either obscured or illustrated by some three hundred and fifty “Constructions” and some seven hundred “Circular Orders;” and it is regulated by certain fixed and undeviating rules of procedure. That this code of law is confused, ill-digested, and intricate; that it contains statutes, which are at variance with each other; that it is so scattered as to baffle research and mock inquiry; that it is mixed up with a variety of other laws, pertaining to the land revenue, the salt monopoly, the opium cultivation, and a dozen other various subjects; that it has some laws, which are obsolete from their severity, and others, which are obsolete from their inapplicability—are complaints, which the most common observer must have heard a hundred times in any Indian society. Some portion, however, of this imputed confusion and intricacy exists only in the brains of the speakers; and the scattered nature of our criminal provisions is mainly the result of the progressive spirit of our Indian system, whether in legislation, or in political ascendancy. Most readers are aware that the era of 1793 is marked as that of the first Bengal Regulation. On that date were condensed into something of system and regularity all the rules of practice, or procedure, or prescription, which we had learnt in our previous experience of twenty-eight years. The foundations of a regular

code were then laid, broad and deep. As new provinces were added to the growing empire ; as new abuses shewed themselves, for which no provision had, as yet, been made ; as legislation was thought to produce evils worse than those it professed to cure ; as public or private interests demanded more efficient protection ; as rights became more complicated previous laws were variously extended or modified, added to or abrogated. A code, to be applicable to such a country and to such a people, could not at once spring into life, like Pallas from the head of Jupiter. We had to feel our way step by step. Territorial aggrandisement required the extension to new acquisitions of laws, either entire or in part. With a fresh territory came crime of an aspect unknown before. Illegal violence grew bolder in the acquisitions of prior date. Government was not reluctant to re-consider its judgment, to confess an error in legislation, or to apply to recognised evils a more adequate remedy. Whatever may be the objections to our Criminal Law, as a whole, it must be allowed, that each of its provisions has been created to meet wants as they were successively felt, and evils to which a careful consideration had been given. Much of its diffuseness is unavoidably owing to our political circumstances and gradual expansion, (the same law being repeated for different provinces almost word for word over again,) to the complicated state of society, in which religious prejudices and the obligations of caste alternately aid and obstruct the course of justice, and to the national character. But even the bulk of these laws, so much the subject of complaint, has been well digested and reduced, by the labours of two civilians, into volumes of a size not calculated to alarm the most unlearned. And it is highly creditable to those men who were at the head of affairs in 1793, that, out of fifty-one laws, either condensed from former rules, or fresh forged in that single year, only ten have been repealed, and forty-one are still in daily and regular operation.

We shall hardly do justice to the difficulties of legislating for this country, without considering the state of society at the time of its acquirement. To legislate for a country newly conquered, where law has been unknown previously, and whose inhabitants are probably uncontaminated by its influence, is, it may be said, an easy task. A few clear provisions, scrupulous precision of diction, combined with a general applicability to all cases, attention to substance rather than to form and technicality, an open court, facility of access to the humblest suitor, patriarchal inflexibility in deciding between rich and poor, a stout constable, a strong pair of stocks, a clear highway—and the whole thing is complete. This may be very well suited to some

unsophisticated tribe, if such there be, in the South Seas, to the inhabitants of a Pitcairn's island, or to some community of Red Indians in the far West, in whose character manliness and truth, strength and obedience, are wonderfully linked together. But it will not avail men, who have to cope with the ingenious temperament of the Hindu, or the fierce intolerance of the Mussulman, and the habitual disregard of law, which more or less prevails with both races and in all parts of India. We have to legislate for a people, whose progenitors have compiled elaborate systems of civil and criminal jurisprudence: to whom, even in the remotest villages, the forms of law courts and the mere technicality of pleadings are often not unfamiliar: who retain the skeleton, and care little for the substance: who, amongst themselves, are accustomed to exercise their natural acuteness in private suits and domestic quarrels: whose great men have taught them to regard laws mainly as instruments for the attainment of private ends: who on one day resist all legal authority, and on the next yield unresistingly to the most palpable invasion of their rights: in whose mind the dread of punishment probably never quelled one angry passion, and whose arm uplifted to strike was never withheld by the fear of any ultimate consequence: and who, at one and the same time, exhibit every crime that can spring from the apparently adverse sources of advanced civilization, and of primeval barbarism.

The most determined enemy of the Company cannot tax Government with unexampled severity, during the early stages of our rule, in quelling crimes of unusual extent, or in passing laws, which weighed heavily on national prejudice. It was not until the necessity became too obvious to require further discussion, that measures of even ordinary severity were adopted, or any deviation from an established course of procedure allowed. Occasionally however the law's delay has been temporarily set aside. An extraordinary commission stopped Dacoity, for the time, in several districts of Bengal, somewhere about the commencement of this century. A gigantic hunting expedition put down the Pindaris. By the employment of active and experienced officers, the atrocious system of Thuggi has been brought, first to light, and then to punishment. In these and other instances, the employment of unusual means, unencumbered by the trammels of form or official precedents, was amply justified by the magnitude of the evil. The only objection might be, that these remedies had been too long delayed. Nor can it be said that in allowing the law to take its course, in listening to the dictates of unwritten justice, in

asserting the paramount claims of reason and humanity over cant and intolerance, we were actuated by the spirit of intemperance or haste. Lord Wellesley indeed forbade the destruction of infants at Saugor; but a further period of twenty-seven years had to elapse before the high-minded Bentinck could so far anticipate the opinion of this age as to direct the cessation of Sutti. And, with an acknowledgment of the supposed sacredness of locality or of individuals, at which posterity may smile, our Law Books, up to the year 1817, were actually defaced by a regulation, which exempted Brahmins in the city of Benares from the punishment of death adjudged to serious crimes. These distinctions between moderation and weakness, between mercy and pusillanimity, are far too subtle for men of practical common sense to appreciate; nor are similar concessions often accepted by any party in the spirit in which they are given. By the members of a proud priesthood they are regarded as deference paid to the antiquity of their religion, and the sacred character of its highest caste, or as the offspring of timidity. In the mind of the philosopher they awaken a feeling akin to contempt; and by the Christian, they are viewed with sorrow.

We will devote a page or two to the examination of some remarkable offences: and we commence with the most serious in character, the most vexatious in its immediate and remote effects of any that disgrace our calendar—Dacoity. To establish the crime of dacoity, or gang-robbery, it is necessary that a body of men should be shewn to have banded together, either with or without arms, by day or by night; to have proceeded, by force or intimidation, to break into a city, town, village, dwelling-house, tent, boat or abode of any individual; and to have carried off, or have attempted to carry off, from thence, such moveables, or property, as they may have been able to discover. The attack may or may not be marked by the more serious circumstances of the wounds, the torture, or the death, of one or more of the inmates of the place. But in nine cases (or so) out of ten, the features of the case, in Bengal Proper, are somewhat as follows. About one, two or three o'clock in the morning, the *grihasta*, or owner of the house, probably the most quiet and unoffending individual in the whole village, is rudely awakened by a crowd of men, who with blackened faces, heads enveloped in bandages, and torches in their hands, compel him to rise and shew them his hoarded store of rupees or jewels. Doubt or hesitation is instantly met by the application of a torch to the tenderest part of the person, or by the insertion of a sharp arrow in the back, or by the

blow of a stick or sword. The womenkind and children, if fortunate, make their escape to the nearest jungle or garden : otherwise they are seized, stripped to the skin, threatened with loss of honour, subjected to ill-treatment and blows. One dacoit looks down the nearest lane, or guards the entrance ; the others ransack and pillage every nook and cranny of the place. They remain for half, or perhaps one whole hour. At length the village is in a stir, and distant shouts are heard. The dacoits (who are, in Bengal, as great cowards as the villagers themselves) fire off a gun, or let fly an arrow or two, to keep up their own spirits and depress those of the ryots : collect together, carry off every available scrap of property, from the hoarded jewels, or the well-wrought shawls, down to the commonest brass pots, or the humblest dhotí : give one parting shout, dash down the village, make their way over the plain, and are quietly seated in their own houses at, or shortly after, sunrise. The gang may number from ten to thirty men. There is usually no attempt to oppose their egress, or to follow their track. The case is reported to the nearest Police Station in the course of the forenoon. Down comes the darogah with half a dozen burkundazes. They can take little from the householder, for there is little left ; but the unlucky man, who is probably unused to litigation, and has never been known but as a peaceable subject, has to undergo the usual examination, the appearance before the magistrate, the attendance at the Sessions Court, and all the other inconveniences, which are of course absolutely essential to the proper investigation of the case, and which, whatever may be said or thought to the contrary, are not more protracted in this country, or the source of greater hardships to those concerned, than is really requisite, if crime is ever to be punished, or life and property to be at all secured. It must be remembered that this description is applicable strictly to the villages of Bengal, where dacoits are not 'professional' in the usual sense of the term. In this dacoit-ridden country, the gang however are certainly headed by some dissolute, beetle-browed, large-limbed scoundrel, who ostensibly follows some other trade, but who has probably belonged to, and lived by, "the profession," for years. His expeditions are never distant. Sometimes twenty, and sometimes ten, miles will circumscribe them. His gang is composed of others of various degrees of activity and expertness, leagued together by the motives of idleness, of curiosity, of love of excitement, and sometimes of want. But they live under the shade of their own bambus, and rarely, if ever, make distant forays. This is the main difference between the professional, and the village, dacoit.

By the former are committed the comparatively few crimes of this kind, which are known in the jail deliveries of Agra and of Delhi, of Muttra and of Rohilcound. In Upper India these cases may be counted by units. In Bengal unhappily they may be numbered by scores. Nor is the difference confined to mere frequency of commission. A dacoit in Upper India must not reckon on a clear pathway and an unopposed ingress. He will have to encounter spirits as untamed, staves as hard, and swords as well polished as his own. There the Hindu bunneah, or mahajan, will not relinquish his rupees or his precious stores, the honour of his family and the safety of his own person, without striking a few good blows in their defence. On the first alarm he will be found girt with the sword of his fathers, and we may safely rely on it, that, if blood be shed in the quarrel, it will not be solely his own.

We may be told by those who would variously account for this difference of result, that in Bengal the Police are more lax, the administration of justice less effective, and the people generally more pusillanimous than in the districts of Upper India; but, without stopping to assign the exact proportion in which successful crime is influenced by each of these causes, it may be as well to enquire whether, in a purely judicial point of view, every check is applied to this crime, which may be available from the present system as it stands. The question on the present paper is with the Courts, and not with the Police. It will be generally admitted, then, that a punishment, varying from fourteen to four years, is awarded in criminal trials to convicted dacoits: that a distinction is made between simple or "unaggravated" dacoity, unattended, so the phrase runs, by aggravating circumstances—dacoity attended by violence and wounding, arson and torture—and dacoity followed by murder. In the last two cases, the dacoits are sentenced to protracted periods of imprisonment, and sometimes to death. But, to our thinking, there is no such crime as simple, or "unaggravated," dacoity. It is a crime, which, from its frequency and the hardships it inflicts, should, in any shape, justly be met by all the severity of the law. Nothing can be pleaded in its favour, save its universal prevalence and its great antiquity. It cannot be said, as in affrays, that it is a crime to which many natives attach no moral guilt: that the poor are incited to it by the example of the wealthy; and that the middle classes are driven to its commission, because they can neither delve nor spin. The law of right and wrong in these cases is known to the oldest dacoit, and to the veriest tyro. The circumstances, too, under which it is committed, add to its aggravation.

The deliberate consultation, the trysting place, the gathering of the forces, the arrival of the gang by twos and threes at the shady tope where they await the favourable hour, the lighting of the torches, the blackened faces, the precautions for concealment, the attack and lengthened search for property, the division of the spoil—all these circumstances, to our thinking, strip the crime of its simplicity, and combine to stamp it as one on which, when fairly proved, should be inflicted a meed of severe punishment. We do not mean that every gang should be decimated, and the victims sentenced to death; or that sirdar dacoits should be tried by a drum-head court martial. But we think that the judge, who sits on this crime, should be imbued with a lively sense of its real nature, and that he should picture to himself, in all its vividness and intensity, the unutterable misery, which a band of dacoits inflicts on a harmless householder: the fright produced by the rude calls of the gang with their fierce gestures; the terror and distress of his wife and children; the total wreck of his fortunes; the lengthened investigation by the Police authorities, which a crime of this kind, from its very nature, or the number of those concerned, imperatively demands; and the fear of retaliation at the hands of proscribed and revengeful criminals. That a judge should be impartial, independent, unbiassed, is most requisite; but it is equally requisite, that he should be well aware of the extent and character of the crime which he tries; otherwise there may be a bias in favour of the criminal and a depreciation of the motives, and the purport and the effects of the evil deed. Let every allowance be made for the unscrupulous proceedings of the Police, for the exaggerated testimony of interested parties, and for the general difficulty of getting truth out of natives. If the balance of probability be against the truth of the story, let the accused dacoits go scot free. But if the judge can, after an impartial survey, make up his mind to convict, the punishment should be such, as would really be a satisfaction to the well-disposed, and a warning to the evil-minded—such as would not let loose the dacoits on society, after a period of six or eight years, with their morals deteriorated, and their wits sharpened, by residence in a jail. To every really active and turbulent member of a gang should be awarded a sentence of imprisonment, beyond seas, for life. To every ordinary dacoit a period of not less than twenty-one years. And this rule we would wish to see carried out, were the dacoity of the simplest and most unoffending kind, and were the criminal's share of the proceedings limited to the mere holding of a torch, or to looking on while a comrade stripped the women; and his share of the booty to

one single rupee. The present limit for ordinary dacoity, in a Sessions Court, is sixteen years. We should wish to see at least this amount of sentence awarded to every convicted dacoit ; and, if necessary, the punishment should be extended by legislation. Nor would it be just to say that this view of the case is one, which would visit crimes difficult of detection with unmeasured severity, and which would attempt by enhanced punishment in a few isolated cases, to check, or to atone for, the evils of an inefficient Police, and of unrepressed general lawlessness. It may be urged that those views of legislation are unjust, which would visit a few scattered individuals with the cumulative punishment, that should have been distributed amongst a larger number. Nothing, it may be said, proves a confession of weakness so much, as the attempt to supply the want of an effective Police administration by a harsher employment of executive power ; but, on the other hand, we should take care not to fall short of the reasonable and wholesome severity, which social interests require, and which habitual criminality might learn to view with awe. Hitherto we have not meted out an adequate punishment to dacoity, either in theory, or practice. Amelioration of the Police, better measures for the prevention of offences, reforms of morals and manners, may be considered in other quarters, and promulgated by other means. In looking at the question purely in a judicial light, we can only urge that this daring, demoralizing, and unchecked crime should be visited with a punishment commensurate with the evils it inflicts, with the total absence of palliation by which it is distinguished, and with the bad passions and deliberate hardihood which it argues in its perpetrators.

From this, the worst crime in the calendar, we turn to that of burglary—one far more common in every district, but far less injurious in its consequences. The mention of burglary, in England, suggests a combination of skill and hardihood, of daring in contrivance and ingenuity in execution, such as are essential to success in crime in a country, where life and property are secured by well-locked doors, and by substantial stone walls. An English burglary speaks to the imagination of large sums abstracted, valuable jewels carried off, a pane of glass noiselessly removed, a panel miraculously opened, a flag-stone raised by some wonderful and secret agency. Very different is this crime in a country, where household property is of small value, and dwelling places are of the most fragile texture. Burglary in Bengal has been suitably defined so as to include any offender, who, by day or by night, but without open violence, breaks into, or attempts to break into, a house, a warehouse, a

tent, a boat, or any place of habitation whatsoever. We believe that this crime prevails to an immense extent all over this side of India. Of a dozen cases reported, one will be followed by successful enquiry, capture, and conviction. But, of a dozen cases committed, not one perhaps is ever reported, or reported merely as an attempt, whereby no property was carried off. On the other hand, we have every reason to believe that the great prevalence of this crime is not attended with any great amount of inconvenience or misery to the sufferers, or with any great gain to the thieves. Ryots generally live in huts of which the walls are of clay, or of the cheapest sort of matting. To undermine the mud wall, to make an aperture in the mat, requires no very great amount of skill. If less expert than usual, or if any untoward noise is occasioned, the burglar may arouse the householder, and have to retreat with precipitation. In some rare instances he has been jammed hard and fast in his own subterraneous passage, and been captured in the act. If however the householder's slumbers are undisturbed, the visitant lays hands on any moveable article of property, and decamps. A few rupees, a stray brass pot, a seer of sugar or salt, a little grain, the commonest articles of wearing apparel, the meanest utensil or implement, are variously the rewards of these nocturnal visits. It is obvious that nothing but an elaborate system of Village Police can effectually prevent, or detect, burglaries of this kind, for which such facilities are afforded in operation, by the fragile nature of dwellings in Bengal, and by the jungle in which the village is buried. So long as men are content to live in houses, which can be erected in the space of a day, and burnt down in five minutes, or pierced through with the rudest artifice, so long will burglaries be committed on every dark night in numberless villages of Bengal and Behar. Meanwhile this is not a crime, which requires extraordinary remedies. Undoubtedly it were desirable that his household property were more secure to the meanest villager. But we should commence at first with the more crying evils. When gang-robbery has been exterminated, and affrays shall be talked of no longer; when ryots shall have been taught that the best security against oppression is non-resistance to lawful authority and the payment of legal dues; and when zemindars shall acknowledge that the immutable laws of Providence have invariably decreed "vexation to violence, and poverty to rapine"—it will then be time enough to talk about the prevalence of burglaries, and the calls for some additional check. Till then we may safely leave this crime, when aggravated, to the Sessions Court, where it will be met by a sentence, which may not extend beyond sixteen years' imprisonment; and when otherwise, to the magis-

trate, who will deal with it summarily by an award of three years.

The crime of theft is not one which needs any detailed comment, as differing in its nature from theft in any other country. Thieves in Bengal are not distinguished by that boldness and dexterity, which mark the men of Upper India; nor are tents and dwelling-houses often rifled of their contents without the knowledge of the unconscious inmates. It would be unsafe from an assumption of the prevalence of this crime to argue a laxity in the Police, a general insecurity of property, or a pressing need of reform. On the contrary, a casual observer will often be struck by the sense of security, which seems to be common to every one, in bazars or villages thronged with the densest population. We have often thought that not uninstructional accounts might be given, with apparent truth, by two different people, who should make a tour in the Mofussil, and survey native society from two opposite sides. Only allow that one of these persons shall be somewhat unlucky in his examples of national character and prosperity, and the other as fortunate in finding only the bright side of matters, and the impressions left on either party may be detailed without exaggeration, somewhat as follows. Two men, we will suppose, set off on the same errand as those special commissioners, who are now going the round of the English counties and furnishing reports to the *Times*. Each man is to reside sometime in the interior, to visit our courts and our Police Stations, and to travel about under canvass for three months in the cold season of the year. Both are to have ample opportunities for judging of the amount of prosperity or the reverse, to be familiar with the native languages, and to make their reports or enquiries on the spot. The attention of the first man is soon attracted by a considerable extent of land to all appearance capable of the highest cultivation, not cursed with a barren, saline, or unproductive soil, not subject to the periodical inundations of some rapid stream, but still only covered with the *deformis arundo* and the valueless jungle grass. On an enquiry as to the causes of this remarkable sterility, it is stated that the tract was certainly once in high cultivation; but, that, owing to years of oppression on the part of the zemindar and his agents, it has gradually been abandoned; that no ryot will take a lease on it because sufficient time is not allowed him to get a return for his labour in clearing away the jungle, or to enjoy the profits of a single crop, before a call is made for rent; and that, as a last resource, for the last twelve months, the proprietor has been endeavouring to compel Mr. A., who farms from him a neighbouring estate, to take this one in addition, and by judi-

cious management to make it productive. Some ten or twenty miles farther on, he is struck by the aspect of a large village apparently deserted, as if its inhabitants had emigrated in a body; and he is told that, three weeks, or a month ago, there had here been a great fight between two rivals of long standing. Several houses were plundered, two or three men on either side wounded or left for dead, and several others carried away by force, and supposed to be still in durance. The inhabitants have gone off in a body, with their wives and children, to escape the resentment of either party and the enquiries of the Police. All this is corroborated by the evidence of sight. A house or two are unroofed, one is half burnt down, and a total silence reigns throughout. A little farther on he perceives what had evidently, a year or two since, been a large and flourishing bazar. He is told, this time, that a twelvemonth ago, it engrossed the trade of the neighbourhood; a hât, or open market, was held there twice a week, and people willingly came from a distance to sell the produce of their gardens, their fisheries, and their fields; but a powerful zemindar has lately set up a bazar of his own six miles off, and, by intimidation and violence to the cultivators, and by bribes lavished on the Police, has effectually ruined the trade of his weaker antagonist: the ryots adjoining the former village have now to go a distance of six or seven miles in order to buy the common necessities of life, and the trade of the locality is paralysed. As our enquirer proceeds, he hears strange tales of the general insecurity of property and life. In one quarter, Dacoity is raging like an epidemic, and the inhabitants can scarcely sleep in peace at night. The Police are rarely able to capture a single gang, and even the few, that are apprehended, get an acquittal at the Sessions Court. In this place, a darogah is inefficient, or grossly corrupt. From that place, the Police Station is so far removed that no inhabitant ever thinks of bringing offences to the notice of the authorities. To crown all, the traveller completes his investigations into the state of the country and its crimes by a fortnight's attendance in the magisterial court of the district. Two landholders, intimately related by the ties of blood, and interested in maintaining harmony, are fighting about the division or the boundaries of the family inheritance, or the collection of rents; and, as the feelings of a large population are enlisted on both sides, the feud is now at its height. Endless cases and counter-cases are brought by both parties. They are precisely of that kind, in which any amount of perjury may be attempted, which admit of exaggerations and distortions of every possible sort, and in which it is most difficult to determine the exact amount of

truth enveloped in a dense cloud of fiction. Tales of plunder, of arson, of abduction ; appalling stories of threatened torture, of nightly attacks, of folds and storehouses invaded and harried ; peaceful villages overrun by club-men ; the disappearance and the suspected murder of a brother or a friend : these are a few of the arguments by which the adherents of either party strive to carry the day. The observer may see the Police engaged in a fruitless search for some individual, who is purposely kept out of the way, or in an useless hunt after the corpse of some person, who has never existed ; the magistrate exercising all his ingenuity to discover the exact boundaries of a plot of land, to which both parties are claimants and which is made out to be five times its real size, or to fix the site of a village, which is nowhere but in Utopia or the Oceana, or to ascertain whether some story of successful robbery and violence be merely a gross exaggeration, or a downright and unadulterated lie. He may discern evil passions aiding or entirely neutralising the prejudices of caste : he may judge how the rancorous hatred of brothers or relations far surpasses the natural antipathy of creed or of race ; and he may quit the scene of contending passions with a calm conviction, that a corrupt executive, an oppressive set of landlords, a spiritless tenantry, and courts without justice, have combined to neutralise the choicest gifts of nature, to change gardens into deserts, to give enmity instead of peace, disunion for harmony, and, for a blessing, a curse.

But a different set of incidents will produce impressions as varying and dissimilar. Our second enquirer travels through portions of several districts at seed time and at harvest, and learns how the natural fertility of the soil has been improved by patient and undisturbed agriculture. For miles there is not one bigah of land without its crop or produce. From village to village, far as the eye can see, there waves before him an unbroken sheet of rice. Scarcely is one crop reaped and threshed, when it is succeeded, at the interval of two months, by another—so various as to combine the products peculiar to torrid and to temperate climes, the crops of Italy, of India, and of our midland counties. Immediately round the habitations of men, he sees, in the luxuriance fostered by heat and moisture, gardens planted with fruit or other trees, which, at once, and in endless plenty, supply food for the daily meal, materials for the hut, and shade against the deadly sun. From the few occasional acres, which, owing to sterility or proximity to swamps and rivers, are not subjected to the plough, is drawn tribute in the shape of thatch. The jhils and lakes yield their store of fish. No ryot finds any difficulty in paying his

rent, or in maintaining himself and family. Old men will tell the traveller how within the last fifty years all these marvellous changes have occurred: how the jungle has gradually receded, and the lair of the wild beasts given place to the hut and the garden of the householder. Our traveller goes on, wondering, and at one turn of the road he suddenly comes on a large and populous bazar. On each side of a wide street are ranged the well-formed and well-raised shops of the *bunneahs*, filled with every sort of grain in its raw state, and with fruits and preparations, of which enough for a mid-day meal can be purchased for the sum of three pice. Near the village runs a wide flowing river, on the banks of which are moored a whole fleet of boats of various sizes, the *dinghi*, the diminutive *dunga*, or canoe shaped out of one log, and the unwieldy vessel of three or four hundred *mánds* tonnage. The *zemindar's* local agent, dignified and portly, invites him to inspect the bi-weekly *hát*, which at that very moment is being held in a large space at one end of the village. The place is so densely crowded with humanity, that he can only make his way by degrees. From every quarter, men are seen arriving, by twos and threes, with their baskets of fish and vegetables and fire-wood. Others are come to purchase the substance of their meals for the next three days; many are seated on the ground, with their little stores before them on mats; others make their bargains, standing under the shade of the great banyan tree. Although the hum of many voices is so ceaseless, that he can hardly ask a question and depend on catching the answer, the traveller will not see a push given, or hear the sound of a dispute, or even an angry word spoken. Nor, though the shades of night close in, long before every one has disposed of his goods or made his purchases, and the last bargain is concluded by lighted candles—though many of the comers live three and four miles off—will he subsequently hear that the youngest child, the most helpless old man, or the weakest woman, has, in going or returning, been subjected to the slightest inconvenience or detention, or had cause to fear from any person an angry gesture, or a single term of abuse. The next day he comes to a cross road, broad enough to admit two bullock-carts abreast. The earth thrown up and not yet trampled into consistency, and the ditch neatly excavated at each side, tell him that the work has been only undertaken of late. It is due, he finds, to the beneficence of the great landholder of these parts, who owns more than half the *pergunnah*, which his ancestors obtained by a royal grant in the days of Shah Jehan, proved to be valid even under

the searching scrutiny of the late energetic resumption officer. He follows its windings, purposely made to avoid cutting through this man's garden and that man's house, and in due time arrives at another populous bazar. This is the Police Station of the locality: and here the darogah may be seen in all the dignity of an official, with the usual complement of mohurrir, jemadar, and a dozen burkundazes, and a non-descript individual or two, who live, no one exactly knows how, by writing under the darogah's orders, and who confidently expect a place under Government at some not distant day. But there are no complaints from the inhabitants of unscrupulous extortion, acts of tyranny, insecurity of property, or unchecked lawless habits. There has been no serious dacoity anywhere in the neighbourhood since the present darogah procured the conviction of a gang twelve months ago, for which he was rewarded by a donation of 200 rupees, and a promise of eventual promotion to a higher grade. The bazar chowkidars are regularly drilled by the Police jemadar, and regularly paid by the bunneahs. There is little or no theft by day, and not many attempts at burglary by night. No poor woman complains that the Police officer has stripped her of her last cowrie. Nowhere does his approach seem to carry with it terror and dismay. There may perhaps be a call made on the wealthiest shop-keepers about the dusserah holidays. But the tax is not exorbitant; and, however inexcusable, it is asked for without threat or compulsion, and paid without recusancy or regret. The signs of repose and of progression are too numerous to be recounted, and too substantial for mere outward show. Every man follows his own occupation in peace. The mere stripping, who feeds the cows far out in the plain—the women, who at noon-day descend with their pitchers to the tank—the ryot, who lays down his fish weir every evening and takes it up again well filled at the dawn of day—the weaver at his loom, and the lazy shop-keeper on his wooden platform—one and all bear willing testimony to the pleasantness of the place, and the goodliness of the heritage, and the peaceful times in which their several lots are cast. But a survey of the country is not complete in this instance too, without a visit to the court. Here the state of things is equally satisfactory and pleasing. The last long-standing feud in the district between landlord and ryots, or landlord and rival, has either burnt itself out, or has been skilfully adjusted. The file of cases is kept almost clear at the close of each day. There is not a single witness in attendance, nor is any one ever delayed beyond three or four days. Alarming gang-robberies are not frequent. There are no bloody

affrays and no assemblings of club-men. To crown all, the darogah has just sent up a case of burglary, in which the offender, by the mere act of the villagers, was apprehended in the fact with the booty in his hands. The case was reported, enquired into, committed to paper, and sent up in a state fit for immediate decision, in the space of twenty-four hours : and, in the course of six more, the plaintiff and his witnesses are heard, the defendant's answer written down, the case summed up, and the burglar, who has no witnesses and no reasonable excuse, is, the morning after, to be found breaking bricks for the repairs of the station roads, with his hair closely cropped, and a strong pair of fetters on his legs. From this picture of a country teeming with cultivation of every kind, and a population distinguished by a love of order and preserved by plenty from scarcity or lawlessness—from a criminal system, where detection follows closely on crime, and punishment on detection,—our observer may turn away, deeply impressed with a conviction that all previous tales of oppression and misery, vice and criminality, are so many idle fables, and that Bengal is a country blessed with a natural fertility far exceeding that of Ireland, and tenanted by a population even more orderly than the Scotch.

The state of things represented as falling under the observation of either of the above supposed individuals, is strictly warranted by facts. Districts can be named, where affrays have not been heard of for years, and every thing is peace and plenty ; others are instanced, where it would be inconvenient to travel by day, and almost unsafe to sleep at night : and every resident in the Mofussil, of common experience and candour, will tell us the same. It is not then the facts of either party which we would arraign, but the inferences which they are made to justify. The unpleasant picture, which has left such dark impressions on the mind of the first traveller, proceeds probably from a variety of causes ; the virulence of evil passions, when once fairly roused ; the total absence of truth or fair dealing ; the impossibility of doing any thing for people, who will not help themselves, and who will resist nothing except legal demands ; the insufficiency or the corruption of the Executive Police ; the uncertainty of punishment, where powerful individuals are concerned, and its inadequate character even when applied ; and to crown all, perhaps an inert or a wrong-headed public functionary. On the other hand, the fair scene, which delighted the eyes of the second visitor, is due, we are compelled to say, in some manner to a happy accident, or to a combination of purely fortuitous causes, rather than to design. We could not apply any such recognized causes with an absolute certainty of

arriving elsewhere at the same fortunate results. We have no security that these results in the present instance will be permanent. The extraordinary agricultural prosperity of this country is as much the bounty of nature as any thing else. The peaceful and contented character of the society is due to the habits of a people not naturally cruel or disorderly, easily satisfied and amused, never, except in most unusual visitations, subjected to the pangs of hunger, and never pinched by a severe winter's cold. It is however, at best, the absence of vice rather than the presence of virtue. It is the want of disturbing agencies and of exciting causes, rather than the consciousness of strength linked with the desire of repose. It is, in short, a system, which may be partially altered for good or evil by the prevalent disposition of the people and their landlords, by legislation, and by the various capacities of those who administer the law, but one in which the real evidences of civilization, a love of freedom, a distaste for equality, and a reverence for order and for stability, are not yet visible.

The other sorts of crime prevalent in Bengal do not require any detailed notice. Theft and cattle-stealing are of course not unfrequent, but they are not more usual than must be expected in a country where houses are open during the day, not closed very carefully at night, and where cows and four-footed animals may, if not strongly tethered, stray over a country for miles without meeting a single inclosure. Highway robbery is not, that we are aware of, the curse of any particular locality. Drugging way-farers, previous to robbing their persons, has been occasionally practised with great success in some districts of the Agra Presidency. Rape, we believe, is not more common here than in England; and, as may be conceived amongst a licentious and untruthful population, it is most difficult of satisfactory proof. Abortion, we have no doubt, is very common, but from similar causes is rarely brought to punishment. The absurd practice of loading children and defenceless women with silver ornaments and bangles often gives temptation to crime; but this is precisely one of those offences, where the remedy or the prevention lies with every individual. Into the various misdemeanors, which make up the bulk of cases in our courts, it is needless to enter; nor shall we speculate, as to the probable amount of concealment of offences, generally believed to exist only in the statute books—such as the crime of Sutti, the purchase of slaves, the practice of infanticide, the vengeance taken on offenders by aggrieved husbands or brothers, and the offering up of human beings on the altars of Durga.

From the crimes, punishable by the Company's Regulations,

we now turn to those who administer the Company's Law ; and, as recent agitation has tended to direct attention to the training of the judicial branch, we shall proceed to show what is the actual law which judges administer, and how they are qualified for the bench. The importance of the position of Civil and Sessions Judge in any district is so obvious as to need scarcely a remark. He decides appeals in civil suits involving interests of the highest extent and importance, closely superintends the proceedings of the native judges scattered over the district or located at the Sudder Station, hears appeals from the subordinate Criminal Courts in which his orders are practically final, and presides at Sessions, where he may pass a sentence of imprisonment on certain offenders up to sixteen years, without reference—but subject to the revision, on appeal, of the highest Criminal Court. In the present condition of the service a civil servant does not attain the coveted position of a judge, before he has been twenty years in the country. This period would make him on the average about thirty-eight or forty years of age ; and it will surely be allowed that, at such an age, a man of fair ability and average judgment, if subjected to previous suitable training, will be as fit to preside on the bench, as ever he can be, even at a more advanced period of life. The question then is, Has he been subjected to a proper course of training, and is the Criminal Law over which he presides, simple, consistent, and clear, or the reverse ? Now nothing can be more gradual, or more likely to make a person conversant with the habits, castes, dealings, mode of life, of the natives in the Mofussil generally, than the regular gradation of the service as it stands. For the first year of his actual work, the assistant tries his hand on small cases, bazar squabbles, petty thefts, trivial disputes, in all of which he cannot imprison any one for three days, or inflict a fine to the amount of a single rupee, or pass the smallest executive order, without every one of his proceedings being immediately open to revision. After his proficiency and qualifications are duly proved, he may be vested with what are termed “ special powers,” under which he may inflict a heavier amount of fine, or award a longer period of imprisonment, still subject to the same close and constant revision, extending to the minutest and most trivial order. After two years, he is usually permitted to exercise the full powers of a magistrate. Here his judicial sentence, up to two months in cases of theft, and fifteen days in misdemeanors, will be final ; but, unless placed in charge of a district or of a subdivision, he will not be able to exercise any Police or Executive authority, will never take the initiative, and will be confined strictly to the trial of such cases, as may be made over to him by

his superior. The last step, which is arrived at variously in the space of four, six, eight or ten years' service, will not bring with it the slightest increase of judicial powers. It will impose a heavier responsibility, demand increased watchfulness, perseverance, and energy, and require a combination of patience with quickness, and of impartiality on the bench with activity when off it. We are not now discussing the question, whether the majority of magistrates are, or are not, too young, or whether it were not better that a man should fill the office of collector, when he is of eight years' standing, and that of magistrate subsequently. The question is simply, whether the training for a civil and sessions judgeship be likely to convey the practical knowledge requisite for that station. We are not aware, what much better system can be devised, than one which conducts a public officer by degrees to high responsibility; by which he is at first vested with the most limited powers, either for good or evil; and under which, at no time or place, is he independent of a close and careful scrutiny into every proceeding held by him, either in his executive, or judicial, capacity.

Then, as to the law which he administers. Complaints are not unfrequently made as to its intricacy, diffuse or contradictory nature, complexity, and confusion. The Criminal Regulations, necessary for a magistrate to know with accuracy, do not, as we have ascertained by a careful computation, exceed the sum of one hundred and fifty. Many of these are of the briefest, simplest, and clearest kind: and it is well known that the difficulty, which racks the brains of any one presiding at a Mofussil criminal trial, is not that of ascertaining the law, but that of ascertaining the fact. The *hoc opus, hic labor*, is not to extract from a dozen volumes of Regulations the exact law by which such and such an offence is punishable, but to extract from masses of contradictory evidence and heaps of irrelevant matter, the germ of truth, which may be latent in the evidence. The body of Criminal Law is in fact clear and palpable enough. It has been compiled at various intervals, as new offences became apparent, or the complex nature of European and Native society required additional security or check. But, to sum it up briefly, there is surely nothing contradictory, rigorous, savage or inconsistent, in a code, where only the highest of crimes is punished by death, or transportation for life; where gang-robbery is visited with a sentence of sixteen years; where burglary, theft, cattle-stealing, and the receipt of stolen goods, are disposed of in courts of first instance by sentences not exceeding three years, or, if marked by certain aggravated and well-defined circumstances, are committed to the sessions for a heavier award:—in a code, which

has abolished most of the fanciful provisions of the Muhammadan law as to the incompetence of certain classes, from sex or disease, to appear as witnesses, and has neither suffered justice to be marred by private interest or bigotry, nor allowed it to be distorted by the purposes of revenge; where servants, or watchmen, guilty of participation or connivance in felonious crimes, are deemed fit objects for enhanced punishment, and are made examples of to others; where perjury is punished by a sentence of nine years; where false or malicious complainants may be imprisoned for six months; where doubts, or concurring claims, regarding the venue of offences are anticipated and provided for; where misdemeanors are not visited with more than six months' imprisonment; where seven years are usually assigned to forgery, and to affrays attended with wounding, and not more than sixteen, to counterfeiting the current coin of the realm; where corporal punishment is never given, except to such offenders in petty thefts, as it may be expedient to preserve from the contamination of a jail; and where the Magistrate is vested with jurisdiction over the public ferries, is enabled to take cognizance of cases, where married or unmarried females are unlawfully inveigled away—to decide summarily disputes between master and servant, as to wages or length of service—to compel recusants to furnish support for their illegitimate children, and for women in pregnancy—and to adjudicate in all disputes regarding the temporary possession of estates, or the definition of boundaries.

Still further to elucidate, expound and define with certainty this body of law, the dicta of the highest court of appeal have been diffused, in the shape of certain volumes of *Constructions* and of *Circulars*. The *Constructions*, which relate both to civil and criminal matters, have ceased to issue ever since the commencement of 1843. Those, promulgated up to that date, on purely Criminal Law amount to some four hundred. A few of them may be irrelevant, or apparently irreconcilable; the majority are however intelligible and applicable. The *Circular Orders* of the Sudder Court fill a moderate-sized volume. They are issued, whenever some point in the practice or procedure of the lower courts requires emendation. They are, in short, plain directions for sailing, and are used and valued accordingly. So high is their authority with some functionaries, so much of reverence is paid to the body from which they emanate, that one judge, high on the bench, has been not infelicitously described, as a man who would rather see two villages burnt to the ground than one Circular Order altered. Without going so far in our veneration for these expositions, or emendations, of the

Criminal Code, we may confidently assert that the power of the highest court to regulate practice or expound the law, as it has never been questioned, and is in fact authorised by Regulation, so it is never wielded, but in cases of real importance and emergency. We have, then, a simple code and a volume or two of precedents; and we can fearlessly assert, that if these laws are found inadequate or inapplicable, it is not that they are uncared for, or unexplored. The body of law may require pruning or amplification; it may be garnished with some few laws which are too severe, and with many others which are too weak; this law may be obsolete from its harshness; that may be in daily use, without ensuring sufficient punishment for the past, or striking awe for the future; it may, in the opinion of candid and qualified judges, demand revision, extension, and harmony:—but, such as it is, the body of our judges and magistrates know its provisions well. So far from ignorance of Regulations and Acts being a failing of the Company's judges, we dare assert that, by no body of functionaries in the world is the law, which they administer, examined with such care, and retained with such application. The Regulations and Acts, their preambles, causes, powers and extent; the several provisions contained in each clause; the year and date when they were passed; the number and amount of their sections; the Constructions, or Circulars, which they have each produced; the public servant to whose exertions the more important ones are ascribed; the interpretations which have been put upon doubtful or disputed passages:—all these things are known to many a Mofussil magistrate and judge, with an accuracy which the most practised native officer, which the sharpest-witted vakil, may hardly hope to surpass. Company's officers may be deficient in a knowledge of the higher branches of law, and may barely have mastered the fundamental and elementary rules of that great science: but we again deny that a want of knowledge of rule, detail, practice, precedent, procedure, or in short of technical law, is to be counted amongst their failings. We refer those, who doubt these assertions, to society in any Mofussil station, throughout this side of India. The hearing of one single discussion, such as takes place, in or out of office, every week, between the judge and the magistrate, or the magistrate and the joint magistrate, on some knotty Regulation, will, we should hope, effectually convince the most sceptical.*

We return again to the main question of the training of

* There are, no doubt, individual (and even glaring) exceptions: but we speak of the service generally.

officers. It is admitted that we may lose sight of the criminal officer from the time, when he ceases to be magistrate, until he is appointed judge. In the lower division of the Presidency, this interval is mainly spent in the revenue branch. In the Agra division, the offices of magistrate and collector are united; and the public servant is never, at any time, debarred from the consideration of the great questions of punishment and crime. The training there, in fact, proceeds uninterruptedly from the first day the civilian joins as assistant, to the day when he is seated on the judicial bench. But we are prepared to show that, even if an officer's attention be, for the space of six or eight years, entirely abstracted from the criminal, and directed to the revenue, branch, this occupation, so far from being detrimental to his qualifications as a judge, is absolutely essential and necessary to them. We will however first dispose of the question of the vernacular qualifications of the civil service, on which so much has lately been urged by several of the ablest papers in India. There are two languages, which it is important a civilian should fully understand, in whichever division of this Presidency he may be placed. In the Agra division, he should master Hindi, that is, the older form of the universal language of India, written in the Nagri character from left to right, and containing only a moderate intermixture of Persian and Arabic words; and, to converse with Mussulmans, or even with Hindus, in many places, he should also be a proficient in the more polished Urdu. In Bengal Proper, or the lower division of the Presidency, he must similarly know Urdu (which is both the universal medium of communication, and the court and district language of Behar) and he must fully master Bengali. The small comparative extent of Orissa, and the similarity of the Uriya language, in many points, to Bengali, render it unnecessary that the vernacular of Cuttack should be an object of study to the collegian; but that the public officer should be thoroughly competent to read and talk the vernaculars of the province where he may be employed; and, that he should likewise be well versed in the polished and universal dialect of all India, the dialect of educated natives, it requires little argument to prove. It is, we think unnecessary, in these practical days, that a public officer should know one single word of Sanskrit: and this language, though still venerated at Haileybury, is most properly discarded here. It is not even necessary that he should study Persian. A large admixture of Persian terms, relating to law, to punishment, to intercourse, to whatever partakes of refinement, of innovation, of eminence, and of display, may, it is true, be found, more or less,

in any paper presented in any court or public office throughout the three Presidencies of India. This language will insinuate itself, or maintain its ground, in Upper India, in the furthest extremity of Eastern Bengal, in Telingana, in the Deccan, in Scinde. Copious, elegant, and harmonious, it presents also, we must allow, many charms to the student, and many authors of worth. Hafiz strikes a chord, which recalls occasionally the happiest efforts of the Venusian poet. Ferdusi rolls along with something of that noble simplicity, and that solemn grandeur, by which Homer has distanced every other competitor. Numberless historians have in Persian handed down to us narratives, where flattery, and falsehood, and more than Eastern suberviency, have not yet effaced all "the dignity of history." In Persian, philosophy has discussed great moral problems, satire has winged her arrows at bigotry and priestcraft, morality spoken in the guise of captivating tales, or in couplets of the purest idiom and the most melodious rythm. The aim of qualification for the public service is not, however, to be measured by the attractions of literature, or the formation of taste. It should be eminently practical, and arrive at the requisite object by the most compendious method. It is not therefore essential that a man should study a language separately, because three or four hundred of its words have been engrafted on some other stock. But we will borrow for our argument an illustration from the more pleasing studies of the West. Chaucer's poems abound in old, hard, and, at first sight, incomprehensible, Saxon words. The Waverley Novels teem with Gaelic and low Scotch phrases, and others only to be at once appreciated by the genuine Caledonian. It is no doubt open for antiquarians, or for men, whose bias leads them to investigate the sources of spoken tongues, or for mere men of leisure, to study Gaelic, or Anglo-Saxon, or to reside, for a twelvemonth or so, in the Moffat or Grampian Hills, for the express purpose of preparing themselves for the full enjoyment of the "Pardoner's Tale" and the legend of "Patient Grisilde," or for Old Mortality, the Antiquary and the Heart of Mid-Lothian. In gentlemen scholars, with whom time is no object, or who are desirous of filling up pleasantly the intervals of ease and enjoyment, such projects are not only blameless, but laudable. But ordinary mortals must be content to arrive at a requisite understanding of these and similar authors, by a more direct and practical method. The aim and scope of Sir E. Lytton, or of Mr. Kemble, in diving into the depths of the Anglo-Saxon, cannot be common to every one; and it is quite possible that many a Cockney may appreciate Edie Ochiltree

and Madge Wildfire without knowing Scotch. The general run of readers will therefore be content to make out the Canterbury Tales and the Scotch Novels by the aid of a glossary, by notes, or by enquiry from a friend. Similarly in the case of Persian, the words in any vernacular, indented for from that language, should be learnt by the young civilian, as he proceeds with his studies in the dialect. M. Jourdain had spoken prose for forty years without being aware of it. A public officer, it is just possible, may speak an Eastern composite dialect with fluency and ease, and yet not be able to tell how many words, in the course of one sentence, severally belong to an Arabic, a Persian, or a Sanskrit stock. This system of learning one Parent language in order to master, with subsequent ease, all its off-shoots and dependants, may do very well for great linguists, for Leyden and for Borrow; but, in the average number of men, the end is not worth the cost. Persian has been abolished by regulation in our Courts. It should be driven away as ruthlessly from our colleges.

We have, then, Bengali and Urdu essential for good service in the lower, and Hindi and Urdu for the upper, division of this Presidency. At Bombay, Mahratta and Guzarati, with the Urdu, will supply every requirement. Madras labours under the curse of no less than four different vernaculars, besides the universal medium, namely Telugu, Tamil, Canarese, and Malayalam. But, be the number great or small, the vernacular easy or difficult of access, the principle in every division of the empire should be the same. To do justice to a people, especially in a Police or Revenue office, a conversancy with their dialect is one grand and primary requisite. All time devoted to other objects than this—all labour spent on languages, which do not tend practically to this goal—are, for this one object and in this sole view, so much of time and of labour thrown away. Philology should give way to fluency and ease of speech. In the court, on the bench, at the boundary investigation, under the village tree, in the jungles or marshes, in the shade of the bunneah's shop, in the crowded mart, on the high road, a ready practical thorough-going linguist, is, for his own and other men's advantage, worth all the scholars, who ever compiled glossaries, deciphered inscriptions, or set up the landmarks of any spoken tongues.

It is however a curious feature in our Indian system, that the qualifications of a linguist, though at all times of some value, are most needed by a civilian in the outset of his career, and lose somewhat of their importance, as he gradually succeeds to the higher offices. Thus a member of any board, a

secretary, a Presidency officer in general, the head of an office, are perhaps not called on to speak twenty words of the native language in the day. Conversancy with the vernacular is not even an indispensable qualification for a collector of land revenue in Bengal. A Civil or Sessions Judge, who has no dealings with preliminaries, and for whom cases come up in some sort prepared and stripped of their incumbrances, is not so much required to display colloquial powers, as he is to exercise the real judicial qualities of penetration, sagacity, concentration of the mental powers on one object, weighing of discrepancies, and insight into native ways. It is true that a knowledge of the native language is intimately connected with a knowledge of the national character; that the expert linguist transacts his business with increased facility to himself and proportionate satisfaction to suitors; that while such a one holds the scales, a rumour certainly goes forth throughout the district, inimical to the oppression of the great, or the venality of the native officers, and favourable to the claims of the poor. But any person, we conceive, can easily, from a survey of the official gentlemen, with whom he is acquainted, satisfy himself, that an expert linguist may prove an inferior judge; and a judge, with a dull ear for the languages, exhibit all the highly prized attributes of the judicial office, attention to detail, comprehensiveness of view, a knowledge of law, cogency of reasoning, clearness of statement. The truth is, that magistrates and settlement officers, and all men who have to listen to the conflicting and exaggerated statements of villagers, who must have to attend to a dozen men speaking at once, to decide on the spot as to the rival claims of three or four individuals to one plot of ground, whose duty it is to strip cases, destined for higher authorities, of all the load of irrelevant matter, and of all the mass of isolated and unconnected facts which natives and European officers so constantly mistake for evidence—these men most require the gift of tongues, and are mainly indebted for the successful performance of their duty, to a correct ear and a clear elocution. These officers, we need hardly say, vary in standing from five to fifteen years. But the comparative high value, which we attach to proficiency in this respect at an early period, and its comparative unimportance at a later date in the career, can form no argument for reversing the scale of promotion, or for making the appointment of judge precede that of magistrate, and commissioner that of settlement officer. A new dialect will be fairly mastered, for all speaking and practical purposes, within the first year, or two, of intercourse with the natives, or never. Any subse-

quent additions to the stock of knowledge are as the gleanings of the harvest. All, that needs to be done to secure efficiency, is, as often urged, to require, after emancipation from college, a second examination in the colloquial, before the candidates can be vested with any independent charge in any district or line whatever. In this, some regard can be paid to the well-known difficulty, which even well-endowed men experience in mastering Oriental tongues, and some value must be given to the other equally important qualifications, which go far to form the good officer—the clear head, the cool judgment, the patient investigation of facts, the prompt decision in times of difficulty, the energy and activity unattended by haste. But to ensure due attention to the colloquial, all official men should be compelled to speak and to read before a competent Board of Examiners.

Our present subject, however, is more the judge seated on the bench, than the magistrate or collector riding over the country. We return now from this digression to show that the experience gained in the revenue line, is of yeoman's service to its possessor, when a judge—and by this, we mean, to the judge in his civil capacity. Cases will daily be brought into a Civil Court, where the validity of a revenue sale will be contested, and the proceedings of the revenue department be hotly decried. In others, there will be endless allusions to land tenures of every imaginable description; to the various and complicated processes, by which estates are mortgaged, purchased, or given in farm; to zemindary and village accounts in all their intricacy; to prescriptive rights, to local customs, to prejudices of caste, to religious observances of every kind. To decide on such points, to weigh the correctness of assertions made by rival claimants, to escape being misled by interested parties, to discuss such questions with the voice of authority and in the spirit of confidence, the knowledge acquired in the collector's office is really invaluable. Indeed, no information, gained in any office, which brings the official into direct contact with the people, is, for such a purpose, without its use. But the best way of estimating the value of one system is perhaps to test that of a system diametrically its opposite. The surest criterion of an arrangement, by which a civil judge is to be previously fortified with revenue knowledge, is to examine an arrangement by which he is not. Here we have only to look at the systems pursued in either of the sister Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. At Bombay, for instance, the separation of the judicial branches from all other departments is maintained with somewhat of unyielding strictness. One young civilian be-

comes third assistant to the collector, second assistant to the collector, head assistant to the collector, then collector, and finally commissioner, or head of some great office. Another takes his post as assistant judge, whilst yet a junior, and waits patiently till sixteen or twenty years' service shall place him on the bench. During all this time, the latter never runs over the district in quest of thieves, nor sallies forth in tents to settle boundaries and revise settlements, nor is in any way obstructed in his contemplation of purely civil business. From first to last, he remains employed in one and the same line, trained, it may be said, with unswerving adherence to one pursuit. Then how stands the case with him, when he has to decide cases in which real property is concerned? Why, the want of experience in revenue matters, and of the intimate knowledge of tenures, customs, seignorial, or village rights, religious, local, or secular, observances, which enables a revenue officer to decide boldly, instead of groping his way step by step—is so apparent, as to have been actually matter for complaint. All the judge's constant and close application to civil cases is not worth, in matters like these, the practical knowledge of the collector, who knows the subdivisions and subtenures of a great estate, as well as the landholder's head agent, or the internal arrangement of a village, almost equally with the Patel or the Mundul. Ten years passed in the revenue line are, for one part of his business, to an Indian judge, ten years of most fitting preparation. Strengthened by their aid, a judge in the Bengal Presidency is, we submit, well fitted to adjudicate all cases, in which real property is at stake; without this the judges of other Presidencies have been weighed, and almost found wanting. We think it however fair to state that the practice of other Presidencies has been rather to monopolize the talent of the service for the important branch of the revenue, and to fill the judicial chair with respectable average gentlemen. But we doubt much whether even a man of first-rate talent would not, on the bench, feel the want of conversancy in revenue matters; and we therefore, while allowing that cases of real property are not all a judge's business, reiterate our opinion, that to shift civilians from the magisterial to the revenue branch, and from the revenue to the judge's chair, is not only not detrimental to their efficiency, but is auxiliary to it in an important degree.

Still, cases, in which real property is concerned, form only a part of what comes before a judge. It may therefore be proper to mention briefly the general character of the civil law, which our judicial officers administer. It is, in broad terms, as follows. Where the plaintiff and defendant are both Hindus,

the Hindu code is taken as the guide; where they are Muham-madans, the law of Muhammad; and where the plaintiff and defendant are of opposite creeds, it is the law of equity and good conscience. It is obvious, that Colebrooke should be the authority in the first instance; Harington and Jones in the second; and for the third the great and fundamental authors of jurisprudence, who have formed the study and the delight, not merely of lawyers, but of enlightened statesmen and public men of all ages, from Cicero down to Burke.

The great objection to this part of our system is, that it leaves the study of the above legal authorities entirely to an individual's option. There is no compulsory examination to be undergone, and no previous training at the bar. The experience is gained from each case as it arises, without any aid beyond what is afforded by the strong sense, the clear perception of facts and inferences, and the justness of thought, which any man may possess in a greater or less degree, or in no degree at all. It seems to us indisputable, that in many cases, which involve complex questions of partnership, of mortgage, of borrowing and lending, of contract, of mercantile transactions, under any form whatever—in short, in all the diversified, intricate, and complicated transactions, which may frequently arise in an advancing state of society, where Hindu, Mussulman, and Christian must continually come in mutual contact, there is no security for a legal and satisfactory decision, beyond what is afforded by the natural talents, the strict impartiality, the knowledge of native character, and the practical sagacity of the presiding officer. On the other hand, it will be urged that a want of previous study is often compensated by a thorough insight into native habits, by a power of extracting truth from error and falsehood, and by a well-tested experience. And it must also be said, that cases, turning on points of the above sort, are not the most numerous in Indian courts, and that after all, what we want to get at in India, is fact. But still the truth of the above is undeniable. Frequent occasions must and do arise, when on nice points of Hindu, Mussulman or mercantile law, depend large sums of money, and a considerable amount of human happiness. There is not then any regular system, by which a public servant is brought up, and rendered fit for their adjudication. We will sum up the case, as it appears to us after a fair and honest consideration of its merits. A good, practical, common-sense man, "*par negotiis, neque suprà*," who has passed through the grades of assistant, of magistrate, and of collector, is as well qualified to administer the Company's Criminal Law, as five-eighths of the judges in any English colony to administer

their own. In all that relates to form, technicality, or procedure, he is probably as close and systematic as the veriest legal martinet could wish. In a knowledge of the principles, on which crime is prohibited and punished, he cannot be said to be deficient. As a Civil Judge, he is fully competent to dispose of cases on which landed interests depend. Into local and prescriptive customs, he ought to have acquired a fair insight; but, in a variety of other obvious cases, he lacks those fixed principles, those directing influences, without which he is left solely to the guidance of his own particular views, and may, if indolent or incompetent, instead of a decision guided by "equity and good conscience," give us one distinguished by injustice, absurdity, and contradiction.

The real remedy for this state of things is simple enough. At present, any civilian may aspire to a judgeship. If no defalcation has ever taken place in his treasury; if he is known to be regular in his attendance at office; if contumacy, carelessness and gross incapacity are not attached to his name—he may fairly calculate on filling this coveted appointment, after a service of twenty years. A civilian, in the present day, attains to the dignity of the bench, because his digestion is unimpaired; because his accounts have been correctly kept; because the commissioner, or the Sudder Board, have no one complaint to make against him; because his seniors are judges; because his hair is gradually growing grey. But we submit that advanced years, moderate abilities, regular attendance at office, and sound health, are not precisely the qualifications, which should entitle any body to a seat on the bench. A judgeship should be given away on the principle of selection. Once admit this principle—and you obviate one-half the objections made on the score of inadequate legal attainments and general unfitness. Select judges for their talents, activity, and experience, precisely as you would select one man to be secretary to a Board, another to discharge some special duty of great importance, a third to conciliate or to awe some unruly tribes on the frontier, or some turbulent rajahs in an unsettled province, and a fourth to carry out some delicate mission at a foreign court. The importance of this remark will be recognized by every impartial observer. Once introduce this system—and we secure talent undimmed by age, but sufficiently matured by experience; emulation will be fostered, instead of inactivity and supineness; and an able servant of sixteen years standing will have every inducement to qualify himself for the judicial office by a careful study of the main principles of law. Nor would the transition from one branch to another, be under this

system, a very serious drawback. To weigh probabilities, to sift conflicting claims, to detect the mis-statements of native subordinates, to defeat the aims of interested parties, to do justice in the midst of oppression, to display impartiality where a whole population are eagerly seeking the advancement of their own private ends—is the business of every officer, where-soever he may be placed—in the salt, in the opium, departments, or in an office where every thing is transacted by correspondence. And if the judicial mind be most signally displayed, in the skill, with which important facts are carefully picked out of endless masses of correspondence, and in the lucid order and arrangement, which can be given to a labyrinth of complex and involved statements, no man, be his office what it may, can have the slightest difficulty in finding ample opportunity for the exercise of this talent, in wading through, and extracting the pith of some case, which, from diminutive beginnings, has grown to a preternatural bulk, by a practice, which seems congenial and familiar to a country, satirized, not without some reason, by Lord Brougham, as one, where men “neither debate nor write, where eloquence evaporates in scores of paragraphs, and where the sparkling of wit and the cadence of rhyme are alike unknown.”

The real truth, however, is, that shifting from one distinct branch to another, indiscriminately and without regard for the dissimilarity of the old and new appointment, does not take place to the extent, which is usually imagined : and we are anxious here to correct an error into which many writers have not unnaturally fallen, while describing the intrinsic evils of our judicial system. We mean that of setting down all the present judges as men taken at random from any branch of the service—transferred from the weighment of salt, and the protection of opium, and the receipt of customs, to be expounders of the law, and oracles on the bench. No doubt, till within a comparatively recent period, men were occasionally shifted and changed, without much consideration of the relative connexion of their past and future appointments, compelled at short notice to undergo the most marvellous transformations, and promoted, just as the exigencies of the service, or their own supposed claims and unquestionable importunities, might appear to justify. Instances can doubtless be quoted of individuals, who, at various epochs in their lives, have respectively manufactured salt, packed opium cakes, digested or compiled huge reports as registers or secretaries, settled newly-acquired provinces, elucidated the causes of temporary discontents, scarcity, or rebellion, resided at the courts of Rajas or Nawabs, resumed or released

jaghirs, and dispensed, with apparent ease to themselves and satisfaction to their suitors, the awards of the civil and the criminal Law. But things have altered wonderfully in the last twenty years. The old commercial residencies with their silk and silk-worms have long since ceased: the last of the resumption officers has gone to his rest. Appointments are much less varied, and own some reciprocal connection. Nor is it quite correct to say, that there are no such things, as distinct lines of employment. The treasuries, the offices of account and audit, the customs, the agencies, salt and opium, are now filled by men, who have spent nearly all their lives in their respective departments; and who certainly do not look for promotion from any judicial source. The errors of former days, partly owing to the unsettled state of the service at the time, and partly to unavoidable causes, such as the positive want of good men, should not be quoted as instances of the present conditions and tenure of the judicial branch. We will endeavour to prove our assertions by a reference to the statistics of the three Presidencies. In Bombay, out of some one hundred and twenty-five civil servants, twenty are now filling the offices of judge, or of assistant judge, which they have filled almost since the commencement of their career. Collectors and assistant collectors are, in that Presidency, *ex officio* Police magistrates and assistant magistrates, and dispose of small criminal cases, by orders and awards, from the very least of which there is an appeal to the higher court. But the sanctity of the judicial office is hedged round with somewhat of exclusive strictness. The experiment of training judges, by a long careful and uninterrupted course of the same work, may here be said to have had its fair trial. In the Madras Presidency, there are twenty Civil and Sessions Judges, and ten subordinate Judges. The system, pursued in their selection and appointment, is almost identical with that followed on the western side of India. A revenue officer may become a judge—his experience in settlements and in native habits generally being justly deemed a fair preparation for the bench. But a judicial officer rarely, if ever, migrates into the revenue line. Thus, we maintain, that, in these Presidencies, things are placed on a seemingly satisfactory basis. Those, who commence as subordinate and assistant judges, succeed after continuous training in one and the same line to the higher office of full judge. Those, who do go from the collectorate to the bench, though less versed in civil law, have the advantage of greater practical knowledge and greater familiarity with the village population. There is also just a chance that they may be better men. In Bengal Proper,

that is in the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, the number of civilians, at this moment employed as judges of districts, is thirty. In nearly every instance, they are now carrying on both civil and criminal business; in one or two cases, they are additional judges for the expedition of civil arrears alone. We maintain that, if the major portion of their career has been passed in the Police and the Revenue departments, they are not liable to the reproach cast on them, that they have enjoyed no previous suitable training whatever. The statistics then stand as follows. Of the thirty, no less than twenty-four have been exclusively occupied as magistrates and collectors, as registers of zillah courts (in which capacity they used to decide civil suits), and as revenue officers employed in the settlement of a province, for more than twenty years. Of course some of these men may have been longer in one line than in the other; some have acquired greater experience, as quellers of crime and maintainers of public peace; the settlements of others, and their intimate acquaintance with the labyrinth of land tenures, have almost passed into proverbs. But twenty years, variously spent in detecting crime, in assessing revenue, or in deciding civil suits as registers, must, we submit, be taken as evidence of a fair and fitting preparation for the bench. Of the remainder, six judges have been employed for less than twenty years; but all for more than ten, in these several lines, which, we again and again maintain, are auxiliary, and even imperative, to judicial qualifications. This result has been attained by us after a careful scrutiny of the various appointments successfully filled by each of the officers now comprised in the foregoing list, for the whole of their service. Here and there we have, it must be confessed, detected an entry, which showed, that the services of one of these gentlemen had been retained for the charge of an opium office for a few months. One man actually looked after the salt chowkies for six weeks or so, while the real incumbent was unavoidably absent. Another was, for the space of one year, Secretary to the Board of Revenue. A third was in the Treasury and Audit offices for eighteen months; and so on in other cases. But the time, so spent, has been deducted by us from the average of twenty years in the one case, and of less than twenty in the other. Those, therefore, who have been most anxious for some uniformity of training, and some systematic preparation, must, we think, admit the unfounded nature of some of the complaints which have lately been uttered in memorials, and in letters and in leading articles, on the entire want of preparation of the Company's judges. In the Agra division of this Presidency, as we

have already remarked, a civilian does not cease to be a magistrate, because he is a collector. The two offices are united : and in provinces where there is less litigation, less systematic tyranny, and less unresisting helplessness, this double system, which Lord William Bentinck would fain have retained everywhere, is found to work efficiently and well. The training in Police and crime is therefore rarely interrupted, from the first day the assistant joins his first station, to the date when he is gazetted as judge. There are then in the upper division of this Presidency twenty-one civilians employed in judicial functions. It is gratifying to observe that, in the article of previous training, this division makes even a better show than its fellow. The shifting and changing have been less, and the nature of the duties more similar. Twenty of these officers have been, for periods of longer than twenty years, exclusively devoted to practical revenue, police, and judicial questions. One judge has been less than twenty, but more than ten years. And this makes up the tale. From either division it would be easy to select instances where, for the last ten years, the judge has never stirred from his particular post or district. The selections for the Sudder Courts, which we have not included in the list, are made either from the best judges, or the best commissioners, and proceed, never on the principle of seniority, always on that of positive merit ; nor is the security for an uniform training in the generation of civilians, who are only aspirants to the Mofussil bench, at all diminished, but the very reverse. Since the separation of the Agra and the Bengal Governments, men are no longer whisked away from Chittagong to Saharunpore, or from Cuttaek to Bareilly. Their experience, attained by a careful study of a few similar localities—not of the habits and customs of men, as dissonant as the Rohilcund peasant or the Sunderbund fisherman—not of systems so irreconcilable, as the village communities of Upper India and the vast zemindaries of Behar or Bengal—will fit them, if only selected with judgment, for these most important duties. The division of labour—the distinction of employments—is beginning to be practically acknowledged throughout. A great safeguard against capricious and arbitrary transfers exists too, in the difference of salary, by which other appointments, not judicial, are paid. The Boards, the offices of audit, account, and pay, the customs, the two opium and the three salt agencies, the offices of commissioners in non-regulation districts, and, in a word, all the chief posts of eminence in the “irregular” departments, are remunerated by salaries, in most cases superior, in some equal, but in none

inferior, to that of Mofussil Judges. By these latter functionaries such lucrative posts may be contemplated with admiring despair. But there is little danger that their tenants will ever descend to administer law, and to mete out justice. To these posts, too, will be directed the ambition of all men, who are filling various "outside" appointments, not directly tending to one branch or the other, but simply requiring habits of industry and plain good sense. It is indeed most imperative that such should be the rule of procedure; and such, though not absolutely recognized by law or by authority, is actually the plain state of the case. Surely, without a knowledge of our Police, choukidaree, and thanna systems; of the modes in which crime is detected, reported and investigated; of the weight which may be attached to the evidence of headmen, or to the enquiries of officials—the best of English criminal lawyers would be at fault on a Mofussil bench. Nor without a similar conversancy in land tenures, in rights of caste, in systems of native accounts, transfers, loans and mortgages, would the best lawyer, from either side of Westminster Hall, be able to tread his ground with a firm and confident step. What we require, it is freely confessed, is the fusion of the two qualifications—the local and practical knowledge, and the intellect disciplined by law—the experience in nationalities, and a familiarity with the main elements of jurisprudence.

The discussion of the above questions brings us to the famous "Black Acts." The Act for the protection of judicial officers, being in reality, whatever may be the opinion as to its merits, unconnected with the other two, and having already become law, we shall waste no time upon it, but proceed at once to the law for trial by jury, and the still more important one, which is to annihilate the exemption of Europeans from the local courts. The opposition, which the two latter have encountered, is no more than what might have been expected; and if, in anxiety for the preservation of supposed rights, or in decriing legislation, in which they can have no direct interference, the press, or any portion of the public, have been led into somewhat of exaggeration, we cannot refuse our testimony to the undoubted spirit and energy displayed in the contest. Where changes of such magnitude are proposed, and interests so great are concerned, a temporary outburst of anger, or even individual abuse, may well nigh be forgiven. The very intention of publishing Draft Acts in the *Gazette* is to attract comment, opposition, inquiry. In a country, where neither the germ nor the spirit of representative Government exist, nor are likely to spring up for the next cen-

tury or so, the feelings of the community can only be represented through the medium of the newspapers, or by direct appeal to Government.

Now the grounds, on which opposition may be taken to the Black Acts, appear to us to be two-fold. Either it is desirable that there should be a privileged class spread and spreading over the country; that a large body of Europeans should repeatedly visit our Civil and Criminal Courts, as prosecutors and witnesses, but never as defendants; that where they should freely contend for the preservation of their own rights, properties, and interests, there they should never answer for aggravated delinquencies, and high crimes; that, in short, in these days of iconoclasm, there should be one law and one set of judges for the native, and another for the adventurers from the west:—or, if it be conceded that class legislation is in these times inexpedient; that on every principle of abstract justice, settlers in this country should be subject to the laws, which bind its original inhabitants; that great and needless expense must not be entailed on Government, nor the resources of the country suffer by solemn mockeries, similar to the well-known Meerut case; that exclusive privileges, which the rich native views with indignation, and the poor man cannot well understand, shall not hedge in the dignity of the British subject—then the exception must stand on special grounds. Correct in principle, admirable in theory, conformable to the opinions of the most comprehensive and enlightened jurists of all ages, emblem of that rigid impartiality which should illustrate the British rule above all others, the proposed enactments are, either from the inefficient condition of the Mofussil courts, or from practical objections to their working well, or even to their working at all, inexpedient, unjust, and impossible. An objection of this kind appears to us the only one worthy of serious discussion. To argue on the indefeasible rights of Englishmen to English law in every quarter of the globe; to call in question the power of the Imperial Parliament to grant to the Indian Government the right of legislating for every body, or the power of the Indian Government so to legislate under such authority; to declare that the tendency of the present enactment is to subject Englishmen to the gentle mercies of a barbarous Mussulman legislator: these arguments appear to us irrelevant and unworthy of the cause. Englishmen cannot carry about with them to every colony which they visit, ready packed up, the forms and the procedure of English jurisprudence, any more than they can carry with them the climate of Devonshire, the sanatory improvements of London, or the agricultural system of Nor-

folk and Hants. The Imperial Parliament can, practically, do any thing to which a majority of the houses may give their votes. The clause in the last Charter, respecting the power of an Indian Government to legislate for all persons whatever, cannot, with common impartiality, be interpreted in two ways. And any man may claim exemption from any remnant of the Muhammadan law, which may still disfigure our statute-books, by simply having recourse to a very well-known regulation of the year 1832. Leaving therefore this part of the subject, which has been most ably and conclusively discussed by the part of the Press most favourable to the present enactments, we proceed to notice the only just and tenable ground of opposition. It resolves itself into this. The principle and basis of the Acts being equitable and sound, is the country suited to such a change, and are the courts of law and the judges capable of carrying it out?

It is unquestionably the duty of the philosopher and philanthropist to assert the equality of all men in the eyes of the law, and the unbending rigidity of that justice before which all interests and classes are the same. But we much doubt whether practically, in any country, this principle has been followed out. That more attention is excited, and more pains lavished, in a case where men of substance or position are involved, than in others, is unquestionable. The presiding judge, great as may be his anxiety to do justice in all cases, feels more deeply his responsibility, and endeavours to be more circumspect in his great office. It is hardly in human nature to be otherwise. Similarly, to rise from the consideration of particular cases to legislation for a large class, it is most natural, and even most just, that, on a proposal to subject Englishmen to the local courts of India, public attention should be powerfully excited, and legislation should ponder wisely and well. To the native, our courts, even such as they are, are far preferable to the anarchy and misrule, which existed in the last days of Muhammadan sovereignty. We found the country parcelled out into divisions, where the will of the farmer or the zemindar was absolute law. We placed the executive power in the hands of the Nazim : we took it into our own hands when abused, and, to the duty of collecting the revenue, added that of punishing the evil-doer. The grossest abuses of the Mofussil courts are mainly the work of the native population. On the faults of its various classes, on the unprincipled violence and subornation of perjury by its zemindars, on the apathy of ryots rarely roused but in an unjust cause, and on the general want of truth and fair dealing which pervades every body and every thing, may be charged half the evils of any local jurisdiction. Zemindars have only to leave off their

litigation and their frauds, and Ryots to combine against the robber and the burglar, instead of combining against the tax-collector, for the gradual purification of justice, and the effectual putting down of crime. The evils of the courts will not be swept away by any amount of individual energy, or by any comprehensive and legislative reform. They were created for the native: by him they have been polluted: and the remedy for their condition now lies in his hands. The European had nothing to do with their creation, their abuses, and their unexampled perjury, except, it must be admitted, so far as he for years has lent himself to the existing state of things, and fought his way in and out of court by the same weapons, and with even greater success than his native opponent. Thus this passive acquiescence in a corrupt system for a series of years is now visited by punishment in the shape of all this present alarm and anxiety. We cannot fully admit the plea, so frequently put forward and so painful to contemplate, that, to save themselves, Europeans are obliged to comply with the existing customs, to meet unfair practices by similar ones, to fight the native with his own weapons, to bribe executive officers, and to pay largely for justice. This is tantamount to saying that honesty cannot be the best policy; that openness and fair dealing are no match for cunning and craft; that, in the contest of truth and falsehood, the former must always give way. The unchangeable laws of the moral world have decreed it otherwise. No doubt, it is most difficult to strike into a path from which other men turn aside; to be incorruptible where all around are corrupt; to be proof against the importunities of native bribe-seekers, the despondency of retainers, the secret influence produced by money copiously disbursed; to leave the zemindar to involve himself in a labyrinth of perjury, and to trust solely in the discernment of one individual, and in the justice of a cause. But we are quite certain that, with a few stipulations, the force of truth must prevail. Give us a stubborn and resolute Englishman, who will superintend his own case, and who will manifest, in its maintenance, a little of the Saxon energy and hardihood, which have opposed the Black Acts; an impartial magistrate, skilled in the vernacular, the locality, and the general habits of the natives; a plea founded substantially on equity and right, and told in a plain fashion—and we will defy the zemindar to make good his encroachments, though favoured by all the wishes of the Police and the Amlas, supported by the prestige of hereditary influence, of venerated caste, of copious treasures, and backed by the perjury of a hundred venal tongues.

Still, with all these admissions, the European should not be

submitted to courts which differ widely from our own, without some regard to the remonstrances uttered by him, on the score of difference in religion, language, moral ideas, and position, as an original member of the nation to which India is entrusted, and of a society which is bound together by truth. Notions based on the superiority of physical and intellectual organisation are not, even in legislation, to be hastily discarded. We must give to the plea put forward a most patient, anxious, and attentive hearing. But this hearing will best be secured by entering, not a general demurrer to the jurisdiction of the court, but by making out a special plea in bar of judgment. We therefore purpose to conclude this article by a few observations on the probable, or possible, working of the two remaining Black Acts.

The first point that demands observation is, that one of the Acts renders British subjects amenable to all the criminal laws in force, and not merely to the jurisdiction of the Sessions Court, but to that of the magistrate, or court of first instance. And the next is, that, in the Jury Act, the trial by jury is apparently limited to cases of persons committed to the sessions. Now we have shown, in a previous part of this article, that a magistrate, or any person vested with the powers of a magistrate, can sentence to three years' imprisonment in cases of burglary, cattle-stealing, theft, or knowing reception of stolen goods; that in misdemeanors he can sentence to six months' imprisonment with fine, commutable to labour, or with fine, and in default of payment, to a further period of imprisonment; that, though these orders are subject to appeal and to revision, he can, in cases of petty thefts, imprison an offender for two months without his order being subject to any appeal whatever; and that, in one peculiar class of offences, he can, at once and on the spot, order the infliction of corporal punishment. If then, by one of the Acts, all persons are to be "henceforth amenable to the jurisdiction of the magistrates and Criminal Courts of the East India Company, and may be apprehended, tried, and punished by them respectively, according to the regulations and acts now or hereafter to be in force," with an exception against the punishment of death—it would follow naturally that any European, apprehended for felony, or any offence above specified, might be tried by a magistrate, without jury, and sentenced at once to imprisonment for three years. Such, as the law stands in the draft, is the inevitable course of proceeding. We think that something more specific is needed. It is true that cases of felony, in which British subjects are defendants, have

not occurred in any number, and are not likely to occur in future, even should the Black Acts become law to-morrow. But for any such difficulties the law ought to provide. Either it should be laid down, as a rule, that, in all cases of felony, or petty theft, or of any offence where the magistrate now has jurisdiction over natives, the European defendant should have the privilege of committal to the sessions, with a regular and formal trial by jury—or the question should not be minced, and the magistrate should be distinctly empowered, without jury or assessors of any kind, to sentence Europeans to imprisonment in irons with hard labour for three years, subject to an appeal,—or to corporal punishment, subject to no appeal whatever!

We think that, for the present, corporal punishment should not be extended to Europeans. Cases, in which it may be requisite, are not likely to occur in many districts. And it is most imperative that due provision be made for taking the preliminary investigation, and the actual trial of cases where British subjects are defendants, entirely out of the hands of any native deputy magistrate, Hindu, or Muhammadan. Our reasons for this are not based on any notions of impaired dignity, or lessened consequence to the European, or the white face, who should stand accused at the bar of the dusky and turbaned judge. They spring solely from consideration of the probable inconvenience to both judge and accused, of the possible obstructions, or the very stoppage of all proceedings whatever. It is no gratuitous assumption to say that a very good native magistrate may only be partially acquainted with English, and a European soldier or sailor not know ten words of the vernaculars of India. Let us imagine then some Scotch or English deserter to have wandered entirely out of his beat, to have found his way into one of the eastern districts of Bengal, to have there committed a murderous assault, and, in consequence, to have been brought before the native in charge of the subdivision, whose knowledge of the English language and idiom had been solely drawn from *Paradise Lost* and the *Spectator*. To give reasons for the prevention of any such anomaly would serve rather to obscure than illustrate so obvious a request. But the scene, likely to take place on such an occasion, may be found, in anticipation, in that part of Marryatt's amusing story—*The Pacha of many tales*—where the English sailor, who had scattered the Turkish slaves like chaff, until overpowered by the sailor's natural failing, is brought into the presence of the three-tailed dignitary seated in his divan.

We will however suppose that Europeans are not to be disposed

of, before one individual "according to the Regulations in Acts now or hereafter to be in force," by a summary award, without reference to a jury. We will imagine their cases not to be entrusted to the award of any officer, "however styled, who has authority to exercise all or any of the powers of a magistrate:" we will, in short, pre-suppose the case to have been thoroughly sifted by the magisterial officer, in his capacity as head of the Police, the witnesses to have been examined, the calendar to have been prepared with accuracy, the defendant to have been informed of the nature of the charges against him, and the case made over, whole, entire, and ripe for adjudication, to the court of the Sessions Judge. The time is then come, when the working of the Jury Act can be tested. The obvious and natural remark caused by a perusal of the Draft, is, that exceptions taken against no less than ten different classes of society as not qualified to serve on juries, will leave absolutely no one qualified to well and truly try, and true deliverance make, between the Honourable Company and the prisoner at the bar. The disqualification comprehends almost every Government servant, either covenanted, or uncovenanted; officers connected with the judicial line, with the revenue, with the post office, with the colleges and schools; the entire body of military men; and every one in short who, by birth, education, or impartiality, might, in this country, be supposed a fit person for the duties of a jurymen. As the Draft now stands, a stray opium agent, or an assistant in the excise or salt departments, may occasionally be caught for the duty. The other places must, apparently, be filled by natives. Yet it is most easy to suppose a very probable case, where a jury, composed mainly of Hindus or Muhammadans, would be most unfitted to sit on a British subject charged with a grave offence. Let us conceive a planter to be accused of a very serious crime, the punishment to which might, on conviction, extend to seven years' imprisonment. The natives would naturally object to see his case in the hands of twelve, or five, other planters, possessed of similar interests, prejudices, antipathies and likings, and of a fellow-feeling towards a man, whose unfortunate case was their's yesterday, and might be their's again to-morrow. Yet, on the other hand, no sane person would seriously recommend that such an offender should be tried by a jury of twelve, or five, native landholders, ready to wreak on an individual scapegoat the treasured wrongs, the imputed injuries, and the rankling jealousy of twenty years. It will be said in answer to this, that one section of the Act empowers

the Governor-General in Council to suspend the operation of the law in those districts, where there is not a sufficient number of inhabitants qualified to furnish a jury; and that another empowers the judge to suspend the verdict, and refer the case to the Sudder. Our reply is, that Section XV. is likely to become the only practical and working section of the law. It is certainly possible that in Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Meerut, or a few other populous towns, an independant and respectable jury may be collected to try Europeans charged with felonious offences; but it is quite certain that, in eighteen out of twenty other districts, there will either not be a sufficient number of qualified inhabitants at all, or those, deemed qualified by the collector, who is to make out the yearly list, will be found such as the prosecutor or the prisoner may most lawfully challenge on the grounds of interested motives, partiality, connection, intimacy, hostility, or other valid reasons. It will be the old fable, where the grey hairs are plucked out by one party and the black hairs by another. The number of jurymen will gradually melt away, or their verdict be set aside as unjust, and the Act become a dead letter.

But in so important an Act as the present, it is necessary to make provision for other difficulties. The accused British subject may not know six words of the native language. The evidence may be entirely taken down in the vernacular. Who is to interpret to the prisoner the evidence against him? Is the magistrate, or the judge, to perform this most important duty? Can the person, supposed to be weighing with the utmost attention the discrepancies and the shades and the preponderance of testimony, be expected satisfactorily, without bias, and without distraction of mind, to turn from Urdu into English a long screed of native testimony, to give to questions no more than their due significance, to epithets and turns of expression not more or less than their real and actual weight? It is, we think, imperative that the Act should contain full and ample provision for the appointment, duties, and remuneration of a qualified interpreter, in cases where the European may know little or nothing of the native languages, or where, though himself a practical linguist, he may desire the appointment of such a functionary. Without this the Act is manifestly incomplete. No judge in an important case can be trusted to interpret evidence to the defendant, or would wish to be so trusted, even were it otherwise unobjectionable.

The attempt to meet the difficulty of finding a sufficient number of jurymen, by lowering their total from twelve to

five, appears to us of doubtful expediency. There is something in the number twelve endeared to Englishmen by the experience of ages, and by a hundred recollections. If trial by jury is to be altered in any way, we had far rather see it abolished at once. We should prefer, for the trial of a British subject, a court composed of three judges, of known impartiality, skill in the languages, and judicial minds. We do not think that any man would reasonably object to entrust his person, or his cause, to the decision of such a number of his countrymen, untinged by partiality, and only desirous of doing that justice to a case, which its merits, or its high interests, demanded. It may be urged that to assemble three judges for the trial of one Englishman would be the retention of that very inconvenience, which it is the object of the present change to abolish. Two of the judges would have to leave their own districts, and travel a hundred miles or so, in order to sit on the case. But this would be a minor evil compared to the present system, under which the prosecutor, the defendant, and the witnesses on both sides, may have to travel on any fine day from Lahore to Calcutta. Nor is it, after all, a very great hardship that two Europeans should lay their daks, and travel for a couple of nights, to sit on a case, which could not be protracted in any instance beyond a week. The three judges might sit either with or without the jury. With a scrutinizing press, with public observation, and an appeal to the Nizamut, there could be no fear of any substantial injustice.

This consideration leads us to notice one or two special objections, lately made against the body of Civil and Sessions Judges throughout the country, in connection with these now famous Acts. The judges, it is said, are anxious to transport Englishmen. The judges want independence, truckle to a despotic Government, or are liable, for mere impartiality, to reproof, suspension, or removal. The former objection, it is difficult to conceive, as having been made in sober seriousness. Surely we need not labour to vindicate our countrymen from a charge, which would suppose them lost to all sense of patriotism and of honour, the prey of rancorous and hateful passions, prostituting their power to the extinction of all national feeling, of that impartiality they are sworn to observe, or to the gratification of a mere idle whim. Fortunately this charge has been hitherto supported by mere assertion, and, considering the probabilities of the case, a mere assertion should be as powerful to rebut it. But, to make good so gross an attack, was there no possibility of ransacking and

bringing up instances in which Europeans, not British subjects, had been unjustly accused, tried, and convicted before the Mofussil Courts? Natives of Germany, of France, of Portugal, of Italy and of Switzerland, have been, for years past, engaged in business in the Mofussil in various lines, subject to like passions, interests, and inconveniences, as the Englishman, subject to exactly the same laws, as the native. To their hands have been committed factories as flourishing, interests as important, and territories as vast, as those committed to his. Their passions have been as vehement and excitable: their sense of personal honour or indignity as keen. To them, accustomed to the comforts, or even the luxuries, of a western climate, imprisonment in this temperature, in the next cell to a gang of burglars or dacoits, would have brought with it discomfort and degradation, such as the judges of Auvergne or of Franconia would have shuddered to contemplate. They might equally claim the privileges of a white skin, a western education, and a physique unaccustomed to confinement in the tropics, though debarred from expatiating on Magna Charta, and the indefeasible and inalienable rights of true Britons. One instance, in which a lively Frenchman, or a phlegmatic German had been, on some false accusation, summarily seized and thrust into durance, or harassed by excessive bail, had then been brow-beaten and bullied during the proceedings, debarred from advice or counsel, obstructed in his defence, and finally, to satiate the malice of his adversaries and the whim of the judge, subjected to close and cruel imprisonment, such as shortened his days, or undermined his constitution, would be worth all the random assertions, and the dismal anticipations in the world. The case is, however, just the other way. The subjection of Europeans, other than Englishmen, to the jurisdiction of the local courts, has only had the effect of rendering them more orderly and circumspect in their general conduct, more amenable to reason and to law. The few criminal cases, in which they have stood as defendants at the bar, have been marked by the most scrupulous attention to the spirit and letter of the Acts, by a clear field, and a manifest anxiety to sift the matter to the bottom. Most readers may remember the case, in which a Colonel Solano, a native of Spain, was shot, in the district of Arrah, about four years ago by an European, not a British subject, who was for this crime arraigned, tried, convicted, and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment by a Company's judge. In that case there were no unseemly hurry, no glaring illegalities, and no anxiety to con-

vict. We could mention some half a dozen other instances of proceedings in like cases similarly moderate and fair. There is no reason why Mofussil judges should be anxious to have one man transported, because he comes from Somersetshire, and to let off another, because he comes from the Landes, or the Pays de Vaud. Were the Black Acts to become law to-morrow, cases of accused Europeans would be hardly more frequent in our courts than they are now. There might be, we dare say, some little outcry and excitement on the occurrence of a really serious charge against a British subject. But it would come with far more reason from the natives, who might have cause to complain of the exceeding leniency and moderation evinced to one not of their caste and colour.

Next, as to the want of independence on the part of Company's judges. If by this term is meant that the judges do not appoint and create themselves, but are appointed by and responsible to the local Executive Government, the statement is most correct. They are certainly responsible to the high authority, by which they were created, and by which, for established misconduct, they may be removed: and undoubtedly this, as a bare fact, tells strongly against their independence. But, on the other hand, why should it be supposed that truckling to power is a characteristic of Englishmen on the bench, any more than it is of Englishmen employed in other professions, of lawyers, of men engaged in trade and commerce, or of the members of the fourth estate? A sturdy Saxon hardihood, a well known hatred of coercion, an inextinguishable pride in proving their judgment to be unfettered, mark, we are proud to think, the British subject in every profession and walk of life. It belongs to men of the sword, of the pen, and of the toga, as well as to men who are carrying into a distant colony, and in some arduous private undertaking, the characteristic and inherent energies of their race. But we would fain vindicate the aspersed character of our countrymen by an appeal to admitted facts. It is notorious, that, in civil cases, the Government is the most unfortunate client that ever appears in court. Unwilling to press a doubtful or questionable claim, it is made the butt and scope of every sort of interested feeling, of grasping rapacity, of protracted litigation. In the eyes of the presiding judge it finds no sort of favour; from the hands of an unsuccessful opponent it obtains no mercy. Appeal is thrust on appeal by men, who are well aware that there is no chance of a bias against them, and no doubt, in case of success, as to the eventual

realization of their dues. Nothing is so unlucky as for Government to manifest the slightest interest in the issue of any case. It rouses the vigilance of the presiding functionary, and causes no qualms in the breast of the rival claimant. For proof, we would simply refer to the yearly report, printed and published by the Company's Legal Remembrancer. In that will be found the tale of Government suits, where, if the number of successful claims is fairly proportioned, it will be recollected that they were based on the most substantial right and the most irrefragable evidence. But it will be seen that reasonable suits have been abandoned, solely because the head of this or that department was unwilling to exhibit Government any longer in the position of suitor. As to criminal trials, the almost universal cry throughout every zillah is, that convictions are unattainable, that evil doers are all released, and that too much leniency is practised. Nor, we think, can any person point to an instance, where a judge or magistrate has been removed from his post, because he erred on the score of mercy, or was supposed to run counter to the interests of the state.

We must add a few words more on the state of perjury in our courts. We admit that, when once the passions of the tenantry are roused, there is no limit to the amount of perjury; that even a true case is often supported by venal evidence; and that no native, high or low, would have a moment's doubt or hesitation in charging an European antagonist with every imaginable offence, if he thought it would tend in the slightest degree to his own advantage. The result would be exactly the same, even if fifty judgeships on this side of India were to be filled to-morrow by fifty of the most brilliant pleaders from Westminster Hall. To hear men talk of perjury in the Mofussil, it might really be supposed that every lie uttered carried conviction with it, and that falsehood and oppression never met with their due reward. But here again we confidently appeal to figures and facts. In every statement, such as are monthly submitted from every district in the country, will be found a column devoted to cases where the original plaintiff has been punished for a false suit. A further enquiry will suggest that, in other instances, the presiding officer after a close sifting of charges and counter-charges, wearied with ineffectual endeavours to ascertain the exact residuum of truth in the caldron of falsity, has preferred the safer course of acquitting of everything all the parties accused: and a still further enquiry will show dozens of suits, which were dismissed at once, and on the spot, as too

gross for protracted discussion, and too ridiculous for belief. Nor does the preceding enumeration make any allowance for the not unfrequent reversion, on appeal, of the convictions passed by the court of first instance. Perjury has in fact to run the gauntlet through a very considerable number of chances. With a functionary, to whom perjury, and concocted evidence, and cases wholly got up, are nothing so very new; with the possibility of punishment being meted out to an unfounded charge; with the chance that an improbable case will be summarily dismissed from the file, without the slightest prospect or possibility of restoration; and with a graduated system of appeal, where every thing favours the accused appellant, and punishment may be mitigated, but can never be enhanced—a false tale, to win credence and ensure its object, must indeed be framed with uncommon artfulness, and prosecuted with more than ordinary care. That perjury causes endless toil to all parties—that it vexes the innocent, harasses the judges, renders justice protracted, makes the heart sick by hope delayed, and demoralizes the population generally, is unquestionable. That it is usually successful, we deny. The speculators in this unhallowed lottery will confess, to their sorrow, that they must draw many blanks for one single prize.

The length, to which this article has extended, precludes further examination of this interesting and much canvassed subject. The Black Acts will probably pass eventually, but, we hope, only in the Regulation provinces at first. They should be moreover remodelled with more than common circumspection, preceded by a revision of certain parts of our Criminal Code, and by a recognition of merit, in preference to seniority, as a claim to the bench. We will endeavour in conclusion to sum up our wants in a short space. The Jury Act must be more closely defined. While the House of Commons are only now debating on the propriety of permitting magistrates at home to exercise summary jurisdiction, without a jury, in cases of petty larceny, where the property is under a shilling's value, it should not be left in uncertainty whether Indian magistrates are to try Europeans for felony with or without a jury, or whether they are to try them at all. Every British subject, accused of any felonious crime, whatever be the amount of property, or the extent of punishment, or the degree of aggravation in the case, must be tried only by a judge or judges of twenty years' experience. No jury of five natives should ever sit on a British subject. There must be full and ample provision made for the explanation of the charges to the

accused, for the prosecution of the case on the part of the Company by some qualified public officer, and not by a private individual, for the interpretation of the evidence, for all the admitted and customary privileges of the defendant, and for every other reasonable contingency. All doubtful and vague provisions, existing in the present Criminal Code, must be abolished, and no such incongruity be suffered to remain, as that which says that any offence, not punishable by any distinct law, may be punished by a *futwa* from the law officer, under the "General Regulations." As little as possible should be left to the interpretations of private judgment, and the wisdom of Executive Courts. At this same favourable opportunity, the present principle of appeal should be so far modified, that superior courts should be directed not to re-try the case, as they almost invariably do. They should remand it for further evidence or explanation, call for enquiry on obscure points, reverse at once, where the decision is against the law, or in the teeth of the recorded testimony; but they should not, where every thing is done with correctness and formality, reverse a decision, because their estimate of the precise value of the written evidence happens to differ from that of the officer, before whom it was both spoken and written down. Lastly, we require a distinct recognition of the true and just principle, that every judge shall be a selected officer. This is the key-stone of the whole edifice. The nature of the Indian service is such, that men can scarcely be reserved whole and entire, from the first day of their service, for the duties of one single line; and we have attempted to show that a revenue and Police apprenticeship is by no means a bad qualification for the bench. The Company's judge is not, however, the only Indian official, in whom various characters are united. Do we not see Queen's judges in these dependencies compelled to turn their mind, in rapid succession, to those various, complicated, and extensive departments of the learned profession, to each of which, in England, are separately devoted the entire energies of the most able intellects, and the undivided attention of the longest professional lives? May not the barrister at the Presidency be metamorphosed from the Chamber Counsel, to the Old Bailey practitioner—from Special pleader to Equity draftsman—from *Nisi prius* counsel to Civilian in the Ecclesiastical Court? * Are these transformations more strange or horrifying than those of an Indian Civil and Sessions Judge,

* These remarks were suggested by an able article in the *Times* of February last.

whose Police investigations have taught him the consideration due to the native subordinates, and the value of Police enquiries, and whose great experience in land revenue enables him to decide with certainty on complicated questions of real property? No man can fairly appreciate the temptations, the vices, and the license of the Darogah and the great features of crime, who has not presided, for at least some seasons, over the Executive Police of a large and populous district. No man can be at home in a vast quantity of civil cases, if he is not familiar, by close and assiduous attention, with the ins and outs of some "crack collectorate." It is idle to talk of system and legality, and familiarity with the general maxims of jurisprudence, where there is no acquaintance with the vernacular, no insight into native habits, and no familiarity with the hopes and fears of the villager. It is equally futile to assert that any amount of local experience, any knowledge of detail, any realization of the household and domestic life of Hindu or Mussulman, can compensate for the absence of a due proportion of legal knowledge. What is wanted is a plan, by which a judgeship shall be made the reward of discriminating industry and of positive merit, not the haven of laborious incapacity or of plodding inoffensiveness. We desire an arrangement, by which a set of men, chosen for those qualities which would illustrate and adorn any bench, shall administer a revised and purified code, with just such acquaintance with a set of standard authorities, and a number of recognised precedents, as shall ensure decisions, marked by uniformity and sound sense. It may be that this auspicious reformation is reserved for the present head of this empire: and the statesman, who humbled the Khalsa, annexed the Punjab, and gave us the long promised peace, may yet be distinguished for internal reforms and measures of progression, and may add to the discernment and the prompt decision of a Wellesley, the fearless spirit and the pure philanthropy of a Bentinck.*

* This article was written before the receipt of the news, that the Black Acts had been suspended by orders from the Home authorities. It is satisfactory to find, that, by them also, India is not yet considered ripe for the Black Acts. Let us hope, that they well set themselves vigorously to bring about this desired consummation.—[ED.]

ART. VI.—*General Orders by the Commander-in-Chief.*
1849-50.

IF we may judge from the tone of the General Orders, which Sir Charles Napier has, from time to time, issued, since he became Commander-in-Chief in India, it would appear that the estimate, which this distinguished soldier has formed of the discipline and character of the native army of this Presidency, is not altogether so favourable as those interested in the honor and credit of the service could wish. The disparaging terms, in which he wrote of the native regiments, which came under his observation at Lahore, in his famous Mian Mir order, are, of course, fresh in public recollection. In a still later order—on the subject of leave to officers—he has observed, with reference to native regiments, that “the state of discipline is such as to demand every exertion, in every officer, to bring it to that perfection, which it ought to attain:” and there are few of his late orders, in which some equally unmistakeable indication of the opinion, which he has formed, may not be discovered.

The confession is one, which we record with regret, and which many will no doubt read with anger: but we are disposed to think that there is much in the present state of the native army to justify the estimate, which Sir Charles Napier has formed of its character and discipline, and the censure which he has expressed.

No body knows better than we do, how much may be urged in extenuation. We admit the fatal paucity of European officers; the harassing, and too often unsoldierly, duties exacted from native troops; their constantly recurring and lengthened absences from regimental head-quarters, and consequently from European supervision; the absurd system, by which promotion to the commissioned and non-commissioned ranks is too often regulated; the stony-heartedness of invaliding committees, and a host of other extenuating circumstances. But all these causes are innocuous in some regiments, and fail to produce any irremediable evil effect; and therefore they cannot be admitted as affording a valid excuse for an unsatisfactory state of discipline in the mass. Other causes must be looked for: and we propose, in the present article (as far as lies in our power), to trace them, and to enquire how their future operation may be, if not altogether stopped, at least diminished and retarded.

Sir Charles Napier's orders have pointed mainly to regi-

mental commanding officers, as the parties, who are to blame for what is amiss. The justice of his opinion will hardly be disputed. The fact is notorious that, as a general rule—a rule however with many noble exceptions—the seniors of this army are incompetent. Nothing is easier to be accounted for. Nine-tenths of those, to whom the discipline of our native army is immediately entrusted, are men greatly advanced in life—men of from thirty-five to forty-five years' Indian service. This is of itself enough to account for almost any amount of incompetency, if we consider how early men *age* in India, and what trials the constitution goes through, in the course of thirty or forty years' Indian residence.

But there are also other causes. A great many of our commanding officers have spent all their younger and best days in callings, widely different from that of regimental, or even military, officers; in the civil departments of the army, such as the Pay and Audit, Commissariat, and Stud departments; or perhaps in purely civil or political employment. We could name several instances of very late occurrence, in which each of the departments above-mentioned has contributed a commanding officer to the Bengal infantry. Such employment does not perhaps necessarily incapacitate a man for regimental command, but its effect in nine cases out of ten is to do so. At page 925 of the *Pay and Audit Regulations* of 1845, a very curious table, illustrative of our argument, is to be seen, showing on the attainment of what regimental rank certain staff and civil situations require to be vacated by the incumbents; in other words, at what rank a man is considered to become fit for nothing but regimental duty! Thus all Deputy Judge-Advocates, Deputy Commissaries, Barrack-Masters, Deputy Pay-masters, Land or River Surveyors, Clothing-Board Secretaries, &c. &c., are required to rejoin their regiments on attaining the rank of Major regimentally; and Army-Clothing, Gunpowder, and Gun-carriage Agents, first Assistants to Residents, Principal Assistants in civil charge of districts, &c. &c., on arriving at the rank of regimental lieutenant-colonels. It would be idle to say how totally foreign to the duties required of a regimental commanding officer must be the training, afforded by long service in any such appointments as these—or what a novice, in all military matters, the Ex-Clothing Agent, or Ex-Pay-master, must return to their regiments; and yet, as we have observed, it is from men of this class that regimental commanding officers are very generally recruited. Is it wonderful, then, that the effects of such a system should have become apparent to the eagle eye of the

Commander-in-Chief, or that he should express himself of the native army in terms, the reverse of complimentary?

But Sir Charles Napier has not pointed to the inefficiency of commanding officers only, as accounting for the relaxed state of discipline, which he complains of. His remarks are also pointed at lower game—at the inferior agents in maintaining regimental efficiency, the officers commanding companies. In his orders he recognizes the “ability, zeal, and good feeling towards their men”* of this class; but he evidently considers them deficient in other essential qualifications of officers. In this estimate Sir Charles does them, we think, as a class, even more than justice. For ourselves, we are inclined to doubt, if professional zeal is by any means a general characteristic of the junior ranks of officers of this army. We are aware that a great amount of spurious zeal is common enough; a sort of zeal, which expends itself in great exertions to procure for a corps the reputation of having first-rate regimental institutions, a first-rate Band, Mess, and Billiard-table, and giving first-rate parties, &c. In every regiment, too, will be found, amongst the twelve or fourteen officers, composing its effective strength, one or two, whose zeal takes a more legitimate direction: men who give themselves up, heart and soul, to the improvement of their men, and to acquiring for their regiments the reputation of being well-dressed, well-drilled, well-disciplined, and ready for any service. Nay, we could name some regiments, in which a laudable spirit of this kind pervades more or less the entire body of officers. But these are the exception, not the rule: and, as we write not to conceal and keep out of sight what we feel to be amiss in the service, but in the hope that to expose it with a bold and fearless hand may be to procure its correction and amendment, we have little hesitation in saying, that a ready, consistent, cheerful and energetic spirit in performing the regimental duties of the service is not by any means so commonly to be found as it ought to be: but that, on the contrary, a thoughtless indifference to their duty, and to the credit and reputation of their service, is a far more common characteristic of the subordinate ranks of the Bengal army at the present day.

We are quite disposed to make great allowances for the indifference and apathy, which we lament. Regimental duties—under no circumstances, it may be supposed, very interesting—must always be particularly distasteful in a climate like that, which we live in, and in a service where men and officers, from difference

* *Vide* his General Order disbanding the 66th Regiment N. I.

of race, have necessarily so few feelings in common. Who cannot understand how sickening must be the everlasting routine of parades, under perhaps some superannuated relic of the last century, incompetent (as we once heard said of an officer, who has since been decorated and honoured) to manœuvre a "naick and four"?—or the daily investigation of petty complaints and grievances (often imaginary, and involving, in nine cases out of ten, some paltry question of annas and pice), such as our Hindustani sepoys are so delighted to pour into the ear of their European officer, if they are only so fortunate as to get hold of one, whose sense of duty compels him to listen to them? and who cannot appreciate the disgust, which must be inspired in the mind of an English gentleman by the deceit, lying, and trickery on the part of the native soldiery, which such confidences almost invariably disclose? Let us not undervalue either the unceasing disgust and annoyance, which the native propensity to "eye-service" must be productive of. Regimental officers assert that they cannot rely, in the smallest degree, on even a show of discipline and smartness being kept up by their men, when away from European supervision; and the officers of our best-disciplined corps will avow, that they feel the reputation of their regiment to be imperilled, whenever they detach even a corporal and four from regimental head-quarters.

We lately came across a passage in one of the numbers of the *East India United Service Journal*—a publication, unhappily perhaps for the service, long since defunct—which, though written sixteen years ago, expresses so well another plea in extenuation of the apathy of the regimental officers of this army, at the present day, that we need make no apology for transcribing it at length. It is as follows:—

"But the principal cause, which leads officers to feel dissatisfied with their situation, and which consequently materially diminishes the interest, which they ought to take in their regiments, is this: they feel that they are *slightly considered* in India; that, whatever may be the relative positions of others, that of the regimental officer is ever *last*. Whom do the great ones of the land, the men in power and authority, 'delight to honour'? Who, on all occasions of ceremony, is distinguished by precedence and favourable notice? Assuredly *not* the regimental officer. In European armies, the *Etât Major*, corresponding to the Adjutant General's and Engineer's departments, are deservedly from their (supposed at all events) superior attainments, considered the foremost of the army; but in India how wide is the range of the 'staff' There is

‘ not an individual, who builds a barrack, feeds a bullock, provides ghee and gram, *et hoc genus omne*, who is not called under this style, and considered first in place and favour, as well as in emolument. Are these, the regimental officer asks himself, the people, whom the native soldier will follow, when the Russians are clustering on the Indus? Surely not. He feels that *he* is the working member of the hive: he knows that it has been well said by Sir John Malcolm that the captains and subalterns, of all armies the pillars, may, in India, be called the pillars of the State: he knows all this, and feels, *Ego feci, tulit alter honores*.

“ If he looks to another service, he sees that the subaltern of twelve or fourteen years’ standing ranks only with the writer, who is at college; while the civilian, who came out in the same ship with him, is taking rank with lieutenant-colonels.

“ It is therefore not surprising, however lamentable, that the regimental officer should too frequently give up in disgust the proper spirit of a soldier, which should make him glory in his profession, and feel a pride in his service, his regiment, and his own situation. It is not surprising, however lamentable, that he should wish to escape from irksome duty, where good conduct brings no applause, and to step aside from the thorny path to some quiet retreat, where all the best energies of a soldier are too often lost for ever.”*

We may smile, in the year 1850, at the writer’s hint of the probability of the Russians “ clustering on the Indus;” but, in all other respects, the passage is a wonderfully true representation of what is passing at the present day.

But there is another reason, which, in our opinion, has tended more than all the rest put together, to produce the state of discipline, which Sir Charles Napier censures. We allude to the enormous and ever-increasing number of staff appointments, open to the military officers of the Bengal Presidency. So numerous have these become, that scarce one officer in fifty is content now-a-days to sit down and devote himself, heart and soul, to the dull, and comparatively unremunerative, drudgery of regimental servitude. On the contrary, almost all are actuated by the very natural desire of obtaining employment away from their regiments, where their allowances will be better, their independence greater, and their importance and responsibility often immeasurably increased. It is rare in a regiment to find any one officer, who does not cherish the hope—well or ill-founded as the case may be—of

* *East India United Service Journal*, for 1834, p. 94.

obtaining extra regimental employment. The effect of this expectation is to disturb and unsettle the mind, and to produce indifference to the immediate and legitimate duties of the profession. Nor unhappily does the complaint attack only the lazy and inefficient—those who, under no circumstances, could be brought to apply themselves to their duty: its evil effects make themselves felt in even a greater degree in the best-disposed and most energetic. The latter, burning with an honorable and laudable desire to bring to notice the qualifications for public employment, which they feel themselves to possess, are depressed, and their zeal and energy damped beyond measure, to see their claims constantly postponed and set aside, in favour of the idle, the dissolute, the inefficient, of their brother officers, because these happen to possess “interest” with “the powers that be.”

We are not solitary in our views in this subject. We are supported by an authority, no meaner than that of a predecessor of Sir Charles Napier in the Commander-in-Chiefship; we allude to the late Sir Edward Paget, who gave the following remarkable evidence before a committee of the House of Commons:—

“One of the most objectionable points, that I observed in the system of Bengal, was the way in which officers were taken from their corps to *fill up all sorts of situations*, not at all confined to those of the military staff. I allude to the great number of civil appointments, in addition to the military, and which to my mind is most objectionable. Here, in Europe, when a young man is put into a regiment, his regimental feelings are uppermost with him, though he may be looking in process of time to advancement on the staff: but, from the instant a young man arrives in India, all his thoughts seem to be directed to how, instead of being with his regiment, he is to get away from it, in order to better his condition.”

Hear also Sir W. K. Grant—also a distinguished officer—on the same subject:—

“The consequences of the present system,” he observed, “are obvious: a relaxed state of discipline; no connection between the officer and sepoy; and dissatisfaction in the mind of the former, from severer duties falling on him in consequence of the paucity of officers present. To this must be added a feeling universally prevalent, that from the number of officers withdrawn from regiments for staff duties, the few, that remain with a corps, consider the doing so as a mark of degradation. The mind then becoming restless and discontented,

‘ duties are performed in a very slovenly manner, and every effort made to obtain some employment, which, in many cases, the officers with a King’s regiment would not accept. Such a state of things must be pregnant with evil to the service,” —&c.

We have traced then, we think, the unsatisfactory state of discipline, which Sir Charles Napier complains of, in so far as it is attributable to the subordinate ranks of officers, to three causes, each more efficacious than the preceding :—first, the more than ordinarily uninteresting and unsatisfactory nature of the regimental duties ; second, the mean *status*, which the regimental officer holds in the Indian social scale ; and, third, the unsettled and anxious state of mind almost universally induced by the probability, or at all events the hope, of obtaining extra regimental employment. The first of these causes admits, it may be feared, of little or no alleviation. We cannot wash the blackamoor white, nor can we change the character, which nature has implanted in him, any more than his skin. A high sense of duty is the only agent, by which an uninteresting employment can be made to interest ; and this high sense of duty is not a thing, that is to be acquired by rule, or instilled by a General Order. We pass on then to the second cause ; and the removal of this is happily a matter of little difficulty. The power of a Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief is, in this respect, absolute, and their lead is tolerably certain of being followed by all ranks. Already something has been done by Sir Charles Napier ; a beginning has been made :—and we venture to predicate that, should he remain in India any thing like the usual five years, the estimation, in which regimental officers are held by the staff and by society at large, will be immeasurably improved. “ No soldier ever died on the field of battle more gloriously than young Sitwell of the 31st native infantry : ” — “ The brave Lieutenant Hilliard of the 23rd native infantry, and his small band, equally sustained the honour of the Indian army, and though this valiant officer’s wound is severe,” —&c. such words, even from the pen of a Commander-in-Chief, may seem to the uninitiated of no great value or importance ; but what regimental officer, as he read them, did not feel his class honoured, in the notice bestowed upon “ young Sitwell ” and “ the brave Lieutenant Hilliard,” and thank Sir Charles Napier in his heart for his kindly and handsome recognition of two regimental subalterns ? We repeat that the effect of a few words like these is greater than will be believed, and that the reproach, at present too generally attached by the service

and society to regimental subalternship, will fade away before half a dozen such public recognitions of regimental merit

The principle, by which we must endeavour to counteract the third and most influential cause, is clear enough. It will be, to enhance the attractions of regimental servitude, and diminish those of extra regimental employment. The question is, How can this principle be brought into operation?

Now there are evidently already many attractions on the side of regimental life and servitude. Regimental life is one of very great leisure:—those, who are given to speaking disparagingly of the profession, would say of idleness. Its duties are few; and even the strict performance of them calls for no very great exertion either of mind or body. A few growls may be occasionally called forth by a treasure escort in the hot winds, the frequency of reliefs, or the expence of building at two or three new stations in succession. Still, as a whole, regimental life may be described as one of very considerable ease and comfort. Again, in what situation, away from his regiment, can an officer look for that (in a well-regulated corps) most delightful of all reunions—the Mess-table? and in what department of the public service will he ever enjoy his own music in the shape of a regimental band, or the after-tiffin sociability of a regimental Billiard-table? It may be said by some cynical person, that we are over-rating trifles, and that the attractions, we have mentioned, would not be considered as such by men of any pretensions to sense. We differ from him. Trifles they perhaps are, but not on that account beneath the consideration of men of sense: for of trifles, as we all know, the happiness of life is made up. Barring then that his income is somewhat circumscribed, and that he has a weary long time to look forward to between each step of promotion, we conclude that the life of a regimental officer is one, which the generality of men would certainly not view with repugnance, and which must possess considerable charms for men of average disposition, character, and ability. It certainly presents, in many respects, a very favourable contrast to the life of over-worked slavery, led by very many generally-envied staff officers. Let those, who incline to a contrary opinion, and regard the “staff” as a condition of unqualified enjoyment, pay a visit to the quarters of the nearest Commissariat officer, Pay-master, or Brigade Major, or to the Kácheri of any of our military civilians.

In truth we think that regimental service would be sufficiently popular for the purposes of discipline, if, at the same time that we should accelerate the promotion of the regimental

officer, and give him an earlier chance of attaining rank and command, we should curtail somewhat of those too exuberant advantages, which at present attach to extra regimental employment.

We are all of us familiar with the idea of a staff corps. It has been a favourite project for years, and has found supporters amongst some of the ablest men of the three Presidencies. Let us see for a moment how it would work.

We may state the number of officers of the Bengal army below the rank of colonel (confining our calculation to the three arms, artillery, cavalry, and infantry) at 2,250 : and we may state the number of extra regimental appointments, given to these 2,250 officers, at (in round numbers) 530. These 530 appointments may be classed, as follows:—

Purely civil or political	136
Purely military	44
Civil staff	130
In local or irregular regiments.....	220
Total.....	530

Now it can scarcely be doubted that, if the 530 officers holding these appointments, were struck off the strength of their regiments, and formed into a staff corps, the vacancies thereby caused in regiments being filled up from the remaining officers, and the complement of the latter maintained at its present strength;—if such were to happen, we say, and in future extra regimental employment to entail the forfeiture of regimental promotion, it can scarcely be doubted that the prospects of the regimental officer, in the way of promotion, would be improved to such a degree, that regimental duty would cease to be unpopular, that staff employment would lose much of its attraction, and that the object in view would be at once effected. The conditions of a staff corps, constituted on such principles, would, of course, preclude the possibility of any member of it returning to the effective regimental branch of the service; and it is this consideration, which probably would deter so many, and certainly some of the best of our officers, from seeking extra regimental employment. But the very grandeur of such a scheme is quite enough to make its adoption a matter of impossibility, even were other objections wanting. It would be tantamount, in point of expence, to adding something like one field officer, two or three captains, and as many subalterns, to the existing establishment; and, though such an augmentation has been talked of as probable within the last few months, and is known moreover to be in

conformity with Sir Charles Napier's opinion as to the requirements of the service, we may be very certain it will never be realized. Besides, though we think there cannot be two opinions as to the justice, no less than the expediency, of permanently removing from the regimental lists all officers in purely civil employment, and perhaps those also in the civil departments of the army, such as the Pay, Commissariat, &c. yet it might not be equally fair or expedient to do the same with the purely military staff officers, or with those attached to irregular and local corps;—whose employment, if non-regimental, is still strictly military, and, in many instances, calculated to promote, rather than injure, their fitness for future military and regimental command. The change too, involved in such a measure, would be too radical and sweeping, to make its adoption feasible; and yet, if curtailed at all—to the extent for instance of confining the staff corps to officers in civil employ, or in the civil departments of the army—the influence, which it would have on promotion, would be so small that the object sought would not be attained. We must look therefore for some less objectionable method of effecting what is required.

We know not whether this project has ever before been submitted to the public, and consequently whether it possesses at least the merit of originality; but it occurs to us that the object in view—namely, the enhancement of the attractions of regimental service, and the diminution of those of extra regimental employment—might be effected by the adoption of such an arrangement as the following:—

The captains and subalterns of the artillery, and of every regiment of cavalry and infantry, to be divided into two distinct lists, an *effective* and a *non-effective*: retaining the establishment of officers as at present. The *non-effective* list to include the names of all officers extra-regimentally employed: the *effective* list, the remainder. Promotions in regiments to be confined entirely to officers on the effective list. Officers on military staff employment, including those attached to irregular corps, to receive brevet or army rank, either after certain fixed periods of service, or whenever they would be otherwise superseded by a junior officer of their own regiments: such officers to have the option *once* of returning to the effective list, namely, whenever (had they remained on the effective list) it would have come to their turn to be promoted to the higher grade. In the event of this opportunity being declined, the officer to remain during the rest of his service on the non-effective list, and to be eligible for brevet

army promotion only. Officers in purely civil employ to be ineligible for any further military rank than that in which they were transferred, and, though still borne on the non-effective lists of regiments, to be considered in every respect civilians.

On precisely the same principle would be the effective and non-effective lists of majors and lieutenant-colonels; but here it would be necessary to make a further trifling alteration in the existing practice. Promotions to the rank of major would have to be made, to speak technically, "in the line," (that is, as promotions to lieutenant-colonel are made now) and not in regiments; otherwise, a non-effective major would put an effectual and eternal bar to the promotion of the captains of his corps. Military men will appreciate in an instant how easily, and with how little inconvenience to every one concerned, this arrangement might be introduced.

An examination of the annexed specimen list will help the reader to understand our scheme. We will call it the

75th Regiment of Native Infantry.

EFFECTIVE.	NON-EFFECTIVE.
<i>Lieutenant-Colonel.</i>	<i>Lieutenant-Colonel.</i>
1. ———(Commanding the Regt.)	1. <i>Major.</i> —————(On civil employ.)
<i>Major.</i>	<i>Captains.</i>
<i>Captains.</i>	1st. ———(On civil employ.)
3rd. _____ 4th. _____ (on furlough) 5th. _____	2nd. ———(On military staff employ.)
<i>Lieutenants.</i>	6th. ———(Commanding—Irr. Cavy.)
1st. _____	<i>Lieutenants.</i>
2nd. _____	4th. _____
3rd. _____	6th. _____
5th. _____	<i>Ensigns.</i>
7th. _____	
8th. _____	
9th. _____	
10th. _____	
<i>Ensigns.</i>	
1st. _____	
2nd. _____	
3rd. _____	
4th. _____	

In this list, the senior captain, being on civil employ, would be ineligible for promotion; consequently, on the major's "line step" coming round to the regiment, it would be optional with the second captain (who is on military staff employ) to return to the effective list, and take his promotion—or to remain on the non-effective list, receiving immediate brevet promotion to prevent his supercession by the third captain, if this should be thought preferable to granting the brevet only after fixed periods of service:—and so on.

From this example we may estimate the revolution, which the adoption of our scheme would cause in the prospects of the effective, that is, the regimental officer. The promotion of this class would be accelerated in a degree equally enormous and beneficial. Third captains, who at present have to look forward two lustra and more, before they can reasonably hope to be promoted, would see the majority of their regiments, with its attendant advantages of handsome allowances and the speedy prospect of command, almost within their grasp. We ask, from which is the greater zeal, energy, and activity to be expected,—from him, who, at thirty-five or thirty-six, feels himself on the eve of attaining a field officer's spurs, the command of a regiment, and a scale of pay, which shall enable him to command every reasonable convenience and luxury?—or from him, who, at the same age, has to look forward to twelve years more drudgery as a regimental captain, with authority no greater than that exercised by every ensign of two years' service, and pay only just sufficient to provide him with the necessaries of life? The last is too often a broken-spirited, disgusted, and discontented man;—the first would have the springs of hope fresh within him, and would bring to the performance of even the most irksome duties the cheering conviction that they were soon to have an end.

On the other hand, the senior captain of such a regiment as we have sketched, the civil employée, would hold, in some respects, a position of considerable mortification, exposed, as he would be, to find himself eventually superseded in military rank by the youngest officer of his regiment. He would retain his handsome civil allowances, his consequence, and the prospective advantage of pension for length of service, which he at present enjoys:—on the other hand, he would lose the privilege of standing in the way of those, who are doing his legitimate work for him, and bearing in his place "the burden and heat of the day." His cup, though still a

sweet one, would be a little dashed with gall—just enough, it appears to us, to cause the young officer, who at present looks to a civil situation as the *ne plus ultra* of human happiness, to hesitate, before he took the final step, which would involve the forfeiture of promotion in his profession, and prevent, under any circumstances, his ever donning his soldier's coat again:—yet not enough to give cause for the apprehension that the supply of well-qualified candidates for civil employ would fail.

Having thus briefly, but we trust intelligibly, delineated a plan, by the adoption of which the attractions of regimental service would be sufficiently enhanced, and those of staff employment sufficiently diminished, to make it probable that the regimental branch would retain many valuable officers, whose effective services it now loses, either by their acceptance of staff employment, or by their becoming disgusted with, and negligent of, their military duties, we shall conclude this article by briefly anticipating two objections, to which the proposal of a non-effective list may probably give rise. The first of these is, that to make the plan work fairly, it would be essential that extra-regimental employment should be equally distributed throughout the different regiments composing the army—a condition, which by reason of the infirmity of human nature, as manifested in Governor-Generals, &c., it would be hopeless to satisfy. It is of course obvious, that if one regiment had three only, and another six officers, on the non-effective list, the effective officers of the latter regiment would have an undue advantage over those of the former in the way of promotion, and that constant supercession would be the result. But the rule has long existed and with occasional, not to say frequent, exceptions, is even now observed, that not more than five officers of any one regiment shall be employed at the same time on the staff. This proportion, we may observe, being very nearly as one to four, is just about sufficient for the supply of the 530 staff appointments, which, in a former page, we shewed to be held by officers of the Bengal army. We will not admit that it would be even difficult, much less impossible, to observe this rule with the utmost strictness, or that it would interfere, to any material extent, with the patronage of a Governor-General, or Commander-in-Chief: the argument therefore, that would be built upon such an assumption, must fall to the ground.

The other objection to be anticipated is one, which the plan of an effective and non-effective list shares in common with

the long-talked-of plan of a "staff corps." It is, that an officer selected for staff employment, and placed on the non-effective list, might prove on trial unfit for his situation, and that in this case it would be out of the power of the authorities to remand him to regimental duty. In reply to this we would observe, that, in the first place, the resort to regimental duty, as a sort of "hulks" for the punishment of refractory or incompetent staff officers, is most impolitic, unfair, and reprehensible, because degrading to a class of officers, whose feelings and dignity ought to be matter of peculiar solicitude to Government. And further, we would observe that this alleged defect of the scheme is in reality one of its greatest recommendations, because it would compel those in office to select for the staff from public motives, instead of from private favour and regard.

Here our self-imposed task ends. We have endeavoured—with what success our readers must determine—to trace the causes, which have caused Sir Charles Napier to pronounce the present state of discipline of the native army to be "such as to require every exertion on the part of every officer to bring it to that perfection, which it ought to attain." We have suggested a remedy for some at least of these causes. Our power extends no further: the application of the remedy lies with those who, immediately or remotely, govern the country and the army.

ART. VII.—*The Letters of Civis on Indian affairs, from 1842 to 1849, by Henry Russell. London. Murray. 1850.*

THE letters of "Civis" are now acknowledged by Sir Henry Russell, an old Bengal civilian, who began his career in the Persian Translator's Office, when Mr. Edmonstone held that post, and who, many years afterwards, was Resident at Hyderabad. He quitted the service a quarter of a century ago; and now, having passed the allotted age of man, he has been pleasantly beguiling the time in his Berkshire home, by writing letters to the *Times* newspaper about India and her affairs—letters distinguished rather by their gossiping anecdotal character than by any profound political sagacity. The politics, indeed, are sometimes a little hazy; but the anecdotes are always pleasant and suggestive: and it is just the kind of book, that a garrulous critic likes to lay his hands upon, and to take as a *casus belli* for a war of gossip with his author. So, without any further preface, we proceed to attack the work.

The *first* letter contains some general reflections on the danger attending the rapid extension of our Indian Empire. "Our power in India," it is said, "like the ripple of a stone thrown into the water, is destined to be lost in its expansion. It wants the first element of strength; and sooner or later must be exhausted by its own growth." And this principle, laid down at the outset of the discourse, seems more or less to govern all his subsequent discursions. It is a very grave question; but one of so purely speculative a character, that it were little profit to attempt its solution. According to all calculations, not only the Indian Empire, but the Russian and the Chinese Empires, ought to have fallen to pieces long ago. If there were any one-ness of design, any identity of interests, any religious or social sympathy, to bind together the conquered into one great body, the military and civil elements having blended therein, neither English, Russian, nor Tartar conquerors could resist the combination. The dominant power would be crushed as easily as a hazel-nut under a mill-stone. But the people, whom we govern, are at war among themselves. Their weakness is our strength; their disunion is our security. *Dum singuli præliantur, universi vincuntur.* We seldom hear of any serious disturbances between the native inhabitants of the country and the European interlopers; but history is dotted with illustrative examples of the enmity existing between natives of different creeds, and the little that it takes to give outward shape and substance

to the irritability festering within them. There are old men amongst us now, who remember how grievously the strong mind of Lord Wellesley was shaken, when intelligence reached Calcutta, that the sepoy of the Persian Ambassador's escort at Bombay had fallen out with his personal attendants, and that the Elchee himself had been killed in the affray—and how, some years later, another affray between Metcalfe's escort at Umritsir, and a party of Sikhs, at a time when the conduct of Runjit Singh was greatly perplexing Lord Minto, brought the wavering mind of the Punjabi ruler to a settled point, by demonstrating the superiority of the Company's sepoy to his own troops, and so determining him to look with a more friendly eye upon the British alliance. There are men amongst us, who remember these things; whilst even the new arrivals of the last cold season can point to the recent disturbance at Mulkapore in proof of the difficulty of cementing the discordant parts of the great fabric of Indian society. If it were not for our presence in India, the affrays, which now have, for the most part, small beginnings and small endings, would deluge the country with blood. The small beginnings would have great endings; and a casual collision, or a Mohurum broil, would often result in the massacre of thousands.

It is of little use, we say, to attempt to solve the question whether the extension of the Indian Empire is a source of weakness, or of strength. We have our own opinion, like other people, upon the subject; but so long as we are convinced that our Indian Empire has extended itself, under the direction of a higher power than our own, we see but little advantage in discussing the question of expediency. The extension of our Indian Empire has been matter of sheer necessity. The East India Company have ever set their faces against it. Our local rulers have never designedly sought it, and have often struggled against it. In spite of all protests—of all efforts—of every thing that can be said in theory and every thing attempted in practice—our Indian Empire has gone on extending itself; and now, that our frontier has reached to the banks of the Indus, it is of little use to consider, whether it would not be better for us, if we had never transgressed the limits of the Jumna. We must make the best of our position, now that we are there. Whether for good, or for evil—whether for our exaltation, or our humiliation—it is beyond us to say: but the fiat of a superior power has determined the time and the extent of our progression, and we have nothing to do but to recognise “God in History” and to bow to His behests.

It will be said, perhaps, that if we settle political questions in

this summary manner, all discussions of human justice and human wisdom are idle and unprofitable, as all such considerations are swamped in the one idea of an overruling Providence. The answer to this is as trite as the objection, and we need scarcely pause to offer it. Man is not passive, because God is omnipotent. We are to do our best according to the light that is in us. God works through us and in us.

There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough hew them as we may.

But it is (all the same,) our work to rough hew them, with so much of human wisdom and such directions of the moral sense, as Providence has implanted within us. *L'homme propose ; Dieu dispose*. We have extended our frontier to the Indus ; and it is at least permitted us to hope that the extension will be crowned, not only with profit to ourselves, but with blessings to the people we have conquered.

In the *second* letter, which is dated April 3, 1842, "Civis" writes of the old alarm of an Afghan invasion, and of our missions to the Court of Persia. "Since the destruction of Tippu's power in Seringapatam in 1791," he writes, "the views of the Indian Government have from time to time been directed to the defence of our possessions against invasions by an European rival. The intercourse we have cultivated with Persia was designed to close that road against the French ; and our late calamitous advance into Afghanistan was made, professedly in contemplation of an attempt in that direction by the Russians. I never believed that there was anything beyond menace in the display of that design. *Bonaparte had no more purpose of invading India, than he had of invading England* ; nor has the Emperor Nicholas any real project of the same kind now." That the invasion both of India and of England was really meditated by Napoleon, requires no inconsiderable stretch of scepticism now to question. We have nothing here to do with his designs on England ; but that he seriously thought of disputing our supremacy in India is a fact which, after patient enquiry, every historian will be compelled to admit. The invasion of India by a confederate army of Russian and French troops, uniting on the plains of Persia, was discussed at Pilsit in 1807 by Napoleon and Alexander ; and a regular compact for the furtherance of the scheme was entered into between the two potentates. That it was a mere sham on the part of Napoleon, intended to fill the mind of the Czar with visions of oriental conquests, and so the more securely to blind him to the real views of the over-reaching

Frenchman, we, while fully believing that Alexander was at this time duped and deluded by his more able ally, are not prepared to recognise. It was not a mere sham; nor was it a mere fleeting impulse. Napoleon was not the man to send a costly mission to the Court of Teheran; to despatch engineer, artillery, and other officers to Persia, to erect fortifications, to cast cannons, and to drill the Persian troops; or to depute men of science to the Persian Gulph, to survey its harbours, and to obtain other needed information—without some ulterior designs. When Arthur Conolly, in March 1839, had an interview with Metternich at Vienna, that statesman told him that he knew little about Persian and Afghan affairs, adding—"Indeed, I never had occasion to think at all about those countries, except when Napoleon threatened to carry his arms through them. *He really did* project an invasion of India. Russia has never had any more serious thoughts of such an undertaking, than you in India have of invading Siberia." We may accept the testimony of the great Austrian minister on a point of past history, if not upon one of cotemporary politics. That Napoleon projected the invasion of Hindustan is as certain, as that Zernán Shah was puffed up with the idea of the same magnificent enterprize: but both monarchs were restrained from the effort at far-off conquest by the necessity of action nearer home. Whether there was any real cause of apprehension, in either case, on the part of the Anglo-Indian Government, is altogether another question. But that the enterprize, however unsuccessful it might have proved to be in the sequel, was really meditated by Napoleon, we require some better testimony, than that of "Civis," to induce us to disbelieve.

There is much suggestive matter in this letter. The writer declaims against the folly of prosecuting defensive measures beyond the frontier, and argues that the nearer home we meet our enemies the better. "Two objects," he says, "have been assigned as the principal motives of our defensive measures: one—that of anticipating the project of the invader, by countering him on his approach, rather than on his arrival; the other—that of engaging the powers on his line to join with us in our resistance. Of these two purposes, a little consideration will, I think, show that the first was prejudicial, and that the second was more likely to be defeated, than promoted, by the measures we adopted." He then goes on to say:—

Whether it be from the centre, or the north, of Europe that our invader is to issue—the length of the march before him, and the want of supplies upon his line, will constitute his greatest difficulty. By advancing to meet him, we lighten his enterprize, by shortening his way. That effort, which would otherwise have lain wholly upon him, we take partially upon our-

selves. The further we go beyond our own frontier—the nearer to his resources, and the more distant from our own, the collision between us will take place. Our troops will have been exposed to just that fatigue and privation, which will have been saved to his. The sooner our enemy encounters us, after he has begun his march, the better will be his state of preparation. Every day that he has to advance through a country, always doubtful, often jealous, and sometimes hostile, will reduce something of his physical, and something of his moral, strength; and, of a conflict thus voluntarily sought by us at a distance from our own frontier, what, under either alternative, must be the result? If we are successful, our enemy is so much the more within reach of those resources from which his defeat must be repaired. If we fail, what will be the character and what the issue of our retreat? What reception are we to expect in those countries through which we shall have to make our way as a flying rabble? And under what circumstances more to be deprecated by us, can our pursuers enter our territory, than as a victorious army, elated by success, and confident in the issue of their enterprize? I suggest no answer to these questions—they already answer themselves.—*Pp.* 5-6.

There is, doubtless, something in all this: but there is another side to the argument, with, perhaps, even more cogency in it. It is possible for an invading army, either by subjugating the countries through which it passes, or by securing their alliance, to strengthen itself as it advances, and to reach the frontier, towards which its march is directed, in a more formidable condition than when the expedition was commenced. Supposing that France, securing in the first instance, through means of her envoys, the co-operation of Persia, were then either by menaces or promises to have obtained the aid of the Afghans, we should have been far less competent to stem the tide of invasion, than if we had gone out boldly to meet it, and confronted our enemies nearer to their own homes. To have waited to give them battle on the banks of the Jumna, at the commencement of the present century, would indeed have been a dangerous experiment. Gathering confidence and audacity from the presence and support of each other, encouraged by our passiveness under provocation, and interpreting the quiet attitude of dignified self-reliance into an evidence of paralysis and stagnation, all the native powers would have leagued together against us, and, instead of encountering a single army, we should have been overwhelmed by a confederacy of armies. We do not believe that at any time, whether under the administration of Lord Wellesley, or Lord Auckland, we could have afforded to await the appearance of an invading army upon the frontier of our own dominions. There is often in Sir Henry Russell's letters a little confusion of the past and the present; and it is not always clear, whether his remarks refer to some historical incident just quoted, or to the modern instance, which it is intended to illustrate. Assuming, however, that these reflections

have an especial reference to the invasion of Afghanistan in 1839, it is to be observed that the question of the propriety of that movement depends for its solution upon the urgency of the danger, which it was designed to avert. If India really was threatened with an invasion by a Russo-Persian army, to march a British force into Afghanistan was no such insane project. The real question is, whether the British army was not marched into Afghanistan at a time, when there was no danger—at a time, when the Russo-Persian alliance had ceased to bear perilous fruits. That the object of engaging the powers on the line was more likely to be defeated than promoted by the measures we adopted, we are strongly inclined to believe. There is much truth in what follows :—

I am old enough to remember our first mission to Persia, upwards of forty years ago. On every account it was important that we should make ourselves acquainted with the circumstances of the countries in our vicinity ; with their Government, condition, and population ; their geography and climate ; their roads, rivers, and productions : that we should construct maps of such portions of them as were accessible for that purpose, and collect as much statistical information respecting them as possible. Our rivals are doing so now ; and, on such a subject especially, we ought not to be surpassed by them in research. But it was unwise in us to seek any intimate or lasting connection with our neighbours. Our visits to them, to be conciliatory, should be transient. If we stay long, we meddle too much ; and, though they may welcome us as guests, they do not like us as masters. We cannot interfere without controlling ; and, the more our control is felt, the less patiently it will be endured. There is not one of the states allied with us in India, but would to-morrow extricate itself from the connection, if it could. The Afghans are now more likely to incline towards the Russians, than they were before their intercourse with us. If we had left them alone, and they had known the Russians as intruders only, their obvious impulse would have been to repel them : having been exasperated by our invasion, they will now welcome, as their own friends, all who approach as our enemies. We have provoked hostility, where we ought to have conciliated support. Hitherto they have not looked, with either prejudice or predilection, to the north or to the south, Russians and English were alike indifferent to them. But, after our attempt to force a despised and despicable sovereign upon them, and our violent occupation of their country, it is impossible they should hesitate in their choice : their national pride has been aroused, their national independence violated ; and they will now feel “ our little finger thicker than the loins of the Russians.”—*Pp.* 6-7.

The great object of our advance beyond the Indus having been to secure a friendly power in Afghanistan, it is obvious that we have failed miserably. “ The Russians,” says “ Civis,” “ would now find succour where they would otherwise have encountered resistance. It has been for an advancing, and not for a retiring enemy, that the bridge has been constructed by us.” And if enmity to Great Britain supplied sufficient materials for the construction of such a bridge, no doubt it has been constructed. But it may be fairly questioned, whether

the dangers, apprehended from a Russian invasion, are greater since we interfered with Afghanistan, than before we committed ourselves to the policy, which in the issue has been so disastrous. What we have suffered, and what the Afghans have suffered, from that ill-fated connexion, suggest a warning too portentous to be disregarded, either at Kábul or St. Petersburg. The Russians are not likely to be inspired by any very ardent desire to entangle themselves in the terrible defiles of Afghanistan ; and the Afghans, who have seen within a few years Scinde and the Punjab pass into the hands of the Feringhis, and who still mourn over the marks of our anger, which we have left behind us in their own country, will display but little anxiety to see another European army at the gates of Kábul and Kandahar. It is not impossible that our failure may achieve for us more than the fullest success. The immolation has not been a fruitless one. Neither Russia nor Afghanistan will court a connexion, which to either party may prove so disastrous. Called upon to choose between the Russians and the English, the Afghans would decide against the latter ; but they are little likely, after their recent experience, to court *any* European alliance. They know now what it is to have a friendly European power, making itself at home in their towns, and managing their affairs for them. And the Russians have learnt how dangerous a thing it is to be surrounded by such a people in such a country, when a single offence against the interests, the feelings, or the prejudices of the native chiefs, may set the whole country in a blaze, and rouse the tribes to commence a fierce and fanatical war of extermination against the hated Europeans, who came among them as friends.

In the *third* letter, "Civis" treats of our relations with Shah Sujah, of the difficulty of annulling them, of the character of the Afghan king, and of the deposed Amir, Dost Mahomed. After giving some account of the Shah, he says,—“ It was this ‘Shah Sujah, then an outcast and a beggar, that we made the ‘disastrous attempt to restore in 1839 ; and it was Dost Mahomed, in whose name we were opposed, and who, puppet as he ‘was, and puppet as he is, has given us such reason to remember him.” That Shah Sujah was a puppet in the hands of the British, is a fact of universal acceptance ; but we do not know upon what intelligible grounds “Civis” declares Dost Mahomed to have been a puppet. He made his way to sovereignty by the force of his own personal character ; and was as genuine a ruler, as is often to be found in that, or any other, part of the globe. Certainly he was the least of a puppet of all the occupants of the Balla Hissar, since the days of Ahmed Shah. He

had no minister, with more brains than himself, to pull the wires, or any dominant party to support him in spite of his inherent defects—his weakness—his nonentity. The fact is that Dost Mahomed was really somebody—a genuine man, with a sound head and a brave heart. If he had been merely a thing of straw or bran, a stuffed and padded nothing, moved by wires, the world would never have heard his name. It is because he was not a puppet, but a real man, that we know anything about him. From the day, when, as a boy, he distinguished himself by the open murder of a dangerous enemy in the streets of Peshawur, to his last charge on the battle-field of Surwandurrah, whatsoever he has done for good or for evil has been done, not through him, but *by* him ; he has been, throughout, the doer, and not the mere instrument.

In the *fourth* letter, "Civis" considers the effects of our Central-Asian disasters upon the minds of the people of India, and gives us a kind of *catalogue raisonnée* of the different native races. We need not trouble ourselves with this, which appears to have been written entirely for English readers ; but we may say a few words about the effects of our disasters upon the chiefs and people of Hindustan. It was not so much the great catastrophe which overtook our arms, as the inactivity which for a time succeeded it, that wrought a bad effect upon the native mind, and encouraged an insolent and definite tone in quarters, where we had been accustomed to look only for respect and subservience. In Rohilcund, the country of all others, where it might have been expected that the greatest amount of sympathy with the Afghans would manifest itself, there was undoubtedly a restless feeling among the people—a vague indeterminate desire to do something, modified from time to time according to the intelligence that was received from beyond the Indus. It was acknowledged indeed by the Nawab of Rampore, that the minds of the Rohillas had been greatly unsettled, and that they had had at one time "an itching for a rise ;" but that he himself had openly declared that he would join his troops with our regiments if a riot occurred, and had told the people, that although the English had suffered disaster at Kábul, they had power enough to take Rohilcund again with the greatest ease. In other parts of India, there was the same feverish looking towards the countries beyond the Indus ; and the Mussulmans of Juanpore and other places openly expressed their delight in our reverses, and predicted a general rising of the people. The manner, in which our humiliation wrought upon some of the very petty potentates of Northern India, was sufficiently diverting. We must restrain

our gossiping propensities : but one story, illustrative of the exaggerated views of our depressed power and influence, current at some of the very small native courts, is too good to be withheld from those who are not conversant with it. A British officer, well acquainted with the language and manners of the hill people, went in 1842, to make his salám to the Rani of one of the petty states in the neighbourhood of Simla. Instead of receiving him from behind the purdah, she sent her son, the little Rajah, down to the Sahib, with a speech which the boy imperfectly understood, but which he repeated with sufficient fluency and correctness. It was a long abusive tirade against the British Government. The officer withdrew; and sent a message to the Rani, complaining of the insult that had been put, in open Durbar, upon the British Government, through the mouth-piece of a child. In reply to this the Rani sent an attendant to the British officer, with precisely the same insolent address, that she had before entrusted to her son. Upon this the British officer, remarking to the messenger, that it was one thing to receive such abuse from the lips of a child, another from a grown man, incontinently knocked him down, and departed. Other stories might be told; but this will suffice. On the whole, perhaps, our reverses in Afghanistan produced less effect in India than might have been expected; and would have produced still less, if they had been more promptly repaired. But every political officer in the country felt a weight removed from his mind, when intelligence reached the provinces that General Pollock had planted the British Ensign on the summit of the Balla Hissar of Kábul. "It is a comfort," wrote Colonel Sutherland in October 1842, "to be able again to look a native in the face."

The *fifth* letter is, also, a sort of gazetteer of the native states—and calls for no detailed comment in this place. The *sixth* is very suggestive; and we shall quote liberally from it. Written in April 1842, when the intelligence of our disaster in Central Asia was still fresh in the European mind, it dwells, at the outset, on the danger to be apprehended from internal revolt, and then discusses the general character of our Indian rule :—

It may seem odd that a Government, so well meant, and so well administered, as ours in India, should not be more popular than it is, among those who are the objects of it. But so it is: and a very little reflection will show that it would be odd if it were otherwise. With few, if any, exceptions, they would be glad to change it to-morrow, if they could. It is not their own. It is not administered among themselves. It does not give room enough for their own upper classes, as functionaries; though I believe that this is better provided for now, than it used to be. In fact, it sustains

no upper class at all ; nor does it sufficiently respect the original rights, or follow the original usages, of the country. The Indians and we frame our estimates by very different standards. The Indians, even if they measure Governments by our scale, will prefer a bad government administered by black hands, to a good one administered by white. If they apply their own scale instead of ours, they will think better of the bad government, and worse of the good government, than we do. The fact is, that we have all of us a hankering after the home staple.—*P.* 33.

We believe that there is nothing, which the people of India care so little about, as the *personnel* of the governing body. They have little or no desire to take part in the administration of the country, any further than as a means of obtaining for themselves *profitable* employment. They care nothing about self-government, as such. When they have been invited, as in our municipality, to take part in the administration of their own affairs, they have exhibited the utmost possible amount of apathy, and thought it rather a misfortune than otherwise to be expected to bestir themselves. If a couple of native gentlemen were, under the new charter, to be nominated to the Supreme Council of India, it may be questioned, whether they would really do anything but draw their salaries, and whether the people of India generally would regard with any particular satisfaction such a recognition of their rights—such an introduction of the small end of the wedge of the representative system. The most inveterate supporters of the old *regime*, who would recoil from the idea of any substantive change in the Government of India, have only a smile of assent to bestow upon any such proposal to introduce the “liberal element” into our local administration. “I should have no objection to *that*,” is the answer. If *all* the Members of Council were natives of India, with an English Governor-General and an English Secretary, the Government would be as completely English as it is at the present time. And if it were not—if the natives of India really took part in the administration—the Government, we fear, would be far more oppressive, the rights of the people would be much less freely acknowledged, and their interests less benevolently regarded, than under the present system. It is an acknowledged principle in the army, that the most tyrannical and unpopular officers, those who have the least sympathy with, and the least kindness for, their men, are the officers who have been raised from the ranks. And from the ranks of native society, as native society is at present constituted, we may be sure that we shall never raise more liberal administrators, than we now derive from among a people, differing from the great bulk of the inhabitants in language, colour, and in creed.

"Civis" has a high opinion of the public servants of the Indian Government, by whom its affairs are administered :—

I conscientiously believe that the public servants of our Indian Government are not to be surpassed by the public servants of any other, in talents, diligence, or integrity, or in the earnest wish to promote the welfare of the people committed to their charge. In a wider field of selection, and where a loftier prize is in competition, particular instances of superior eminence may be found ; but the average ability of public servants in India points to a higher degree in the scale, than that which prevails in any other country. The Indian school has sometimes turned out a good soldier. One striking distinction between the men of business in England and those in India consists in this—that, with those in England, their business is their business only ; with those in India, it is their business and recreation too. However large a portion of their time those in England may devote to doing business, still it is a portion only ; in India, it is the whole. There they have nothing else to do.—*Pp.* 33-34.

We do not altogether recognize the force of this distinction. In India men hunt, and shoot, and dine, and dance, and read books, and play at billiards, and go to horse races, and act plays, and make love, and marry wives, just as they do in England. Indeed, all these amusements are somewhat more within their reach. If you want to see a real man of business, you must go to England, not to India, for the sight. Look at a man, who takes the Clapham omnibus to Grace Church-street, every day at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 in the morning, and takes it again, in Grace Church-street at 5. He returns home to dinner, tired, care-worn ; his mind in his ledger and his banker's book ; brooding over £ : s : d ;—very bad company for his wife ; perhaps cross ; perhaps sleepy. His "recreation" is an after-dinner nap. He has no holiday, except on Sunday. He does not know what amusement is. His life is an "eternal grind : " but he gets used to it in time, as the horse does to turning the mill-stone. It is very true, that the business of men in England is not their recreation. They do not know what recreation is. Business in England clings to a man, like the poisoned shirt of the centaur. Here it sits lightly upon him, and flutters in the evening breeze. Its corroding anxieties do not eat into us, like venom at morning and evening prayer—do not make young men old, and turn the healthy into wretched hypochondriacs. We do not know any class of men in India, who cannot find time to amuse themselves, and have not the heart to be amused. Our business men are not drones : they do their work well, and there is enough of it—but it is not made terrible by the unbroken regularity of years. In India, labour, as we may, there is for us, even humanly speaking, something beyond. Our business is not a part of ourselves. We are mere wayfarers in India ; we look forward to the accomplishment of our journey, and to a day

of rest. There are thousands of business-men in England, who go on toiling and toiling, till they are incapable of toil ; and have nothing to look forward to but the grave.

“ Civis ” next comments upon the Anglo-Indian system of Government, and especially disapproves of the “ permanent settlement : ”—

In the system administered by this body, though framed with the best intentions, some changes, I think, might advantageously and popularly be made. The faults, for faults it has, were introduced by the very desire of amendment. What we want is not to go forward, but to go back. We are in the *rule of three*, when we ought to have been only in *division*. We considered abstract excellence at the expense of practical utility. I had rather my tailor should make my clothes after my own measure, than cut them to fit the best-turned journeyman on his board. We neglected adaptation to the practice and opinions of the people we were legislating for. Our work was too elaborate. The utmost, we should have attempted, was to improve the system of the country. We might even have left it as it was. Some of its apparent defects constituted its true recommendation. They were the very qualities, which adapted it to its end. The people were not in an advanced stage of civilization, and did not want a system more forward or more refined than themselves. Their own homely institutions would have suited them better, than the artificial version which we undertook to prepare for them. For every-day purposes, an instrument may be too highly polished, as well as too rough—too light, as well as too heavy, for the hand that is to use it. The blade of a razor is not suited to the handle of an axe. Instead of attempting to improve the system, we should have confined ourselves to improving the administration of it. India would have been unlike all other countries, if abuses had not crept into it ; and, in our correction of those abuses, we should have found ample room for our fondness for experiment. We aimed beyond our mark, and measured the wants of our subjects too much by our own.

In treating this subject, I must do—what nothing short of the most earnest and deliberate conviction could surmount my reluctance to do—I must avow my dissent from the opinion of many of those, for whom I entertain the most cordial regard and respect. I disapprove of that territorial system, which is called in Bengal the “ permanent settlement.” I look upon it as both impolitic and unjust. It is impolitic, because it is unjust ; it is impolitic, because it is adverse to the recognised maxims of the country ; it is impolitic, because it is subversive of the rights of the people, and injurious to the advance of their prosperity. It is unjust, because it violates the ancient and indefeasible title to property—because it takes violently from one man, what does belong to him, and gives it arbitrarily to another, to whom it does not belong—and this, not in a few insulated and individual cases, but universally to the farthest limits of the land. Where the permanent system has been established, not one inch of soil remains in the hand, in which we found it, and to which it rightfully appertains. This is making rather a summary use of the name of justice.—*P. 35.*

And again—

The scheme of Mr. Hastings was better suited to its purpose, than that of Lord Cornwallis. Besides its greater simplicity, and its approximation to the habits of the people, it admitted, indeed it required, the employment of native functionaries ; and it would have preserved that better class of

the population, of which Lord Cornwallis's precipitated the extinction. There is a wide difference between what a project professes to do, and what it really does do. Mr. Watt used to say that he was never satisfied with a plan, nor even with a model; he waited till he saw the machine itself in action; if that did its work, it was enough. The action of Lord Cornwallis's system has not, I apprehend, been satisfactory. It is losing ground, and losing advocates. Where recent attempts have been made to introduce it, it has been obstructed and suspended. It is high time it should be.—*P. 35.*

How much might be written on the subject of the "Government settlement." What a multitude of strange conflicting opinions might be adduced! Even to the warmest opponents of the system it must seem a great and worthy experiment. The entire administrative system, judicial and fiscal, introduced by Lord Cornwallis, was not lightly conceived, or hastily executed. It was based upon the decisions of the ablest and most experienced servants of the Company, and had the support of the highest law officers of the crown. A system, recommended and supported by such men, as Shore, Barlow, and Edmonstone—as Jones, Chambers, and Burroughs—a system, adopted and approved by two such Governors-General, as Cornwallis and Wellesley—could not have been a mere visionary scheme of Government, with the stamp of failure marked upon it from the first. To John Shore and George Barlow we mainly owe these systems. Perhaps, Mr. Law, an uncle of the present Lord Ellenborough, is rightfully to be regarded as the father of the "permanent settlement." To Mr. Barlow was due the credit of drawing up the judicial regulations of 1793. They were very slightly amended by Lord Cornwallis, and some inconsiderable alterations introduced on the suggestion of Sir William Jones, who declared himself so "charmed" with the "incomparable minute," that he had "read it attentively five or six times." Sir William (then Mr.) Burroughs said of them, that they "would do credit to any legislator of ancient or modern times." But the fate of the settlement system is most curious and instructive. No measure, that ever emanated from the Anglo-Indian Government, has been so warmly extolled on the one side, and so fiercely assailed on the other. Clouds of witnesses, to be gathered from among the ablest revenue officers of the Company, may be cited on either side of the controversy; and there is nothing in history, to which a one-sided writer, not unwilling to make foul use of the materials within his reach, may so easily colour according to the complexion of his own mind. Thus Mill, in his chapter on the results of Lord Cornwallis's revenue reforms, asserts the failure of the experiment within ten years of its initiation,

and quotes the testimony of Sir Henry Strachey in proof of his assertions—as though many other excellent authorities could not have been quoted to a precisely opposite effect. As a note-worthy example of the manner in which this great question is argued by the historian, we cite a few sentences regarding the ruin of the zemindars. “A cause,” says Mr. Mill, “which accelerated, but by no means produced, the ruin of the zemindars, was the delay which they experienced in obtaining payment from the ryots. The Government had given to themselves the benefit of summary process with regard to the zemindars. But they left the zemindars to the tedious progress through all the technical forms of the courts in extracting payment from the ryots.” As the zemindars and their agents had the power of distraining the property of ryots—and did so, as often upon unjust, as upon just, grounds—the value of this assertion may be readily estimated. It may be added, too, that by Regulation VII. of 1799, it was decreed that sales of land for arrears of revenue should not take place until the end of each year (they had before been held every month); so that, in point of fact, whilst time was given to the zemindar, the ryot was subjected to summary process. “Lands,” wrote Mr. Grant, collector of Midnapore, in answer to the interrogatories referred to by Mr. Mill, “being now exempted from sale for the recovery of arrears of revenue till the end of the year, it appears to me much less necessary to expedite the sale of distrained property, than it was before Regulation VII. of 1799 was issued, when they were liable to be sold every month.” “I have frequently had occasion to state to the Board,” says the same authority, “that as far as my experience goes, I have found that the common ryots, or the lowest tenants, who are the cultivators of the soil, pay their revenues with great punctuality..... They are much more apt to submit tamely to exaction, than to hazard a contest with a zemindar; and they pay a kist or two in advance much oftener than they fall in arrear.” So the truth appears to have lain in the very opposite direction to that indicated by the historian.

The most important, perhaps, of all the interrogatories circulated to the Bengal collectors in 1802, was that which asked, Whether the existing regulations were calculated to enable zemindars to obtain payment from the ryots, without affording them ready means of oppression? The answers to this question involve an answer to, or a corroboration of, the statement made by Mr. Mill. They contain, indeed, an investigation of the whole question, as between the zemindar and the ryot. Let us see what we can make of the result. Mr. Ricketts of Tirhoot, re-

plied that "the regulations are well adapted for the purposes intended." Mr Elphinstone of Sarun says, "the regulations are perfectly well calculated for the purposes intended." Mr. Cowell of Bír bhúm makes answer, that "the existing regulations are most favourable for realizing the rents from the under-farmers and ryots, and in general are acknowledged to be so by the zemindars, and other description of landholders." Mr. Smith of Dinagepore curtly answers, "I conceive that they are." Mr. Wright of Rungpore says, "the regulations, which have been issued for the benefit of the landholders, have answered the purposes intended." Mr. Seton of Kishnaghur replies, "the powers vested by the regulations in the zemindars, and other proprietors and farmers, holding lands immediately of Government, are fully adequate to enable them to collect their rents from their under-farmers and ryots." Mr. Le Gros of Mymensing, answers in almost the same words, "the existing regulations are perfectly well calculated for enabling zemindars and other proprietors of land, and farmers of land holding their farms immediately of Government, to realize their rents from their under-farmers and ryots." Mr. Hayes of Múrshebabad emphatically declares, that the "zemindars, and other descriptions of landholders, are unanimous in acknowledging that the existing regulations, for enabling them to realize their rents from the under-farmers and ryots, are well calculated for the purposes intended;" and the Collector of Midnapore commences a long able minute with the words, "I am of opinion that, since the Regulation VII. of 1799 has been generally known and enforced in the Mofussil, the zemindars have been very well able to realize their rents." So we have here, in a very small space, the concurrent testimony of a number of Bengal collectors in direct contradiction to Mr. Mill's assertions, that the zemindars had been ruined by their inability to obtain their rents from the ryots.

Here we see how very easy it is to make out a case. If we had any object of this kind, we might leave this mass of evidence to speak for itself, simply declaring that the good results of the settlement were established upon the testimonies of those best qualified to deliver an opinion on the subject; but this is not the way to deal with a great question; it is only sporting with the truth. Mr. Mill settles the matter on the authority of a single witness. We do not think a cloud of witnesses sufficient to establish the point on one side or other of the discussion. Where a string of categorical questions are proposed to a number of men in different parts of the country, with different habits of mind, different foregone conclusions, different personal pre-

judices and predilections, and surrounded perhaps by different influences, we may be pretty sure that there will be no very close correspondence between the answers returned. The citation, under such circumstances of the testimony of any one respondent, or even of a group of respondents, may deceive an uninformed audience ; but it can go no way towards the elucidation of the truth. It is of all methods of over-clouding the truth the most artful and the most dishonest. If Mr. Mill had sufficiently studied the revenue reports to be able to cite a single authority against the system, he must have known that there were a host of authorities in its favour ; and if he had read, as we are bound to believe he had, the regulations, he must have known that the zemindar *was* empowered to exercise summary process against the ryot. The prompt seizure of the crops and all the household goods of a defaulter is surely summary enough. It was not till ten years afterwards that the zemindar was prohibited from seizing even the agricultural implements and farm cattle of the ryot ; it was not till ten years afterwards that he was compelled to give due notice of his intention to distrain, before coming down with one fell swoop upon all the property of the debtor.

But though, neither from the statements of one witness, nor from a number of witnesses, would the whole truth be derived, by studying and comparing the statements of *all*, a satisfactory result might have been obtained. Several collectors stated, without qualification, that the regulations answered every purpose—that the zemindars had the power of obtaining punctual payment of his rents, and had not the power of oppressing the ryots. Several stated that the zemindar had the power of obtaining his rents, but that the system did lead to oppression. A few stated, on the other hand, that the regulations enabled the ryot to cheat the zemindar ; and Sir Henry Strachey stated outright, that there was not a zemindar left in Bengal.

Now, the truth appears to have been this. Immaculate ryots do not grow in Bengal, any more than immaculate zemindars, and if the zemindars oppressed the ryots, the ryots in their turn worried and perplexed the zemindars. As there was tyranny on the one hand, there was fraud on the other. But the balance of wrong doing must have been greatly on the side of the zemindar. The ignorant husbandman was no match for the landed proprietor—still less was he a match for the middleman or agent. Cunning he may have been—dishonest he may have been ; but he was weak and cowardly too, and had little heart to systematize fraud, and fight it out boldly with his superior. He paid his rents, when he could. He generally

paid them, indeed, when there was no attempt to overreach him; but when he fell into arrears, and the war began, he did all that he could, in his weakness, with fraud and lying and the collusion of his friends, to outwit his antagonist. He got the start, when he could, of his enemy, carried off all his moveables to a neighbour's house, cut his standing crops in the night time, concealed them by the connivance of his friends, and met the distraining party with no worldly goods in his possession, but the rag about his middle, and a few earthen-ware pots in his house. The zemindars certainly did complain that in this way the weapon of distraint became a *telum imbelles* in their hands; that they had great difficulty in obtaining the assistance of the Police—that, if a small party went to distrain, they were beaten; and that, if a large party went, the expense was so heavy, that it was better not to distrain at all; and that, as to suing the defaulter in our law courts, the process was so tedious, and the cost of maintaining the defendant in prison so heavy, that they seldom gained anything but a heavy loss by the proceeding.*

Such was the complaint of the zemindars. We do not doubt that such things happened. But the power of the zemindar to oppress the ryot must have been far greater than that of the ryot to outwit the zemindar. The husbandman was generally better disposed to submit to imposition, than to battle it out with the proprietor, or the agent, who was sure to be a greater tyrant than his master. The ryot had not much to lose, it is true; and it is argued that the constitutional indolence of the native character made him look upon mere loss of liberty as no evil, and that he was content to exist in gaol at the expence of his oppressor. But indolent and debased, as he may have been, he was not utterly hardened and reckless; he could not meet with indifference a calamity, that severed all family ties, and left wife and children at the mercy of the spoiler, and exposed to all the accidents of life. He had too, whatever he may have thought of the immunities of gaol life, a horror of the Police—a horror of the long journey to the justice-seat—and of a thousand vaguely apprehended evils, to which even the natural litigiousness of his character could not fortify him to look forward with complacency. The balance, indeed, was greatly against him, and he had sense enough to know it. He seldom invited a contest, which he knew must end in his ruin. It was better, he thought, to compromise with fate, and bear the lesser evil of the two. So he acceded in patience to the extortionate demands

* See answer to Interrogatories: Mr. W. Mackie, Collector of Dacca—"The arguments generally used by zemindars," &c. &c.

made upon him, when he could ; when he could not, the regulations took their course. And how destructive that course was, may be gathered from the evidence of Mr. Rees, the collector of Purneah, who speaks of " repeated instances of families, nay whole villages, reduced to penury and distress by their (the middlemen's and agent's) oppressive use of that power of distraint, which is vested in them with equal authority as in the actual proprietor of the soil." It was in fact the agency of these middle-men, which ruined both the proprietor and the ryot, and in the end extinguished the race of original zemindars.

We have said more on this subject than we intended ; but the very nature of our article—a review of a series of letters *de omnibus rebus*—compels us to be discursive ; and we thought it might not be unprofitable to show how easy it is for an historian, in such a matter as this, to pile up mountains of evidence in support of any favourite opinion. Whatever may be the visible results of the permanent settlement now, at the time to which Mr. Mill refers (1802), there were no proofs of its failure. He would have made us believe that, even at that early date, the evil consequences of the introduction of the zemindary system were written in painfully legible characters over the whole length and breadth of the provinces, to which it was applied. What the *visible* results of the regulations were at that time we may gather from an unpublished letter of Sir John (then Captain) Malcolm's, written from Benares in the cold weather of 1801-1802, and addressed to Mr. Barlow. Malcolm was at that time attending Lord Wellesley, in the capacity of Private Secretary. " We have since you left us," he writes, " passed through one of the finest and most highly cultivated tracts of country in the world. What adds to my pleasure in contemplating these scenes, is to hear every man I ask tell how jungles have been cleared, and waste lands brought under cultivation. *I cannot but envy your feelings on this subject. I confess, before I travelled through these provinces, I was not perfectly reconciled to your system. I have now observed its effects, and must ever think it one of the most wise and benevolent plans, that ever was conceived by a Government to render its subjects rich and comfortable.*" We can only hope that a sense of gratitude will be the primary feeling in the breasts of those who benefit by this admirable system, and that they will repay the State for the care it takes of their interests by a firm and lasting attachment." If Mr. Mill had been writing in favour of the zemindary system, what would he not have made of such testimony as this ?

We should here dismiss the subject; but we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of transferring to our pages the following passage, containing, as it does, a graceful and well merited tribute to the memory of Mr. Edmonstone, one of the ablest and most excellent men that ever went out to India:—

In one of my last conversations on the subject with Mr. Edmonstone—to whose guidance and instruction I owe anything that I may have learned in India, and whom I have looked up to all my life with reverence and affection—he ascribed the present exemption of Bengal from those periodical famines, to which it was formerly subject, and by which other tracts are still occasionally visited, to the influence of the permanent system. In this I cannot concur, without depreciating the value of good government, uniform protection, and shelter behind a wide and secure boundary. Unquestionably many able men, besides Mr. Edmonstone, have been from the first, and still are, the advocates of the *zemindary* system. The fact is, that we all of us lean to the doctrine of the school we have been brought up in. Independently of the force of habit, we cannot easily bring ourselves to think that that, which we have spent our lives in learning, is of no substance or effect. The advocates of this system have all been brought up in Bengal, where they have seen no other in action. Among the eminent authorities on this subject, Mr. Hodgson is the only one I remember, who, having made himself conversant with both systems, gives the preference to that of Bengal. With this single exception, as far as I am aware, the whole of those, who have witnessed the working of the two, are in favour of the native machinery of the *ryotwar* system.

This is much too sweeping an assertion: but we have done with the subject.

The *seventh* letter commences with the trite assertion that our tenure of India must, under all circumstances, be a military tenure; and the writer then goes on to say, that the most fearful of all disasters would be a revolt of the native troops. “The danger,” he says, “if ever it do come, will be abrupt. It will be ‘an explosion. It will give no warning. It will be upon us, before we have time to arrest it.’ There is very little danger of this, so long as we are tolerably discreet. “Civis” writes about religious jealousy; but in these days, it is not the faith, but the pocket, of the sepoy that takes alarm: and when our native regiments mutiny, we may be sure that their pay is at the bottom of it. We are afraid that the affection of the sepoys for their officers is not what it was in the old times; but they have even more affection for their pay. It is not, indeed, to be disguised, that the loyalty of the native army is sustained by the regularity with which they receive their pay, and their certainty of receiving their pensions, when they retire from the active service of the Company. It is obviously the interest of the sepoys that the Company’s *raj* should be dominant in India. They are conscious that under no native power would they receive their pay with such regularity, or be guaranteed so securely in the

possession of their pensions ; and, so long as they are assured of our good faith—so long as they receive their pay and pensions with regularity,—they are little likely to look for the coming of any other European power, and to desert a good and tried paymaster for one, of whose honesty and competency they know nothing.

“Civis,” like all other writers, entertains a high opinion of the sepoys, and expresses it with becoming emphasis. He probably thinks with us, that if they desert us, it will be our own fault:—

No terms, that I could employ, would surpass the high opinion I have of the character of our Indian troops. I am equally persuaded that no opinion, I have of them, can surpass their claim to our admiration. Their merit, both in efficiency and fidelity, is of the highest order. Much of their excellence no doubt is to be ascribed to their officers ; but much also belongs to themselves. They are, intrinsically, fine materials for soldiers. When General Conway returned to England upwards of forty years ago, he told George III. that his Majesty had troops in Europe, but an army in India. And, even after the name we have lived to see those troops in Europe achieve, I still hope that their comrades in India are worthy of standing by their side.

Eighty years ago, General Smith told the House of Commons that the sepoys were “almost too good.” Throughout eighty years, they have maintained that high character. They are as good soldiers now, as they ever were ; but the bond between them and their officers is not what it was—and, perhaps, never can be again. The sepoy officer was once more than half a sepoy himself. The first article, ever written for this journal, was intended to trace the changes, which have passed over Anglo-Indian society in the course of the last century. Those changes have conduced largely to the health, to the comfort, to the respectability, and to the morality of the European resident in the East : but they have spoilt him for a sepoy officer. There is hardly a genuine sepoy officer now remaining with the army. Time was, when our officers, to a great extent, denationalised themselves ; when their habits were rather of the Asiatic than the European type ; when the language they spoke, the sympathies they encouraged, and the companions with whom they associated, were more frequently Hindustani than English : when, in a word, they lived more like natives than like Christians, and looked upon their sepoys with kindness and affection as brethren and children. The supremacy of Englandism in India seems now to have made an impassable gulf between the English officer and the Hindustani soldier. And there is nothing to bridge it over, but a recurrence to habits, which civilization deplures, and Christianity condemns. It has been remarked by one of the ablest and most enlightened officers of the Company’s army—by one whose name we feel it almost a national reproach to write without the knightly prefix—

by Colonel Sleeman, in his Essay on the "Spirit of Military Discipline in the Native Indian Army," that regiments always deteriorate in discipline, after they have been cantoned for any length of time at a large station. The humanizing influences of much European society unfit the sepoy officer for his work. European *female* society, to which under Providence we owe the salvation of our morality, has severed the officer from his men, and weakened the discipline of the native army. There is little unmixed good in this world. The man rises upon the ruins of the officer; but how can we deplore his elevation?

We cannot expect, we cannot wish, to see the old type of the Hinduized Englishman revived. There is an end to that story. But we hope that, whilst we look for no return to habits, which, however conducive to the discipline of the native army, are to be both deplored and censured, we may expect something of a re-action favorable to our military stability, without detriment to our social character. Our sepoy officers, warned by recent painful experience, and roused by timely exhortations, will, it is not unreasonable to hope, recognise, more amply than they have recognised of late, the claims of the native officers of the Indian army to more kindly consideration, than it is now the habit to bestow upon them. So long as we can rely upon the native officers, we may know that everything is safe. If we acquire their confidence, we have everything in our own hands. But the native officers are too often estranged from their European brethren by the hauteur, or, at best, the cold and distant civility, of the latter. When we think how very easy it is to secure the confidence and affection of these men, and how very far a little kindness will go, it is marvellous that even that little should be withheld. Apart from all considerations of duty to the State, and of all thoughts of the enhancement of military discipline, every officer, not hopelessly cursed with a thick head and a bad heart, will find his reward in the gratitude, and often in the essential services, of his native brethren. There may be times and seasons, when the bread, cast upon those dark waters, will return to us after many days.*

There are many suggestive passages in this letter. Some remarks on Mill's History of India we are half tempted to

* Lying in a very lamentable state of fever at a remote out-station many years ago we were grievously distressed by the discovery that there were no limes to be obtained in the bazaar—none it was said were obtainable within the distance of very many miles, and, even at the nearest place indicated, it was doubtful whether they were obtainable at all. An old native officer, who had come daily to make enquiries after us, being apprised of our wants and the difficulty of satisfying them, started off, without saying a word about his intentions to, the place which was said to be the likeliest to supply the cooling fruit, and next morning presented himself by our bedside with a basketful. Heaven knows we had done very little to merit the old man's gratitude. But a very little is greatly appreciated. It makes one indignant to think, that it should be so often habitually denied.

notice; but we shall content ourselves with quoting an anecdote of Lord Minto, germane to the remark that a man's views of Indian history, however extensive his learning may be, and however profound his sagacity, are sure to be greatly modified by residence in India:—

The late Lord Minto, when Sir Gilbert Elliot, had been one of the managers for the House of Commons on the trial of Mr. Hastings, and had taken an active part in supporting the impeachment; yet I heard him say at Madras, that, with better means of judging, he had entirely changed his opinion, and that he then looked upon Mr. Hastings, as having been one of the greatest benefactors of India. A lady, to whom I was repeating this, told me that she had herself heard Lord Minto make the same avowal in the Council Chamber at Calcutta, pointing up to the picture of Mr. Hastings as he spoke. To the advocates of Mr. Hastings—and all India always were, and still are, his advocates—this is no slender tribute from one, whom practical experience had then made master of his subject, and whom, Mr. Hastings' great persecutor himself, Mr. Burke, had designated, as "*hominum sapientissimus*."—P. 43.

For studying the history of Lord Minto's administration—not as we have it in printed books, bare, sterile, and unsuggestive,—but as it exists in cotemporary records, used little (if at all) by the historian, it is difficult to convince one's-self that Lord Minto was once Sir Gilbert Elliot—the Elliot, who was associated with Burke in the impeachment of Warren Hastings, and conducted in person the attack on Sir Elijah Impey. It is to the honour of Lord Minto, that he shook off all his old party prejudices, before he embarked for India; and arrived amongst us, by no means inclined to regard, either the servants of the Company or the Judges of the Supreme Court, as the ogres, which he had represented them in Westminster. As Governor-General of India, he was prudent and temperate. All the impetuosity and *fierité* of his younger days had subsided. He recorded no hasty minutes; he used no violent language. He gave his confidence to the able men, by whom he was surrounded; and, though bent upon pursuing an economical course, was not quick to scent abuses, or prone to magnify evils, that did not come unmistakeably before him. That he should have viewed differently, by the light of his Indian experience, the conduct of Warren Hastings, was simply a necessity that there was no resisting; but all men would not have acknowledged their past errors so frankly and so gracefully.

The *eighth* letter is taken up with some gossip about *Ghazis* and *Assassins*; and, with this, what may be called the first series is brought to a close. He leaves General Pollock about to commence the War of Retribution in Afghanistan; and then, after a pause of four or five years, breaks ground again in the Punjab.

We confess that we do not quite understand what the *ninth* letter is about. It is dated December 10, 1846, and talks about our reverses in the Punjab. "If we stand still," it is said, "after the reverses we have met with in the Punjab, we openly assume a defensive attitude—the most perilous in which we can stand in India." And then "Civis" goes on to say:—

By standing still now, we abandon the bold acclivity we have hitherto been treading in public opinion—in that opinion, recollect, which constitutes the main element of our strength. In India, be our measures as moderate as they may (and moderation there is as much our interest as it is our duty), our attitude ought still to be imposing. It will not do to seem afraid, and pause in our ascent. We cannot with impunity confess our inability to extend our grasp if we choose; much less to retain what we have already got. It would be an act of suicide; and the vultures would soon be seen sailing with unerring sagacity towards their prey. Let but our neighbours once discover that we are waiting for them to attack us, and we shall find them both much bolder and much stronger than they were, when we used to begin by attacking them.—*P.* 48.

We do not quite know what 'the reverses' were which, in December 1846, filled "Civis" with so much concern for the security of our position: but the doctrine, here enunciated, seems to be somewhat at variance with that laid down in a former letter. It is narrated in the closing epistle of the series, that the Duchess of Gordon said of Pitt that he did nothing better than any man living. We are really inclined to think that "Civis" *says* nothing better than any man living. There are some of his best written letters, which would be very instructive, if it were possible to say what they are about.

In the next letter "Civis" still more emphatically declares that the English in India must never wait to receive an attack. "Be the policy or practice of other countries what they may, it will never do for us to forget, that, in the East, when once conflict becomes inevitable, the attack must be made, and not received. Defensive tactics are not the tactics for India. In every court of war, that must be held there, it is our business to appear as plaintiffs, not as defendants." He says, too, that we must not even appear to be unwilling to extend our conquests; and yet he tells us that we were in too great a hurry to extend them to the Sutlej, and that we ought not to have advanced till the advance was absolutely inevitable. At one time, he is all for a forward policy; at another, for a backward policy. At one time, he is all for prompt and vigorous movements; at another, for temporizing. "Gaining time," he says, "is always gaining something." It is no small thing to temporize with success. When Gentz was in England, in 1803 (it was during the peace), he said to Sir James Mackintosh, that the country required "the

present system and the late ministers, for nothing demanded the reality and the reputation of vigour so much as temperizing."

The two following letters are letters of speculation, which more recent events have put out of date. The *thirteenth* contains a passage, which we have marked for quotation:—

With the extension, we have found it necessary to make in our military, we have also at different times thought it incumbent upon us to enlarge our ecclesiastical, establishment. This seems to have been done with a view, less to the cure of souls that are already Christian, than to the conversion of those that it is desired to make so. But the advocates of this project may take my word for it, that they are treading upon unstable ground. There are two reasons, for which I object to what they are doing. The first is, that they will fail in the attempt; and the second is, that their failure will be a bloody one. They will give our military establishment more to do, than the ecclesiastical. Not only will they not make the natives of India adopt Christianity; but, even if they did make them adopt it, they would not make them retain it. To make them Christians is one thing; to keep them so is another, and a very different thing too. We have not only to plant the tree, but we have to make it grow. Remember the puritanical steersman,—“Take care what you are about: but if you are determined to run into her, down with your helm.” Without following him in his selection of an end, we may still be taught by the efficacy of his means. Before we commit ourselves in the path which is before us, let us look carefully forward, to see how far the termination, it leads to, is likely to answer the purpose in which it starts. Let us not be betrayed by that, as a promise, which, in the end, may prove to have been a threat. We might have done as well, perhaps, if we had left India alone from the beginning; but, standing where we do, we are doubly bound to pursue that course, which is best for the sake of the natives, as well as for our own. If we are to give them Christianity, let us also confirm them in it. Let us not be satisfied with those as proselytes to-day, who are to prove apostates to-morrow; and let us take care, also, that we do not provoke them to cut our throats into the bargain.

To do any real good, we must invert the order of our measures. Our choice lay between imparting religion and instruction, and instruction and religion. We chose the former, and we chose wrong. We have hitherto been putting the cart before the horse. Instead of beginning with religion, and leaving instruction to follow after, let us educate the natives first; and then, if Christianity be what I believe it to be, it will make its own way, and take its place for good. Qualify the natives to exercise a choice, before you drive them to make one. As we raise our fabric, religion may become the floor, but it must be looked up to as the ceiling now. Even instruction must be discreetly and gradually imparted. I hold it to be an indispensable and invariable condition, both to success and to security, that we should defer not only any attempt, but any indication of a desire, to change the religion of India, until we have first spread solid instruction among the natives. We may as well abstain from giving them a book, until they have been taught to read—from sowing the seed, until the ground has been ploughed.—*Pp.* 62-63.

We do not know what “Civis” means by the assertion that the extension of our Ecclesiastical Establishment has had re-

ference rather to the conversion of heathen, than to the cure of Christian, souls. Our Ecclesiastical Establishment, we fear, has nothing to do with the conversion of the heathen. That Government has been putting religion before education in an attempt to convert the natives of India, is a notion which we did not believe to be entertained by any living man in the year 1850. "Civis" has been living in Berkshire for many years past. Had he been living in Bengal, he would not now be telling the readers of the *Times*, that Government is putting the cart before the horse, and giving the natives religion before instruction. On such subjects he is evidently unqualified to speak.

There is some interesting matter in the next letter (No. XIV.), relative to the characteristics of French and English officers: here is a sample of it:—

As commanders of Indian soldiers, and generally as implements of Indian warfare, there seems to be this remarkable distinction between the English and the French—the English make the best leaders; the French are good leaders too, and they are comrades into the bargain. When the sepoys lose their English officers, they lose their all: much as they can do *with* their officers, they can do nothing *without* them. But when the sepoys lose their French officers, though they lose a great deal, still they retain something. The English officers never descend from their position; they are officers *off* the parade, as well as *on* it. The French officers, on the contrary, associate with their soldiers, both Indian and European. In Europe they have many, if not most, of them, risen from the ranks; and, therefore, it is easy for them both to go down towards their men, and to draw their men up towards them. They meet half-way, and have an acquaintance, an intimacy, beyond and independent of their military relation. The Duke of Wellington said, before the Commission on Military Punishments in 1836, that "he had found the French officers, attending upon him, playing at billiards with their men; and familiarities of that kind going on, that were never heard of in the British service." The French officers and privates are "hail fellow well met." With the English it is different. The energy and dogged resolution of the Englishman will always rouse and carry on his men, when they see him in their front; but the familiarity and flexibility of the French character make a deeper, and leave a longer, impression than the reserve and stiffness of the English. The beggars at Hyderabad, in asking charity of an European, still used, in my time, to call him *Bussey*, after the officer who had commanded the Nizam's French corps, before we were any of us born; and, as late as 1820, M. Raymond's tomb there was still periodically illuminated, though he had been dead, I think, since 1797; and, for aught I know, it is so still. I am aware that they were both of them men of eminent ability; but we, too, have had no want of men of equal eminence; and yet where is the English name, or the English monument in India, that is remembered in this way?

To this passage, in the printed collection of his letters, "Civis" adds the following note:—"An Indian officer of long experience tells me, on reading this letter, that the sepoys of the subsidiary force at Puna, which had been commanded by Colonel Wallace, subscribed, on his death, for the support of a lamp at his tomb

‘ and a man to keep it ; and that, every night, at the hour of the grand rounds, fancying that they saw the old Colonel on his well known white horse, they used to turn out and salute him.”

If there were not so many other matters pressing upon us for consideration, we would fain say a few words in this place about the distinctive characteristics of the French and the English officer. Nothing surprises a Frenchman more than the social gulf, which lies broad and yawning between the English officer and his men, and which, if the former attempt to pass, he is inevitably destroyed. “J’aivu,” says M. De Warren in his *L’Inde Anglaise*, “un sous-lieutenant cassé par un conseil-de-guerre, pour avoir invité et reçu deux sous-officiers à souper chez lui.” A Frenchman marvels at this ; and an Englishman marvels that it should be otherwise. We should be very sorry to exchange the officer’s mess for the *café* and the *estaminet*. English officers may amuse themselves with their men—but they must do it gregariously. They may play at cricket, for example, with the privates of their corps—and the more they do it the better. But it is a different thing to play at billiards, or dominos. In the same way, officers may (and often do) attend the barrack-balls, given by non-commissioned officers and privates—may dance with the barrack belles, and drink negus and lemonade with them, without committing any military or social offence. The intercourse then is between class and class, not between individual and individual. It is only when man associates familiarly with man—when the intercourse is not general, but particular—that a grave military offence is committed, and, when committed, is unpardonable. And as it is, so would we have it remain. It is the essence of our military system.

It is more, however, to our purpose here, to remark on the relative adaptability of French and English manners and conduct to the habits and prejudices of the natives of the East. There is a good deal to be said upon both sides. Everybody, who has seen the sepoys in a French settlement, knows that they are much more French in their outward manners, carriage, and appearance, than any of our sepoys are English. There is something thoroughly French in their very mode of twisting their *moustaches*. But it may be doubted, whether the French, in the main, accommodate themselves so readily to the habits, and are so regardful of the prejudices, of the people by whom they are surrounded, as our own English officers. They are much less cautious in what they do, and less guarded in what they say. For example, the French officers of General Gardanne’s mission to Persia, though for the most part selected men, able and accomplished, very soon lost their footing at Teheran, and made the

Persians long for the return of the English gentlemen. Sir Harford Jones says that they used the word *bêtes* so often in conversation, that the people about them finished by discovering its meaning; and one day Mirza Sheffi himself caught General Gardanne applying the flattering title to *him*,—"And you may easily conceive," said the cunning old gentleman, "that I did not think this very *sir-ferauz*."

The mention of the honour, in which Raymond and Bussy are still held by the natives of India, called forth some remarks from an editorial writer in the *Times*, of which the following is a passage:—

"But can 'Civis' really mean to ask, 'Where is the English name, or monument, remembered like those of *RAYMOND* or *BUSSY*?' We are very sure he will be able to recollect the tomb of a greater man than either, to which a sorrowing Hindu will retire from an unsuccessful suit, and mutely appeal to the memory of the dead for that justice, which, he conceives, is denied him by the living. Did not our correspondent read the other day how a veteran of Madras, who might have seen *TIPPU*'s cavalry on St. Thomas's Mount, was followed to his grave by the whole native population? Does he not know that 'Sahib WARREN HOSTERIS' is the hero of the ballad minstrelsy of Bengal? Did he never hear stories of *COORE*? It is but a short time, since an old white-bearded sepoy came to present a memorial to an English officer, who holds one of the highest employments in India. A print of *COORE* being in the room, the veteran recognized at once that face and figure, which had not been seen for more than half a century; and, forgetting his salaam to the living, halted, drew himself up, lifted his hand, and, with solemn reverence, paid his military obeisance to the dead.

To this 'Civis' replies that, in choosing an English name to put in competition with that of *Bussy*, none better could have been chosen than that of *Coote*. "There never was an Englishman," he says, "on whom the sepoys had such implicit reliance, or for whom they cherished so dutiful an attachment." He then goes on to say:—

The sepoys never forget a leader they have fought under. With them the name of *Hardinge* will outlive us all. When Lord Cornwallis, in his infirm age, went the second time to India, in 1805, and was stepping out of his boat at Calcutta, an old sepoy, making his way briskly through the crowd, pushed up to him with "Lord Wallis Sahib, I was with you at Seringapatam." It was hard the veteran soldier, or rather the veteran statesman, should not have been allowed to leave his Indian fame, where he had already placed it.—*P. 70.*

We have some unwillingness to comment upon this last remark, because we are not quite certain of the meaning of it. Does it mean, that it would have been well for Lord Cornwallis's reputation, if his Indian career had closed with the treaty of Seringapatam? or simply that it was hard he was not permitted to rest his fame on his first Indian administration? For our own parts, we cannot but think that this brief se-

cond administration of Lord Cornwallis gives a dignity and a completeness to his entire career, such as nothing else could have imparted to it. It was fitting that a man, who from early youth had devoted himself to the service of his country, should die with his harness upon his back. Other great Indian statesmen—Clive, Hastings, Wellesley,—either fretted, or drowsed out, the remainder of their lives. Cornwallis, at his country's call, returned to the seat of his former labours, and only laid down the staff with his life. It was no small thing, that, at his advanced age, the British Government should have urged him to return to India; it was no small proof of the honour in which he was held, and of the confidence which was reposed in him. There was no want of able and energetic men, either in India or in England, to succeed Lord Wellesley in the government of our Eastern Empire, but the administration looked only to Lord Cornwallis, and besought him to undertake again, if only for a brief season, the direction of affairs in India. It was at the end of 1804, that the aged Marquis, then resident at Culford, received one day a visit from Lord Castlereagh, who was at that time President of the Board of Control. After some general conversation on Indian affairs, Lord Castlereagh spoke of the strong feeling in the India House against Lord Wellesley, of that nobleman's conduct towards the Court, and of the anxiety that it had engendered in the minds of ministers themselves. He then declared that it was the earnest wish of His Majesty's confidential servants, that Lord Cornwallis, in such a conjuncture, should again take upon himself the direction of affairs. At this time Sir George Barlow stood appointed to the succession. Three or four years before, the Court of Directors had unanimously resolved that he should be appointed Governor-General on the death, or resignation, of Lord Wellesley, and the Board of Control and the British Government had confirmed the appointment, in a manner most flattering to that gentleman. It was indeed, as Lord Castlereagh said, on the united recommendation of Lord Cornwallis and Lord Wellesley, that the appointment was made. The former, who loved and respected Barlow, had lost no opportunity of urging his claims upon the Home Government; and now, that Lord Castlereagh sought him at Culford to thrust the Governor-Generalship upon him, the venerable nobleman spoke of his own advanced age, and represented, in no lukewarm manner, the just expectations and the great merits of the gentleman, who stood appointed to the succession. Lord Castlereagh's answer was, that the appointment, at such a time, of any members of Lord Wellesley's Go-

vernment would be offensive to the Court of Directors, and that, on no account, would they bring themselves to assent to it—an assertion, however, which we find it difficult to accept without some reservation. The discussion continued; Lord Castlereagh again urged on the Marquis the importance, in such a juncture, of his co-operation; and Lord Cornwallis, then attempting to affect a compromise in favour of his friend, offered to undertake the mission, on condition that he was assured of the succession of Sir George Barlow. Lord Castlereagh said that it was impossible to give any specific pledge to this effect; but that nothing would so surely promote the chance of Barlow's succession, as the acceptance of the Government by Lord Cornwallis: indeed, he said, it was that gentleman's "only chance"—and upon this the Marquis consented. He accepted office very reluctantly, spoke of it as "a rash step," and, not improbably, at some seasons had a painful foreshadowing of the doom, that was in store for him.

Such were the circumstances of Lord Cornwallis's second, or as more properly we should write, his *third*, acceptance of the Government of India: for he had been called upon in 1797 to proceed a second time to India, but was fain, after his preparations had been made, to take advantage of a favourable turn in the tide of affairs to make way for a younger man. In our estimation, this second mission of Lord Cornwallis to India is the very crown of his reputation. Had he shown any eagerness for power, it would have been another thing: but the appointment was thrust upon him; and that, at his advanced age, and in an infirm state of health, he should have sacrificed his ease, his comfort, and, as it proved in the sequel, his very life, at the call of the State, which he had served from his boyhood upwards in three different quarters of the Globe, is surely not an event to be deplored by the most jealous conservator of his fame.

The second administration of Lord Cornwallis was too brief to affect, either for good or for evil, the reputation, which he had previously earned. The great fact is, that he came to India at the call of his country, and died with the harness on his back. What he did, before he was prostrated by sickness, indicated no decline of vigour. He came out with a certain work to do, and he set about doing it in earnest. A very remarkable epoch was that autumn of 1805; and nothing more remarkable was there than the consummate ability and address, with which Sir George Barlow and Mr. Edmonstone contrived to dovetail (almost, indeed, to reconcile) the seemingly conflicting policies of Lord Wellesley and Lord Cornwallis. It is pro-

bable, indeed, that, at that time, and under the alarming financial pressure which then existed, Lord Wellesley was not less firmly impressed with a conviction of the paramount necessity of peace than his less warlike successor. But we are entering upon a chapter of Indian history, which must be written at another time. It cannot be introduced as an episode in such an article as this.*

We go back again now to another of our Anglo-Indian worthies—to Sir Eyre Coote, of whose last days “Civis” gives the following account:—

My time was only beginning, when the companions of Coote were closing theirs. Yet I still remember the old sepoys, who used to totter up to his picture in the Exchange at Madras, and *Salam* to him to the neglect of the lofty personages who hung around. In 1782, just before the death of Hyder, Sir Eyre Coote was in command of the army opposed to him near Madras; for, in those days, a few steps took us into the presence of our enemy. A friend of mine, who had been then the paymaster of his camp, told me that, as the General had suffered a succession of paralytic attacks, a report got abroad among the sepoys that he was dead—but that, in order to conceal it from them, his body was about to be clandestinely removed; and so much alarm and agitation were the consequence, that it was thought prudent to show him, by opening the doors of his palanquin, as he was being carried through the camp. He was only just alive; but still the bare sight of the body, almost a corpse as it was, suppressed every emotion, and all was in a moment quiet. He never returned to his command. His troops, as was then generally the case, were heavily in arrear. At one crisis of that struggle, I think, they were a whole year without pay. Though it was then borne, what would be the effect of such an arrear, if it were to happen now? As a last resource, Sir Eyre was put on board a ship; and he made a voyage to Calcutta, subservient to the purpose of procuring money for his army. In those times, as in the present, and whether the call has come from the *Carnatic*,† or the *Punjab*, the purse has always been in Bengal. To a certain extent, he obtained, what was wanted; but, on his voyage back, his ship was chased by a French frigate. The master did not want to have learned from Plutarch that he was carrying Cæsar and his fortunes; and Coote, knowing the value of his charge, was so intent upon the issue, that he could not be got to leave the deck. He persevered in restlessly watching the chase, which did not cease, till they found refuge in Madras Roads. But, what with the fatigue, and the exposure, and the anxiety, the whole together proved too much for him. He lived to be landed, but that was all; and, on the second or third day, he died.

* There is a chance of the gap in the “Lives of the Governors-General of India,” between the biography of Warren Hastings and that of Lord Teignmouth, being filled up ere long by the publication of a Memoir of Lord Cornwallis, for which considerable materials, including a large body of His Lordship’s private correspondence, have been collected and arranged.

† *Carnatic* is the designation given to that tract of low land, which extends from the Ghats in 79° to 80° of East longitude, and from the southern boundary of the northern Circars in 15°, to Cape Comorin in 8°, North latitude. The *Carnatic* is, on the eastern coast, what the *Kokun*, or *Concan*, as it is incorrectly called, is on the western coast of the Peninsula; and it comprehends *Madras*, the capital of the second of the three Governments of India.

We like our author best, when he is in his most gossiping mood ; so we give another passage from this letter :—

It has been shown, in a note to the preceding letter, in what reverence the memory of Wallace was held among the sepoys at Puna, where he had commanded. It is singular that both these officers, Coote and Wallace, belonged to the King's, and not to the local, army. They had, therefore, had but a limited personal intercourse with the sepoys, and could neither of them speak a word of their language. But all Indians look up with habitual reverence to authority ; and the sepoys are always fond of the man, who leads them well, and treats them kindly, and under whom they have been accustomed to be successful. It used to be the practice in the Indian Army for the field officer of the day, even after the longest march, in the most oppressive weather, to put the troops through some manœuvre before dismissing them. In 1803, after the first march of the campaign, which led to the battle of Assaye, the field officer asked the General, through what manœuvre he would wish the troops to be put ? " I think," said the General, " that the best manœuvre, you can put them through, is to march them to their tents." The best workmen are those, who, taking nothing out of their tools, when there is nothing for them to do, find the most in them, when there is a great deal to be done.

I am afraid I have been indulging the licence, that belongs to my age. But there was a time, when even these little incidents had their value ; and it is a pity we should lose the faintest memorial of men, who, forgotten, as they are now becoming, were once eminent in their generation, and of whom one contributed largely to place India, where we might have been satisfied to keep it. There is a pleasure in talking of old times, that only old men know ; indeed old times are generally the only times they have got to talk of. When the front windows are shut, and there is nothing left to look forward to, we have no help for it but to turn the other way. Soon after Mr. Fox went into Parliament in 1768, he said one evening, as he rose from table at Holland House, that he was going to the House of Commons. An old gentleman, who was of the party, said, " I have a great mind to go with you. I have not been in the House of Commons, since I sat there in the reign of Queen Anne." It was Mr. Methuen, who had been Under-Secretary to Lord Bolingbroke.

It may be worthy of consideration, how far the fact here glanced at—that the officers, whose memories have been most cherished by our sepoys, have been officers of the Royal service—may be attributed to the unjust and most injurious system of exclusiveness, which has closed the highest military commands against the officers of the Company's Armies. Our sepoys will always hold the officers of the Royal Army in higher estimation, so long as they see that they alone are deemed worthy to command the armies of our several Presidencies. The distinction, which is not overlooked by our native soldiers, has a most injurious moral effect ; and it is high time that it should cease to exist. The Court of Directors are known to be hostile to the continuance of this system of injurious exclusiveness ; and it is not improbable that the succession of Lord Hardinge, who, to his honor be it said, never loses an opportunity of declaring the high opinion he entertains of

the Company's officers—it is not improbable, we say, that the succession of Lord Hardinge to the command of the British Army will eventually seal its fate.

The next two letters are mainly speculative. They discuss somewhat vaguely the question "What is to be done with the Punjab?"—which has now found a practical solution. The next letter (No. XVIII.), which was not printed in the *Times*, relates to the limited Enlistment Act. We entirely disagree with the writer, who censures the measure as an impolitic and dangerous innovation. His reasoning is as inconclusive, as need be; and is from first to last an entire mistake. He argues that it is dangerous for the military element to be infused so largely into civil society, and points to the part taken by discharged French soldiers in every insurrectionary outbreak. Now, English soldiers, we need hardly say, are very different from French soldiers. The English soldier ceases to be a citizen, when he takes the shilling of the Recruiting Sergeant. His sympathies go out from among the people. It seems to be a condition of his existence, that, from that time, he should be at war with all civil life. The people have no affection for him, and he has no affection for the people. They call him a *lobster*; and, when opportunity offers, he uses his claws. Now it is our deliberate conviction (and we have thought and written a great deal on the subject of this new Enlistment Act) that, if any collision were to take place between the soldiery and the people, the discharged army men would be far more likely to "fall in" with the military, than to help the people to pull up the paving stones. And we say this too, without any reference to the great subject of pensions, present and deferred; we speak of the *sympathies*, rather than the *interests*, of our discharged soldiers; but when it is remembered that with the new Enlistment Act, is associated an improved pension system, by which the army still retains its old adherents in a friendly grasp, any lingering feeling of apprehension vanishes at once; and we are convinced that, in passing the new Enlistment Act, England has done wisely and well.

We have time and space for but one more remark upon the subject. "Civis" observes, "as a recommendation of the new law, I see it is alleged by those, who are its advocates, that none of the soldiers will take advantage of it, and that consequently, even if it does no good, it will do no harm. Then I say, if they will not take advantage of it, when it does come, they do not want it, if it does not; and any law, that is not wanted, had better not be made." It would be just as reason-

able to argue, that there is no need to emancipate a slave, because we do not believe that he will leave our service. Or, as "Civis" is rather addicted to familiar illustrations, we may say, that there would be no occasion to abolish a law prohibiting him from getting out at Slough, when he has taken a Great Western ticket to Reading, because we feel perfectly certain that he will go on to his journey's end. A man may book to Reading; but he likes to know that he may get out at Slough. He may be sick, may have left something behind him, or may not like his fellow-passengers. At all events, he does not like to be locked in. The supporters of the limited Enlistment Act do not say that the privilege, it accords, will never be resorted to; but that it will not be so frequently resorted to, as either to drain the army of its old soldiers, or to deluge the country with them. If a man desires to leave the army, it is well that he should not be bound to it for life; and, if he desires to remain in it, we may be sure that he will like the service better, and be a better soldier, for the knowledge that he is a free man, and not a slave.

We must hasten to a conclusion of this discursive article—though we have not said one-half of what we intended to say. There is immense suggestiveness in letter XIX. : and we had almost broken ground in Mysore, and entered upon the perilously attractive domain of the war with Tippu. We must not even touch upon this subject, further than to say a word about the following passage. We need hardly say that the *he*, at the commencement of it, is Lord Wellesley :—

He began at Hyderabad, the Lahore of his time, with reducing the French force that stood in his way, and converting a reluctant enemy into a cordial friend. He did not attack Tippu, till he had extricated the Nizam; and he would not have advanced to Cabul, till he had made sure of the Punjab.

In 1794, Sir John Shore, then Governor-General, had rejected a desire expressed by the Nizam to increase the two battalions subsidized by him from the Company; and, in the following year, his dissatisfaction had been so much aggravated by the refusal to allow even those two English battalions to assist him in his war with the Mahrattas, that he had required them to withdraw from his territory, and resolved to supply their place by a larger body of Sepoys, disciplined and commanded by French officers. Before, however, the English battalions had crossed the frontier, they were suddenly recalled by the Nizam, in consequence of the revolt, in June 1795, of his eldest son, Aali Jah; and although they had thenceforth continued at Hyderabad, the determination of the Nizam, to extend his force of disciplined troops, drove him into the arms of the French, and forced him to resort to M. Raymond, an able, but then an obscure, French officer in his army; and in that way began the French corps, which afterwards reached such an extent, that Lord Wellesley was obliged to get rid of it, before he could enter into the war with Tippu in 1799. Luckily, Raymond had then died; or the accomplish-

ment of Lord Wellesley's purpose might not have been so easy as it actually proved.

It was in October 1798, that the French sepoys at Hyderabad, in the presence of a formidable array of British troops, were called upon to lay down their arms. They, who were present at this mournful ceremonial, never forgot it to the latest day of their lives. Letters, still in existence, written immediately after the event, describe it as at once "a glorious and a piteous sight." Between eleven and twelve thousand French sepoys laid down their arms in heaps before our line of troops drawn up in an overawing position, and then moved off in crowds, attended by their wives, children and chattels. It was a relief to all, when the ceremony was over; for, although no dangerous resistance was apprehended, it was felt to be a painful duty that was imposed upon the British Resident, and it was not certain that it could be accomplished without shedding of blood. We have no doubt that "Civis," who went to Hyderabad a few years afterwards, has often heard it touchingly narrated.

We have now turned the page, which brings us to the last letter of the score; and we come upon the most important subject, which is touched upon in the whole series. "Civis," being one of the old school, is greatly alarmed at the thought of the attempts, that have been, and are being, made to convert the natives of India. He says:—

I cannot take leave of this subject without once more earnestly enjoining (and I hope for the last time) the most sedulous caution in interfering with the religion of the Indians. If it be for their good (and I am not pretending to put it as a question)—if it be for their good, that they should *become* Christians, it is still more for their good that they should *continue* so. And need I insist upon its being for our good, that the change, come when it may, should be wrought without that disastrous collision, which precipitate measures will inevitably occasion?

And again, enlarging on and illustrating the subject:—

Soon after the foundation of the college at Calcutta, under the government of Lord Wellesley, a thesis was proposed to the students, of which the treatment involved a contrast between the respective creeds of the Christians and Mahomedans. In India, this was always ticklish ground; and, accordingly, the *Mussulis*, the Mahomedan tutors of the college, remonstrated. They said, if they had been allowed to enter the lists, as the champions of their own faith, they would have been satisfied; but they complained of being made lookers-on only at a contest, in which their defence, as well as the assault upon them, was committed to their adversaries. Lord Wellesley directed the thesis to be withdrawn.

We shall be lucky if, when we do gain experience, we gain it by warning, and by warning only. A very intelligent friend of mine, who served for many years in the Indian Army, with both his eyes and his ears open,

and who, I am sure, wishes the Indians as well as I do, tells me that, in the year 1832 or 3, a number of religious tracts, and among them a disingenuous life of Mahomed, which, in order that the mischief which such a thing is capable of doing might be spread as widely as possible, had been translated into the Indian (?) language, were sent from Bombay to Jaulna, and circulated among the native Indian troops stationed there. The substance and manifest design of these tracts excited a considerable emotion, especially among the cavalry, who are almost exclusively Mahomedans; and some of the *Munshis*, the instructors of the officers in the native languages, were desirous of answering the life of Mahomed; but the commanding officer very prudently ordered all the tracts to be collected and burned; for, such a controversy once begun, who can undertake to say to what result it might have led?

It seems a characteristic of the British mind in India, that it is liable to periodical attacks of panic: and none appears to have been more severe—not even the Russian, or the Burmese—than the panic caused by the Missionaries. It is amusing enough to find its effects so stereotyped on the mind, as to come out, fresh as the sculptures of Nineveh, after the sleep of a quarter of a century. It would probably astonish “Civis” were he to take a voyage to the “City of Palaces,” to see the Indians, as he calls them, sending their children by thousands to the Missionary schools, and Christian men and women acknowledged by many of them as their friends and benefactors. We have puzzled ourselves in vain to discover what “Civis” means by “the Indian language.” Had he not mentioned the native languages immediately after, it would seem, as if he thought they had but one. His notions of “the Indians” altogether are most mysteriously hazy. They can fight well; but he is doubtful, whether they can do any thing else; and he is more than doubtful, whether they can ever be Christians. Thus he says:—

Before we attempted to make the Indians Christians, we ought to have seen that they were fit—I would even say that they were capable—of being so. I never yet knew or heard of one single instance of a creditable convert to Christianity in India. I never knew an instance of one, that was not as well a reproach to the creed he was adopting, as a warning to the one he had abandoned. Such converts as have yet been made, small as their number is, have served therefore no other purpose than that of deterring others from following their example.

What “Civis” thinks of “the Indian,” who dares to be a Christian Missionary, may be learned from the following curious morsel:—

For the purpose of conversion, such a person was the very last that should have been chosen. A black instructor would be sure to be listened to with less respect, and to have less influence with the native Indians, than a white one. Such a messenger might repel—he certainly would not

invite; and in what character more degraded and offensive could he be exhibited to his countrymen than that of an apostate? Without more unwillingness, I hope, than my neighbours to undertake a good office, I should be very sorry to stand in this black Missionary's shoes. Ask anybody, who knows India, what he will accomplish, and I think they will tell you "*nothing*;" ask them what he will encounter, and I am sure they will tell you, "*a great deal*."

Our experience of Native Christians is somewhat wider, and certainly very different. We know not a few, who have won for themselves a high place in the esteem and affection of men, no way inferior to "Civis" either in mind, or in social position; and we doubt whether any Chaplain, through the length and breadth of Hindustan, has so much influence and so much respect among the Hindus, as the Rev. Krishna Mohana Banergea. "Civis" might have learned, also that the Indians, in the field of science, had proved themselves at least equal to their European brethren; and that the highest medical prizes in the University of London had fallen to a converted Indian "with a black face."

Notwithstanding this curious little outbreak of early prejudice, we shake hands cordially with "Civis," thanking him for the opportunity he has given us of almost out-gossiping himself.

- ART. VIII.—1. *The History, Design, and Present State of the Religious, Benevolent, and Charitable Institutions, founded by the British, in Calcutta and its Vicinity.* By Charles Lushington, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service. Calcutta.. Printed at the Hindustanni Press. 1824.
2. *Hand-Book of Bengal Missions.* By the Rev. James Long, Church Missionary, in Calcutta. London. 1848.
3. *The Oriental Magazine*, No. 6, June, 1843. *A Brief Memoir of the late Mr. David Drummond.* Calcutta. Loll Bazar Press.
4. *The Calcutta Literary Observer*; July to October, 1847. Calcutta. Carey and Mendes. 3½, Loll Bazar.

READER! transport yourself in fancy to the latter part of the last century, and, in one of the quadrangles of the Fort, which adorns and protects this City of Palaces, you will see a snug little house, which is given up to those Staff Serjeants, who are employed in the Ordnance Department, by Government. Enter; and, in the ante-room, you will see a small knot of little chubby children, conning their daily lessons under the superintendence of some widow, who has long past the meridian of life, and whom the *res angustæ domi* have compelled to undertake the tuition of children, to introduce them into the vestibule of learning's fane, and to initiate them in the mysteries of Reading, Writing, and (perhaps) Arithmetic. "Mavor's Spelling" is the text-book. Some are forcing their way through the mystical twenty and six letters, the wonderful combination of which has astonished mankind, and changed the face of society. Others are reading the story of Frank Pitt, the great fat boy, who devoured an enormous-sized cake, and had to swallow a corresponding quantity of medicine to counteract the effects of his gluttony: while a third set, more advanced than the rest, are learning to spell such tremendous words, as "Va-le-tu-di-na-ri-an," "La-ti-tu-di-na-ri-an;" are reading about the wolf, who devoured the pretty little lamb most cruelly; and are poring over the meaning of the contest between Æolus and the Sun, fought, like a good practical joke, at the expense of a poor unoffending wayfarer. The progress, which these children have made, is considered very satisfactory: and the poor widow, taking the mouth-piece of the *hukah* from her mouth, and laying down her needle-work on the mat, congratulates herself, with spec-

tacles on her nose, that the education of Annie, Janet, and Margaret is nearly complete.

Let us turn hence towards a spot, now much changed from its pristine desolate appearance, and known by the name of Coolie Bazar. The pretty church, and the little white mansions, which now adorn the spot, were not then to be seen. Small bungalows, like so many mounds of straw, broke the level prospect of the situation, and were the habitations of invalid soldiers, who had fought at Seringapatam, or helped to drive Sujah from the plains of Plassey. Living upon a rupee a day, these old pensioners smoked and walked, and smoked and slept, their time away. One, more learned perchance than the rest, opened a school: and, while the modest widow taught but the elements of knowledge, the more ambitious Pensioner proposed to take them higher up the hill of learning.

Let us contemplate him seated in an old-fashioned chair, with his legs resting on a cane morah. A long pipe, his most constant companion, projects from his mouth. A pair of loose pyjamahs and a *charkana* banian keep him within the pale of society, and preserve him cool in the trying hot season of this climate. A rattan—his sceptre—is in his hand; and the boys are seated on stools, or little morahs, before his pedagogic majesty. They have already read *three* chapters of the Bible, and have got over the proper names without much spelling; they have written their copies—small, round, text, and large, hands; they have repeated a column of Entick's Dictionary with only two mistakes; and are now employed in working Compound Division, and soon expect to arrive at the Rule of Three. Some of the lad's eyes are red with weeping, and others expect to have a taste of the *ferula*. The partner of the Pensioner's days is seated on a low Dinapore matronly chair, picking vegetables, and preparing the ingredients for the coming dinner. It strikes twelve o'clock; and the school-master shakes himself. Presently the boys bestir themselves: and, for the day, the school is broken up!

These pictures are not the figments of the imagination: they are the *photographs* of other years and distant scenes: and, if there be any, who still have even a faint recollection of the times of which we are treating, they will acknowledge the *verisimilitude* of the picture, and give the writer credit for fidelity.

Such were the schools, which, soon after the establishment of British supremacy in the East, were formed for the instruction

of youth of both sexes. They were really *make-shifts*—mere plans, like other domestic plans, which men contrive for augmenting their means of subsistence. They were looked upon simply as sources of revenue; and hence every individual, in straitened circumstances, set up a day-school, which might serve as a kind of *corps de reserve*, until fortune smiled propitious, and a more congenial employment was obtained. Things have not much altered in this respect. The office of school-master, one of the most responsible and important under the sun, is still recklessly adopted by all kinds and classes of men, who cannot find any other employment for themselves. The “broken down soldier,” the bankrupt merchant, and

The ruin'd spendthrift, now no longer proud,

generally fill the office of the pedagogue, and perpetrate an amount of moral mischief, which it is not easy to calculate, and very difficult to remove.

It is a truism that there is not a business in life, which does not require a particular mental, moral, and physical discipline. Even the cutting of corks requires an apprenticeship of seven years. The honourable professions in life demand the devotion of the entire season of youth, to attain a complete qualification in all their requirements and dependencies. The only exception, it would appear, from this wholesome rule is the office of the school-master. Those, who are fully alive to its importance and its magnitude, enter upon their duties with misgivings, and never fail to study the great improvements, which are being made in Science, Philosophy, Literature, and Art, in order that they may qualify themselves for their duties. Such conscientious teachers are however rare. For one of this stamp, we have a hundred reckless, careless, and bold-spirited adventurers, without experience, thought, study, training, or *any* preparation, who offer themselves as teachers—and are accepted!

It is a remarkable fact that, in the ordinary transactions of life, men display more caution than in the moral and intellectual training of their own offspring. Generally, they will seek the assistance of those people, who are regularly brought up, that is, really *educated*, in the particular business, for which such aid is required. A man, who wants a farrier, will not trust his horse to be shod by a barber, nor, if he be in need of a khidmutghar, will he employ the services of a professional dhoby. Only in the great business of education do we see a blind and unreasonable departure from this rule. Children are entrusted to the care, not only of empirics, quacks, and men of base or

worthless character, but to those, who are well known to have been brought up to other employments, and have therefore never bestowed so much as a passing thought on the great ends of education. But surely a child is of greater value than a horse, and the *pabulum mentis* far more important than mutton and beef for the nourishment of the body.

The season of infancy is the seed time of the mind. The faculties of observation and memory are then beginning to be developed. The former catches every thing, and the latter stores it up. How necessary then is it, that the observation should be directed to those objects and those scenes, which may be useful in after life, which ennoble man's nature, enlist his feelings on the side of virtue, and attach them to Truth! At this season, too, curiosity is most powerful, and imitation, most active. It is obvious, then, that this curiosity should be directed to those objects, which strengthen the intellect, and develop the moral nature; and that the principle of Imitation should have held up to it, as it were in a mirror, those actions, that course of conduct, and those characters, which add to the dignity of human nature, and adorn it with those graces, which shed a lustre around names, that will not easily be unlearned by mankind! And now, above all others, is the time to teach the dawning mind to reverence God, to write upon it His holy commandments, and to train it to look up with child-like love, trust and confidence to its Creator and Redeemer. So spoke the wisest of men: "Train up a child in the way in which he should go; and, when he is old, he will not depart from it."

As the child advances to maturity, the understanding begins to exert its powers, and admonishes the teacher that now, with the various systems of Science and Philosophy, the truths of man's nature and his destiny must be taught, so that he may know who and what he is, and to what his destiny points. His mind must be fortified against the prejudices and errors, which often lead the mind from the path of truth to the cold and benumbing regions of infidelity. In short, he must be taught how to lead a useful and a happy life here, and to make this life a stepping stone to life everlasting.

These, and much more than these, constitute the great business of the School-master; and yet how few consider the responsibility, which is attached to the office. A few columns of Spelling, a few pages of Grammar and Geography, a few chapters of Reading, writing copies, and working examples in Arithmetic, with many make up education. With others, a play of Shakespeare, some Essays of Bacon, a superficial know-

ledge of History, an equation, and a demonstration comprise the *sum* of teaching. Moral and religious education are altogether omitted.

But what else can reasonably be expected, as things now stand? One man starts in life, as an assistant to an Indigo Planter; but, at the end of the season, which proved unfavourable, he becomes a teacher: for he thinks the work extremely simple, and concludes that the manufacture of indigo is a far more difficult task. Another has been trying to enter a Government Office; but the portals of patronage will not open: and he is thereby induced to become a teacher, as a kind of "hanger-on," until he shall succeed in the accomplishment of his wishes. A third cannot find employment for himself. He is too well known for his irregular habits. The profession, in which he has been brought up, has discarded him. The society, in which he moved, has driven him out of its pale. He is in utter disgrace: when suddenly he becomes a schoolmaster—and (will it be believed?) he is supported, tolerated, praised. A fourth is a widow, left without any support by her deceased husband. Her education has been scanty. And yet she puts herself forward as a teacher; opens a school; and manages to eke out a subsistence, without any conscientious scruples, that she has undertaken a task, for which she is utterly unqualified.

This wretched system is not yet defunct; but great changes have taken place. So long as parents will look out for *cheap* education only; so long as they do not estimate at their proper value a sound and thorough training for their children—strangers of blighted prospects will perpetuate this system: and, though driven from the 'high places' of the city, it will still haunt its purlieus, and, creeping into lanes and crowded streets, live a life of feverish anxiety for some years to come.

As British supremacy began to extend, and the increasing demands of war and commerce caused an influx of Europeans into this land, greater efforts (and on a larger scale) were made to extend the benefits of education, and to elevate its tone. With the view of presenting our readers with a complete sketch of the state of education in Calcutta, past and present, we will divide our essay into four distinct heads.

- I.—The educational efforts of private individuals.
- II.—The educational efforts of classes of men.
- III.—The educational efforts of the clergy.
- IV.—The educational efforts of the Government.

Before we enter on the first division, we feel our-

selves bound to notice the Free School, which is decidedly the first school that was established in Bengal, even prior to the efforts of private individuals of liberal education. The Free School may be regarded as the termination of all those little schools, of which we have already taken notice, and as the beginning of changes in education, which have not yet ceased in this country. It is the end and the beginning of two phases of society, two different moral epochs; and as such, is quite an historical monument.

About the end of the year 1747, a charity fund was instituted for the purpose of giving board and education to indigent Christian children—so early was there manifested a good spirit towards the poor of this world. Besides subscriptions, either monthly or annual, it enjoyed an endowment, which, upon the authority of Mr. Charles Weston's letter to the Select Vestry of the Cathedral, dated in the year 1787, grew out "of the restitution money received for pulling down the English Church *by the Moors*, at the capture of Calcutta, in 1756." To this amount was subsequently added a legacy of 6 or 7,000 Rs. bequeathed by Mr. Constantine; and this sum was still further increased by the public spirit of Mr. Bouchier, and the liberality of the Government.

Mr. Bouchier, well known as Governor of Bombay, was originally Master Attendant of Calcutta: he was a merchant, and most successful in his pursuits. At this period there was no particular house, in which the Mayor and Aldermen could meet for the transaction of business; for there *was* a time, when Calcutta was governed by a Mayor and Aldermen! To remedy the inconvenience, which these municipal officers suffered for want of special accommodation, Mr. Bouchier built the Old Court House, which was much enlarged by several additions in the year 1765. He gave it to the Company, on condition that Government should pay 4,000 Arcot Rs. per annum, to support a charity school, and for other benevolent purposes. In consideration of the many great improvements, which had been chiefly made by the munificence of private individuals, Government agreed to devote 800 Rs. per month to these charitable purposes. And, when the ruinous state of the building rendered its demolition necessary, Government with a truly generous spirit consented to pay 800 Rs. in perpetuity. Some years afterwards, when application for assistance was again made to the Government on behalf of the school, a further donation of 800 Rs. per mensem was munificently bestowed. The liberality of the Government, on this occasion, is truly deserving of praise.

In the lapse of time, the old Charity School became quite inadequate to the demand for education: and, in consequence of the necessity of providing instruction for the offspring of the poor, the Free School Society was established on the 21st of December 1789, and its management placed in the hands of a Patron (the Governor-General), the Select Vestry, and a few other governors.

It was soon found that the subscriptions and property of the old Charity School, and the Free School Society, "being of a contingent nature, so that each was occasionally obliged to lend and borrow interchangeably from the funds of the other, produced thereby a perplexity in the accounts, which would be avoided by the consolidation of the funds;" and it was therefore resolved that, on the 14th April, 1800, the two funds should be consolidated, and the two institutions be united under one establishment, to be governed by the Select Vestry.

In 1813, the benefits of the school were extended to an unlimited number of day scholars; and in 1817, a separate establishment was formed for children, who were willing to pay a sufficient sum to cover all expences. These children were placed under the superintendence of the 2nd master.

At this time the funds of the school suffered diminution, on account of the improvements, which the governors were obliged to make on the premises, for securing the health and comfort of the children,—and on account of the reduction in the rate of interest given by the Government. On this occasion, the Bishop preached a sermon on behalf of the school; and, correspondent exertions being made by other friends of education, the funds were once more restored to a healthy condition, and its means for doing good were considerably enlarged.

The Free School may be considered as the parent of all educational and benevolent institutions in this land. It emphatically stands a monument of British sympathy and generosity, at a time when "war and the rumours of war" rendered all things connected with the East India Company fluctuating and insecure, and when the desire for making money was more intense than it is at present. Many of those, who now hold responsible situations in the uncovenanted service of Government, received their education in the Free School; and others, who have since been numbered with the "generations gone," but who, in their day, were conspicuous for their mental and moral qualities, owed all the knowledge, which they possessed, to this same school.

At the present moment the Free School is imparting an excellent practical education to about four hundred indigent children

of both sexes. Great praise is due to the head teacher and his colleagues for their indefatigable labours in the school-room. A School of Industry has been established also for printing, tailoring, shoe-making, and carpentry. So far things promise well, and we have only commendation to bestow. But there is a small cloud, which is, we see, annually increasing, and which, we much fear, will, if not quickly dispelled, paralyse the exertions of the friends of this school. The income is diminishing. As far as regards the origin of this serious evil, we cannot acquit the governors of all blame; and we would ill discharge the duty, which we have undertaken, if we shrunk from speaking the truth. The first evil, from which the funds of the school suffered, was the appropriation of upwards of thirty thousand rupees to another purpose. The building of the Free School Church, however praiseworthy in itself, was a diversion of the school funds from their proper object. This was a heavy blow to the financial prosperity of the school. Another great cause of the diminution of the funds is, that applications for subscriptions are not now made with that energy and perseverance, which characterized the exertions of an individual, whose services to the school can never be too highly appreciated, and who deserves a passing notice.

Mr. Patrick Sutherland, Register of the Military Board Office, was connected with the Free School, as Purveyor and Assistant Secretary, from November 1807 to March 1833, a period of twenty-six years. If we are not mistaken, he was originally educated in this school; and never have we witnessed a more handsome return for benefits received, than in the instance of Mr. Sutherland's after-exertions for its prosperity. The comforts of the children were well attended to; every thing was managed on the most approved economical principles; and, at his suggestion, the Government donation of 800 Rs. per month was originally obtained. Various other sources of revenue were also opened by him for the benefit of the school; and not a stranger could arrive in the country, but straight way an application was made to him for a pecuniary contribution.

We have already remarked that, in consequence of the increasing demand for the education, fee scholars were received into the Free School. Their number was increasing every month; and parents, notwithstanding the reluctance they felt to send their children to charity schools, were compelled, for want of other private or public educational establishments, to sacrifice their feelings, and to send their little urchins to the Free School. This state of things was not suffered to continue. Many enterprising individuals observed that a school would make

a capital speculation: and it was left to the energy and good sense of a Mr. Archer to establish the first school for boys, in this City of Palaces, before the year 1800. His great success attracted others to the same field; and two institutions speedily took the lead. Mr. Farrell's Seminary, and the Durrumtollah Academy, were the two rival institutions. There was also a school conducted by Mr. Halifax, another by Mr. Lindstedt, and a third by Mr. Draper; but these were of less note, and did not attract so much attention.

In all these institutions, a plain English education was given; and, what must on no account be overlooked, the principles of navigation and book-keeping were made objects of special study. At that time, through the exertions of Mr. Kidd, the founder of the Kidderpore Dock Yard, the country trade had received a great impetus. Ships were being built; and young men, who had acquired a superficial knowledge of the theory of navigation, soon found employment. The study of navigation is now nearly banished from our schools; and it is sometimes only, when the boys are sent to the schools in Calcutta from the eastward, that a special request is made for the study of navigation. This occurs so rarely, that, when the request is made, some such surprise is felt as if an echo of an ante-diluvian period fell upon our ears.

In order to give our readers an idea of what these private seminaries were, we shall quote at length a passage from the memoir of Mr. David Drummond, which most graphically describes the state of things at that period:—

“Mr. Drummond has himself declared, that he was the *first* person, who introduced the study of Grammar and the use of the Globes, in the Durrumtollah Academy. This seminary was, at that period, in the most flourishing condition. Receipts were large, and the profits, which the proprietors realized, handsome; and yet we perceive how lamentably low was the tone of education in it: in truth, people looked for no higher qualification, than that comprised in the three ‘Rs.’—Reading, Writing, Arithmetic. A knowledge of these branches of learning was a passport to the subordinate offices under Government. No other sphere of extended usefulness was demanded at the hands of the uncovenanted branch of the service.—Merchants themselves required no high scale of qualification. It is matter of surprise to know how little was then required at the hands of school-masters: but then we must not omit that the Government of the country was satisfied with *that little*, at the time to which we have made reference. There were men of

‘ brilliant talents among us—a Malcolm, a Munro, and others :
‘ but the duties which devolved on them were not so onerous,
‘ as to demand so complicated and expensive a machinery, as
‘ the covenanted and uncovenanted service of the Hon’ble
‘ Company now is.

“ How widely things are altered now ! The studies of schools
‘ are adapted to present circumstances ; nothing is left untried
‘ which will develope the energies of men, refine their feelings,
‘ establish their morals, and make them fit instruments for em-
‘ ployment in the service of a Government, whose responsi-
‘ bilities are daily increasing.

“ We are happy to observe that Mr. Drummond was mainly
‘ instrumental in introducing two studies of such importance.
‘ They are not however the only two, he introduced. English
‘ literature, and the study of the Latin classics, were also
‘ taught in his school, through his recommendation. But we
‘ must not overlook another important change, which he effect-
‘ ed. Every individual is become so familiar with it, that we
‘ are assured that it will occasion surprise, when we mention
‘ that Annual Examinations were first held by Mr. Drummond.
‘ As at present, so was it formerly, a *big day* for boys. It was
‘ a day of fear, of trembling, and of joy. The prospect of a de-
‘ feat—a discomfiture—was appalling to the lads ; while the un-
‘ certain prospect of a prize, and the too certain prospect of the
‘ joyful holidays, were indeed soul-enlivening and soul-thrilling.
‘ Could one but realize the day, as it came off under the auspices
‘ of the late Mr. Drummond ! The beauty and wealth of the city
‘ were assembled there, and the curious gaze of the humble
‘ clerks, and the eager faces of the teachers and the school-boys
‘ of other institutions—all were there. But the most prominent
‘ figure was Mr. Drummond. He was the life and the soul of
‘ the assembly. All eyes were bent on him, and with a smile he
‘ graciously repaid their kindness. Light and elastic, with the
‘ vigour of youth, a pleasing countenance, and brilliant blue
‘ eyes, Mr. Drummond was the hero of the day.—As each
‘ class was called up, he detailed minutely the studies and the
‘ progress of the lads, and passed a high eulogium on their
‘ assiduity and application ; and lastly, who can forget the
‘ book-keeping class ? The boys in their Sunday clothes, with
‘ their slates in their hands, ready to journalize and post with
‘ the ledger the most intricate mercantile calculation—Mr.
‘ Drummond throwing his gauntlet to the assembly to puzzle
‘ his lads, ‘cunning in workmanship’— a question pompously
‘ and slowly falling from the lips of the late Mr. Halifax—the
‘ answer after awhile correctly given, a burst of applause

‘ announcing the success ; Derozio receiving his medal with a
 ‘ descendant on his merits from his admiring master :—all these
 ‘ combined to present a scene, which, while we write, warms
 ‘ our heart, and makes us live over those days again.

“ The first examination of this kind gave the death-blow
 ‘ to Mr. Farrel’s seminary. Mr. Drummond knew the power
 ‘ of (what the French appropriately call) *éclat*. He
 ‘ felt also that an examination without ladies was a non-
 ‘ entity. He therefore called upon a lady-friend of influence
 ‘ and respectability, and, making known to her his intention,
 ‘ he promised her a grand ball and supper, and conveyances for
 ‘ her friends to boot, if they would honour the examination
 ‘ with their presence. Could such arts ever fail ? The bait
 ‘ took. The hall was crowded ; and Mr. Drummond became, in
 ‘ the opinion of the ladies, a great man, a famous man !”

Besides the institutions, which we have already mentioned,
 as public institutions for the sole benefit of private individuals,
 there were private seminaries, conducted by Reverend Gen-
 tlemen of the various denominations then in Calcutta.
 That conducted by the late Rev. Doctor Yates was the most
 flourishing. These seminaries were opened for the purpose
 of support ; and, as more permanent employment was obtained,
 they were abandoned. For this reason we had a number of
 private seminaries in succession,—some very excellent in their
 way : but they were all evanescent. Either some employment,
 which relieved a sensitive mind from anxious dependence on
 public patronage, drew the conductors away, or death removed
 them from the scene of their labours.

We would feel ourselves guilty of an unpardonable omission,
 if we did not at this place make prominent mention of the
 schools for young ladies, which were also established in this
 city. The earliest was that of a Mrs. Pitts ; and soon after
 many others were founded by private enterprise and public
 encouragement. That, which enjoyed the most extensive
 support however, was Mrs. Durrell’s seminary. It was of great
 repute : and there are many ladies, yet alive, who received the
 rudiments of their education, and their finish also, in this
 seminary.

There were some features of the society of that period,
 which rendered these seminaries for ladies very popular. There
 were no hotels and large boarding-houses, to which strangers,
 on their arrival in the City of Palaces, could repair. The only
 places of resort for young ladies, whose friends and relatives
 were at a distance from Calcutta, were these schools : and hence
 the seminaries for young ladies were at once seminaries for

learning, and boarding houses for young ladies, who had taken their farewell of the school.

These seminaries also afforded an excellent opportunity for forming matrimonial alliances. Young men and old—civilians and military gentlemen—merchants and indigo-planters, met here with a capital mart for sweet-hearts and wives. To enliven the *ennui* of Ditch society, and to hasten the approach of 'an establishment,' a grand ball and supper were given almost every month. Friends were invited, who introduced other friends : and it was no uncommon circumstance to find that many a young man most miraculously found his lost rib, and many a young woman discovered from whose side she had been taken.

Much cannot be said of the *pabulum mentis*, which was given in these seminaries. Accomplishments were abundantly supplied ; and there were not wanting stimulants for acquiring them. But that knowledge, which enlightens, invigorates, and dignifies the character, was a sealed font.

We must however make an exception in favour of one school, which was conducted by the late Rev. Mr. Lawson. Those alone, who enjoyed the good fortune of his acquaintance, knew the worth of that man. As a Baptist minister, he pursued his ministry, noiselessly and without ostentation ; but he possessed a mind, which would have adorned the highest station, and shed a grace on the loftiest eminence of preferment. He is still remembered by some as a poet ; nor was he less distinguished in this walk, than in others. His "Maniac" best shews his poetical powers ; and his minor pieces display great delicacy and tenderness of sentiment, combined with a light and playful fancy, and a wit as harmless and as brightly keen, as that of Addison's. He was moreover no mean sculptor, a tolerable painter, and an excellent musician. His school for young ladies could not but progress under such an able conductor. He bestowed great care on English composition—a great, aye almost indispensable, requisite in this as well as in all other lands : and there are ladies living, who are remarkable for their easy and graceful writing, and who received their lessons in grammar and style from the accomplished mind of the Rev. Mr. Lawson. Having now performed our duty to one, who well merits a more permanent notice than these pages can afford, we turn our attention to the second division of our subject :—the exertions made by classes of men.

II. Various reasons urge the different classes of men in every society to establish institutions for their independent advantage. It is well that it should be so. For if all men were

actuated by the same views, and adopted the same plan, a flat and uninteresting monotony would be the inevitable result. The British in Calcutta early felt the necessity of those institutions, which are flourishing in their native land; and which, being the offspring of benevolence, serve in a great measure to alleviate distress and relieve poverty, to check crime and improve society.

Actuated doubtless by these views, Major General Kirkpatrick, in August 1782, circulated proposals for the establishment of an Orphan Society. Not a single exception was to be found, so cheerfully and cordially did the officers respond to the appeal of the gallant Major General. In the month of March following, the Society was formed. The objects of the Society "are ' to provide funds, or resources, for the maintenance of the ' children of officers dying in indigent circumstances; to ' relieve officers from the burden of contributing to private ' subscriptions, in behalf of the orphans of individuals; and, in ' the hour of sickness and danger, to yield them the consolation ' that, in the event of their dying poor, a certain pension will ' be secured to their offspring."

The Military Orphan Society is divided into two schools—the Upper and Lower. The former contains the children of officers; the latter, of soldiers. These schools are again divided into two departments, for boys and girls respectively: and the education imparted is of a practical nature, designed to qualify the children for the situations they are likely to occupy in this land.

The Orphan Society has been productive of manifold advantages. Some of the most eminent East Indians, both male and female, having been educated in the schools connected with the Society. For reasons of economy it was found necessary to abolish the boys' department of the Upper-school, and to amalgamate it with Saint Paul's School. This arrangement was carried out in 1846.

A Society, that has existed so long, and which is an honour to the Company's Military Service, should not be allowed to have a mere passing notice. There were urgent reasons for a wise and benevolent provision of this nature for the offspring of the military gentlemen of the Company's Service. So early as the year 1770, various propositions were made, and various plans floated in the atmosphere of society, for making some kind of provision for the children of officers born out of the pale of wedlock. Young men, heedless and improvident, on their entering into the service, and arriving at Calcutta, too early contracted fatal intimacy with the women of the soil, and were totally

regardless of the future welfare of their unfortunate progeny, who were left to the benevolence and the charity of the friends and associates of their fathers. Many were entirely lost, being imperceptibly blended with the Muhammadans. The Orphan Society has rescued these poor children from distress, and afforded them an asylum, where they have received an education, which has enabled them to obtain their livelihood, and become respectable and reputable members of society.

With the Orphan Society, the name of the Rev. Mr. Hoven-den is most intimately associated. Many, who were in the school under his *regime*, make mention of him in very affectionate terms. His deeds of benevolence have been also treasured by many others: and we have often given pain, when we have honestly declared our unfavourable opinion with regard to his management of the schools. With the man, however, we have nothing to do. His public acts are our concern; and by these do we judge of him. It seems that he devoted all his attention to the girls of the Upper School. The boys did not share so much of his regard: nor did the Lower School experience a proportionate share of kindness. His affection for the ladies of the Upper School blinded him to their best interests. The state of education was decidedly inferior; while there was a wasteful expenditure in the victualling department. He was in short an excellent, pious, and most amiable man; but an indifferent superintendent, and a very poor economist.

It will not be considered out of place here to advert to the European Female Orphan Asylum—an institution, which reflects the highest honour on the community, by whom it was established, and on whose support it still depends. The destitute condition of the offspring of European soldiers, who, if they fortunately escaped the dangers of infancy, were notwithstanding exposed to the corrupting influence of scenes of profligacy, attracted the kind and sympathizing notice of the Rev. Mr. Thomason, who appealed to the public, and succeeded in establishing the European Female Orphan Society. Contributions flowed in from every quarter—the officers and soldiers gave liberally towards so desirable an object, and the Government bestowed a donation of 200 rupees per mensem.* A house

* We think that it will perhaps be interesting to give a list of donations, from the officers and soldiers of the European regiments stationed in India, towards the Asylum.

Officers of H. M. 14th Regiment	Rs.	742	0	0
Ditto of ditto 86th	"	785	0	0
Ditto of ditto 87th	"	718	0	0
Ditto of ditto 24th Light Dragoons		413	2	0
Ditto of ditto 11th ditto		657	0	0

and grounds in Circular Road were purchased for 37,000 rupees : and this Asylum has proved a blessing to the offspring of the European soldiery.

The year 1821 was also remarkable for the exertions of the Ladies' Society for Native Female Education in Calcutta and its vicinity. Miss Cooke, better known as Mrs. Wilson, arrived in 1821, and commenced her devoted labours. As we propose to devote a separate article to native female education, we content ourselves at this time with the simple mention of the name of one, who deserves to be honourably enrolled with the Frys, and Mores, and other female benefactors of the world.

We have now arrived at that stage of our subject, which requires us to record the exertions of classes of men, not only for their own benefit, but also for the advantage of others. The most excellent private seminaries labour under the evil of transitoriness. This evil began to be painfully felt about the year 1820. People were then convinced that private schools could not answer the great purposes of national education. It may be, that the conductor of a private school might be afflicted with protracted indisposition, and his school would fail—or that, growing old and feeble, he could not put forth those energies, which he did in his adolescence.

About the year 1820, "a spirit was abroad." Not only "did the acute indisposition of Mr. Drummond blight his prospects, and hasten the 'decline and fall' of his academy ; but a change had at this time taken place in society. New views were entertained by individuals, and a new system was required. Men perceived the necessity of attending to the moral and religious education of children.—The East Indians at that time exerted themselves in a way, which they have never done since. They not only sought for a redress of the grievances, under which they laboured—they not only determined to carry their complaints to the very fountain of British influence and power—but they united toge-

Non-Commissioned officers and privates of the

H. Co's Artillery	121	9	7
H. C. European Regiment	274	9	2
H. M. 8th Light Dragoons	262	6	4
H. M. 11th ditto	444	1	7
H. M. 14th Foot	371	14	0
H. M. 17th Foot	1,016	0	0
H. M. 59th ditto	1,123	15	0
H. M. 87th ditto	810	14	5

Rs. 8,400 . 8 1

'ther to establish a school for the benefit of their own children.'*

The PARENTAL ACADEMY, through the influence and exertions of the late John Miller Ricketts, was established on the 1st March, 1828. The Calcutta Grammar School was established in June of the same year, owing to a dispute among the original members of the Parental Academy, which led to a separation of efforts. On the establishment of these schools, Mr. Drummond's Academy very sensibly declined; until it was merged in the Verulam Academy, conducted by Mr. Masters, which was in its turn given up, when Mr. Masters was appointed to fill the office of the Head Master of La Martinière.

The Parental Academy was cradled in discord. The storm of passions swept over it, and the waves of prejudice buffeted it. A bad feeling crept in among those who were united in establishing this school; and no sooner was the Parental ushered into existence, than it experienced a sad reverse. Many friends were converted into bitter enemies: and an opposition school, the Calcutta Grammar School, was immediately established. Mr. Ricketts, with his small, faithful, and resolute band, however, remained steadfast in their good work; and though the beginning was feeble—only sixteen scholars having applied for admission—it soon prospered very greatly.

To this Institution must be cheerfully and unreservedly given the tribute of having raised the tone of Christian Education in this city, and directed attention to the importance of the study of the History of India, and of the Vernaculars. The Roman and Grecian classics, the importance of which we do not mean to underrate, were—very properly for the youth of this country, and the employments which they are likely to fill—reckoned of only secondary consideration, and held subordinate to the study of English Literature in all its branches, and the practical Sciences. Hence the success of the Institution. Many of its alumni fill lucrative and respectable employments, and have distinguished themselves in after-life. By adhering to these principles, it will continue to prove a blessing to the East Indian body. We know that it is now under excellent management; and we wish the Institution every success.

There is a fact connected with the Institution, which is alike honourable to the teaching, the pupils, and the East Indian body. It has enjoyed great popularity and success under two individuals, Mr. Lorimer and Mr. Montague, who have been wholly brought up within its walls, and who have, like the

* Oriental Magazine.

Roman child of historic recollection, returned to the parent—their *alma mater*—the nourishment, which they had received from her.

These two gentlemen maintained the institution amidst the hottest competition, that was known to exist in this country. La Martinière was in full operation, with its splendid funds and illustrious governors. Saint Xavier's College was carrying every thing before it; and the Calcutta High School was in an efficient state, the Rev. Mr. McQueen having just left. Still the Parental bore up against the current most successfully.

We have already adverted to the CALCUTTA GRAMMAR SCHOOL, which owed its origin to the division among the original members of the Parental Academy. It was established in 1823, and continued until the year 1830; when it was so dilapidated in condition, that it was found necessary to break it up, and erect another school on its ruins. THE CALCUTTA HIGH SCHOOL was next founded, on the 4th June, 1830; and, under its first rector, the Rev. Mr. McQueen, it flourished exceedingly. However it was also laid in the grave: and, on its ruins SAINT PAUL'S SCHOOL was established, in the year 1847.

On the 2nd April 1821, the Armenian community established THE ARMENIAN PHILANTHROPHIC INSTITUTION for the benefit of their youth. This school has dragged on a not very lively existence until last year; when it was shaken from its lethargy by the establishment of a rival school, designated ST. SANDUCT'S SEMINARY.

It will not be beyond our scope to mention the foundation of LA MARTINIÈRE, on the first March 1836, from the funds left by Major General Claude Martin. It is a richly endowed institution—the most wealthy in Calcutta. There is an anomaly in its constitution, however, which cannot fail to strike the most superficial observer. It has effected a compromise between Popery, the Church of England, and Presbyterianism—a compromise, which we confess we are unable to appreciate, and which we can never conscientiously approve. It is a charitable institution; but the charity is extended not so much to the low and ragged poor, as to the rich and respectable poor, of whom there are hundreds in Calcutta. It is also a public boarding school. The teachers are very highly paid; and the establishment is very large and expensive. If the greatest amount of charity were really and truly sought, the funds, now employed so largely and so liberally, could be made to relieve hundreds of indigent children, and to prove a real and enduring blessing to the poor.

The Roman Catholic community, about the year 1833 and

1834, were induced to make great exertions for the purpose of establishing a school for the benefit of their community. The fathers of the Society of Jesus, in the year 1834, established ST. XAVIER'S COLLEGE. The original school was in Doomtollah. It was mainly assisted by two members of the Catholic community, who were remarkable for their liberality. One of them gave the building; and the other furnished the College throughout, and supported it largely during the first months of its existence. This College flourished exceedingly, until it was ruined by the departure of the Jesuits in 1847. Saint John's College has been founded in its stead. Great praise is most undoubtedly due to the present Archbishop, through whose energy and perseverance several schools, asylums, and orphanages have been established. It is truly astonishing to find by what slender means so much has been done: His own self-denial is however the principal cause—the corner-stone—of his great and unprecedented success. Wherever indigent Catholics are to be found, there have a chapel and a school house reared their heads, and ministers have been sent to labour among them.*

We regret that it is not in our power to record any corresponding exertions put forth to establish schools for young ladies. Some attempts were made; but they all signally failed. The committee of the Parental Academy established a female branch in the school under their superintendence in the month of August 1831: but, for want of due support, they were obliged to abandon it in the month of December following. Private seminaries are to be found: Miss Thornton's for instance succeeded Mrs. Durrell's; and the names of the excellent Reichardts are still fresh in the recollection of many of our readers. But Calcutta at present is deplorably in want of a first-rate female school: it has literally nothing that can compete with Loretto House of the Roman Catholic community.

III. We have now arrived at the third division of our subject, and not the least important. It is at all times a glori-

* We subjoin a list of the various schools, &c., established under the auspices of Archbishop Carew. The list is interesting, and should influence others, as an example of what self-denial and perseverance can accomplish.

St. John's College.

An Orphanage and Free school in the Catholic Cathedral.

A Free school at Bow-Bazar.

The Loretto House—a Convent.

Female Orphanage at Entally.

A Widow's Asylum at Entally.

A school at Serampore.

A school at Darjeeling for the youth of both sexes.

ous sight to witness self-denial, and exertions made without the expectation of any pecuniary reward. The Missionaries therefore have our sincere admiration. Their cause is next our heart; and their moral heroism, in labouring earnestly, zealously, and cheerfully among the Heathen, is generally felt and appreciated. They form a group, which cannot but attract regard and attention. All who cross the ocean, double the Cape of Good Hope, or are waggon borne across the isthmus of Suez, put their foot on this country for gold. They walk with Mammon, "the least erect spirit" that fell, and think more of Indian riches than of the country itself. The Missionaries are the only exception. Their exertions in the cause of education are great and enduring. They have written their names and their worth in letters of gold, and with a pen of diamond. India will never forget them: and "generations yet unborn" will pour out their hearts in gratitude to them.

We believe that the first school, established by the Clergy for the children of indigent Christians, was that founded by the Rev. Mr. Kiernander, on the premises of the Old or Mission Church, on the 1st of December 1758: and, on the 31st of December of the following year, 175 children were received by him, 37 of whom he had provided for. The Rev. Mr. Browne also kept a school. There were clergymen of other denominations also, who opened schools: but as these schools were for private advantage, and not for the Hindus, we do not think them worthy of record.

The first attempt, and that too on a large scale, that was made, in connection with the Church of England, for the purposes of education, was the BISHOP'S COLLEGE, founded A. D. 1820, by the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at the instance of Bishop Middleton. So much has already been said and written on the subject of this College, that it will be an unprofitable occupation to go over the same ground, and to arrive at the conclusion to which all right-thinking men have come. It was fondly hoped by the founder, that it would be productive of great advantage. It is needless to say, that his hopes have not hitherto been realized.

Through the exertions of Bishop Middleton, the Boys' School, connected with St. James' Church, was established in the year 1823, under the auspices of the Committee of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and continues to this day under their direction. The Girls' School was established A. D. 1830 under the patronage of Lady Bentinck, and is supported entirely by voluntary contributions.

The School, connected with the Church Missionary Society,

was established A. D. 1829. It is now under the able superintendence of the Rev. Messrs. Long and Hassell, and is in a flourishing condition. The study of music and stenography has been introduced; and, as we enjoyed the good fortune of being present at the last quarterly examination of the School, we were particularly struck with the progress of the children. Certainly great praise is due to Mr. Long and his colleagues for their unwearied exertions and untiring zeal in imparting a sound education to the indigent children of the Hindus.

THE BENEVOLENT INSTITUTION, in connection with the Serampore Missionaries, was founded A. D. 1819. It receives a grant from Government, and was designed for the instruction of indigent children, embracing Roman Catholics, Protestants, Hindus, Mahomedans, Jews, Chinese, and Armenians. On its establishment, and for some time after, children belonging to the first three classes crowded into it. There has of late been a considerable diminution of Roman Catholic children, who have gone over to the schools of their own denomination. This Institution has been the blessed instrument of performing great good. *Esto perpetua!*

There are, we believe, other small scholastic institutions connected with Christians of other denominations, which do not require prominent notice, as they are conducted very unostentatiously, and are not perhaps arrived at that state of maturity and perfection, which would enable them to take rank with the other more improved institutions.

The state of native education was, until the year 1830, in a very imperfect state. The Missionaries even did not direct their attention to it. And yet it is evident that the young offered a promising field for their benevolent labours. Their tender and susceptible hearts, their fresh feelings, and their unsophisticated natures, are very favourable for the communication of just views, and the inculcation of that knowledge which maketh wise unto salvation. It is by instructing the young of many successive generations, that the mass will be impregnated with the truth, and custom and prejudice, and error and superstition will cease to exercise any hold on the minds of men.

Simple and convincing as these reasons are, they were not adequately promulgated, much less carried out, by any one, until the arrival of Dr. Duff from Scotland. The year 1830 is an era in the history and progress of Native Education. Not only was a new plan commenced by Dr. Duff to overturn the whole fabric of Hinduism by imparting to the youth instruction of a high order—but also the Bible was introduced as an essential study

in the school. He first gave a triumphant answer to the common objections, the offspring of bigotry and anility, by actually shewing that even the study of the Bible does not deter the Hindus from crowding into Missionary schools.

In the year 1830, the General Assembly's Institution was established: and, in the year 1837, the building was finished, which adorns the east side of Cornwallis-square. It cost somewhere between fifty and sixty thousand Rupees. A great portion of this sum, as well as the Library and Philosophical apparatus, were procured by Dr. Duff. The success of this Institution has been unprecedented. It has given a tone to Native Education: and; we believe, it will be generally acknowledged that the present improved tone of Government Education is owing to the admirable system, and still more admirable results, of the General Assembly's Institution.

In the year 1843, the great separation took place in the Church of Scotland: and Dr. Duff and his colleagues left the premises, and immediately established the Free Church Institution in Nimtollah, which is conducted on the same principles, and attended with the same success, as the former. It has now about 1,400 pupils on the roll. The *Literary Observer* remarks:—

"We cannot conclude this article without adverting to Dr. Duff, as a Teacher. He is eminent in this department. There is no subject of study, of which he has not a good and comprehensive grasp. His illustrations are very happy, and his expositions are lucid. You can never fail to understand him. He is able to clothe with interest the driest subjects. His examinations are lectures. He would not answer for an Infant School-teacher, but he does make a most excellent instructor of youth. He must always be the chief of a school, and utterly exempt from the drudgery of teaching. No man, we say emphatically no man, would be better able than Dr. Duff to connect all the several lessons together—mark their bearings on each other—shew their connexion—and introduce useful matter. What is more, he most beautifully and most unexpectedly rolls up all the knowledge, which the pupils have acquired with his able assistance and felicitous illustrations, into a bundle, and places it at the foot of HIM, who is the great Lord and Creator of all things."

Dr. Duff has been singularly happy in his co-adjutors. It would be difficult to find an equal number of men labouring together more harmoniously, or with talents better fitted to their work.

So high, and not less just, is the estimate, which the Hindus have formed of Dr. Duff—so great and sincere is the

respect, which they entertain for him—that, when it was rumoured the other day that he would be compelled to leave India, one highly respectable Hindu gentleman was prepared to call a meeting of his countrymen to present an address expressive of their good opinion of him. Dr. Duff has great reason to congratulate himself, that he has done his duty in India. Several large flourishing schools bear witness to his zeal and his talents; and various institutions and societies owe a debt of gratitude to him.

The building vacated by Dr. Duff and his colleagues, is now known, as **THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S INSTITUTION**. The School is very admirably conducted by the Rev. Messrs. Ogilvie and Anderson, of the Established Church of Scotland, and numbers about a thousand pupils.

The Missionary School, which has succeeded next to those of the Scottish Churches, is that connected with the body of Independents in this country. It is established at Bhawani-pore, is now under the very efficient management of Mr. Mullen, assisted by his colleagues, and musters upwards of 500 pupils.

IV.—The sum of a lac of rupees, by the Act of the 53rd Geo. III. Cap. 155, was ordered to be appropriated “for the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India.” Sometime however before the passing of this Act, exertions had been made by the Local Government to extend the benefits of Education to the natives of the country. Mr. Hastings had founded the Madrissa, or Muhammadan College, in the year 1780; and in 1794, at the recommendation of Mr. Duncan, a College was endowed in Benares for the cultivation of ancient literature. In the year 1811, the decay of science and literature among the Hindus became the subject of general remark, and it was resolved to found two Hindu Colleges at Nuddeah and Tirhut, for which it was designed to expend annually 25,000 rupees. This design was abandoned. Provincial Seminaries did not secure those advantages, which the Government contemplated; and it was therefore resolved to establish a Hindu College at Calcutta, near the seat of Government, by which a facility and efficiency of controul could be at once exercised. The College was established in the year 1821; and Government granted it a donation of 25,000 rupees, which was afterwards increased to 30,000 rupees. About a lac

and twenty thousand rupees was allotted by the Government for the building: and the foundation stone was laid on the 25th of February, 1824, with masonic honors.

As we have already remarked, the MADRISSA, or Muhammadan College, owes its origin to Mr. Hastings, who, in the year 1780, founded a building for it at his own expence: and, at his recommendation, the Government assigned lands, of the estimated value of Rs. 29,000 per annum, for the benefit of the institution. Of all the Colleges this is the only one which has given little, or no satisfaction. Government allotted 1,40,537 rupees for the building, which is handsome and classical: but the Mussulmans have shown no disposition to avail themselves of the advantages of an English education, so eagerly grasped at by their Hindu fellow subjects.

As the Government had now deliberately turned its attention to the subject of education, the General Committee of Public Instruction was organized to carry on the work systematically. Its first President was Mr. Harrington, and its last Sir Edward Ryan. In 1842, this Committee was dissolved by Lord Auckland; and the present Council of Education was established in its place. It does not fall within the scope of this article to notice the numerous Government Schools and Colleges beyond the Ditch, or to make any comments on the nature and results of the education, which they offer. We had almost forgotten to state, that a NORMAL SCHOOL was attempted in this city, under the auspices of the Council of Education; but, after a short and unsatisfactory trial, it was somewhat hastily abandoned.

It would be unjust to pass over here the name of a gentleman, whose memory will always be intimately associated with the history of education in this city. Mr. David Hare was in many respects a remarkable man. He loved the Hindus, and was admitted into more familiar intercourse with them than any of his countrymen, of whom we have ever heard. His school had the good fortune of being conducted by two native gentlemen, Krishna M. Banerjea, and Russick C. Mullick, of whom we shall only say, that the Government system does not *now* appear to produce any that can be compared with them. Mr. Hare and his labours we shall probably notice hereafter.

We might now consider our task as finished; but our sketch would be incomplete, if we omitted to bestow a passing notice on the private seminaries, which are established in

Calcutta by the natives themselves. These deserve notice. We present our readers with a list of the principal

	Indian Free School,	Morning..	125 pupils.
	Indian Academy,.....	Day.....	225 "
	Seal's Free College,.....	Do.....	300 "
	Patriotic College,	Do.....	110 "
A. D. 1823,	Oriental Seminary,.....	Do.....	585 "
	Anglo-Indian School,.....	Morning..	100 "
A. D. 1793,	Union School,.....	Day.....	100 "
	Hindu Benevolent Institution, Do.	100 "	
	Literary Seminary.....	Do.....	50 "
	Charitable Morning School,...	.....	80 "

Of all these private seminaries, the best conducted is the Oriental Seminary. Its founder was the late Babu Gourmohun Addi. We shall let the *Observer* speak of him :—

“ It (the Oriental Seminary) is the oldest private seminary existing, and is considered, and that most justly, as the one next in excellence to the Hindu College.

“ Gourmohun Addi received a very imperfect education in a private school. At the age of twenty-seven, finding that he had no other resources, he opened a school for his countrymen, and for a number of years perseveringly laboured, until he could number about two hundred pupils. He then entered into partnership with a Mr. Turnbull, and found his school make great progress. After the death of his colleague, until the day of his own death, he conducted the school under his own superintendence. Fortunately he picked up a Mr. Herman Geoffry, a Barrister and child of misfortune, and, under his able tuition, Gourmohun saw his school rise to great importance. He was in the fair way of realizing a handsome fortune: but he was cut off in the enjoyment of great health and strength. His boat upset in a North Wester, and he could make no exertion to save himself.

“ He was a very pious-looking man, and so candid, as to tell his pupils of the first class, that he could not superintend their lessons. In him was no false pride. What he knew, he could communicate better than any other native. He was exceedingly good-tempered; and it was matter of surprise to us to see how well he steered his course, through the variety of temper and dispositions, with which he had to deal; and on no occasion, did he give offence. He was very popular among his pupils: and, though a strict disciplinarian, and having to do with boys, whose attendance is dependent on their own

‘ will, he commanded the respect of all, and was beloved by many.”

We cannot withhold from our readers the *Observer's* graphic sketch of the rise and fall of a native private seminary :—

“ The nascence and dissolution of the Hindu Academies, conducted by private individuals, have been of such frequent occurrence, that it no longer excites surprise. The reason is plainly this : A young man, anxious of seeking employment under Government, finds that he has not sufficient interest in the proper quarters to unbar the gates of preferment for his admission, and resolves to establish a school. He makes some young men acquainted with his design, and they readily enter into his views, actuated not by the desire of raising their countrymen by cultivating their minds, but for the desire of *profit*,—for the love of rupees, annas, and pice. An agreement is drawn up. The share of each partner is carefully defined. A house is hired for 16 or 20 rupees per month ; a durwan is employed ; a few old forms and desks are purchased ; and a board, with—“ Patriotic College for Hindoos”—is suspended from one of the windows of the school house. The partners are elected, and golden visions float before their eyes. Every new pupil sets them on a calculation of what the share of each will be. Perhaps twenty pupils—five at a rupee per month, and the rest at eight annas—are admitted. The rest of the partners are next employed about engaging the services of a Head Master, who must be a Christian. It is at the same time necessary to obtain the services of one, who is known to the Hindu community. The person is fixed upon ; and two of the partners are deputed to negotiate with him. At dark of the evening, the partners arrive, and are accommodated with seats. They begin by asking a few questions as to how the school, with which the gentleman is connected, is progressing. Then they flatter him by comparing him to Bacon, or Gibbon, or Milton. Lastly they open the battery upon him about their own school, and promise him a hundred rupees per month, and a half share in the school. The offer is tempting ; for the poor fellow has been perhaps in the receipt of fifty rupees. Of course on taking leave, they put the gentleman in mind, that he must bring some scholars with him. ‘ Oh ! ’ replies the gentleman—‘ my going away will ruin the school. I’ll bring a hundred scholars.’ The deed is written and duly signed. Mr. ——— becomes head master of the Patriotic College. A month rolls away—and no pupils ; Mr. ——— applies for his

' hundred rupees. 'No funds' is the reply, and a squabble ensues. *Where is my hundred rupees for last month?* is returned by,—*Where are the hundred boys you promised?* Mr. — runs after the partners to kick them, who run away, being light birds. The few scholars shout, abuse, and also run; the durwan closes the gate, puts a padlock on it, and makes his exit with the partners; Mr. — finds himself imprisoned. His palkee and set of bearers arrive; and the latter set him free. He returns home, and finds that, on the strength of a hundred rupees, he has entered into obligations, which he has not the means of discharging. Thus ends the College."

All these private schools pursue the system of education adopted by the Government: and it is amusing to see boys, who will all at the most receive employments of ten or sixteen rupees per month, reading Bacon and Pope, and studying Mathematics,—while Arithmetic and plain English, and reading and writing, with composition, are entirely overlooked. It is not the less amusing to read the Sign-posts over these schools to "catch the passers-by."

<p>THE LITE- RARY SEMIN- ARY.</p>	<p>THE CHARIT- ABLE MOR- NING SCHOOL-</p>
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We must now bring our remarks to a close. Our sketch has been simply historical; and, as such, may not be without its use.

- ART. IX.—1. *Narrative of the United States' Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea, by W. F. Lynch, U. S. N. Commander of the Expedition. London. Richard Bentley. 1849.*
2. *Sketches of Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land, by the Rev. J. A. Spencer, M. A. With illustrations. London. John Murray. 1850. Calcutta. R. C. Lepage and Co.*

THE expedition, whose labours we propose to describe, originated in the following manner. After the surrender of Vera Cruz to the American forces in 1847, Lieut. Lynch applied to the head of the Naval department in the United States, for permission thoroughly to survey the Dead Sea; "whose extent, configuration, and depression, were as much desiderata to science, as the wondrous traditions respecting it are objects of interest to the Christian." He received a favourable answer, and was instructed to make the needful preparations. By special authority, two metallic boats were constructed for the survey; one of copper, the other of galvanized iron. They were so fitted together as to be easily taken to pieces: and two strong trucks were provided, upon which, if practicable, they might be transported overland. Air-tight water-bags, tents, flags, sails, oars, preserved meats, cooking utensils, and instruments were carefully procured: and every member of the expedition was supplied with arms. These arms consisted of such "wonderful instruments of civilization" as a "blunderbuss, fourteen carbines with long bayonets, fourteen pistols—four of them with six revolving barrels, and ten with bowie-knife blades attached—and swords with pistol-barrels near the hilt." These last were subsequently declared by an intelligent Arab, not without a show of reason, to be "the devil's invention." The party consisted of fourteen individuals; ten men to man the boats, and four officers. Among the latter were Lieut. Dale and Mr. Aulick, midshipman, who, as draftsmen, rendered the expedition great service, and to whom we are indebted for the maps and beautiful sketches, which illustrate the narrative.

On November 26, 1847, the expedition sailed in the *Supply* for the Coast of Syria. At Beyrút they completed their preparations—engaging a geologist, physician and interpreter: and finally disembarked at Acre, in order to cross the country to the Lake of Tiberias. In providing the carriage necessary for that object, they experienced, of course, much trouble from the Pasha of Acre; a Syrian gentleman, who, a few years before, had swept the streets, which he now walked as governor. But they

secured the services of a clever Arab Sheikh, named Akil, who, having recently raised a successful rebellion against the Sultan among the Arab tribes, had been rewarded for his prowess by the appointment of Colonel of Irregular Cavalry, and a superb dress of honour! A second ally, possessed of some moral weight, was found in Sherif Hazza of Mecca. He was brought into the service, as Lieut. Lynch tells us, by the important consideration, that "instead of a party of private individuals, we were commissioned officers and seamen, from a far distant but powerful country; that, with us, I knew he believed in the writings of Moses; and that, with solutions of scientific questions, we hoped to convince the incredulous that Moses was a true prophet."

The first grand difficulty of the land-journey was to find animals that would draw the trucks, whereon the all-important boats were laid. Horses were tried, but utterly failed. Happily, however, the first sleep of the commander after the failure was much disturbed by an attack of nightmare, the burden of which was a camel; and, in the morning, he resolved to try the animals, whose shadowy representatives had so greatly troubled his repose. Three camels were harnessed to each truck; and to the delight of all, not omitting the whole population of Acre, the huge animals drew their burden with ease. This obstacle removed, the party soon started on their way. The journey lay through the beautiful vale of Abilene, enamelled with flowers, and thence through the great plain of El Buttauf, north of Nazareth. Our readers may be interested to know the appearance of this novel cavalcade, both on their journey and in camp:—

Passing along this ravine, in a south-easterly direction, for three-quarters of a mile, the boats rattling and tumbling along, drawn by the powerful camel trains, we came, at 9-30, upon a branch of the great plain of Buttauf. The metal boats, with the flags flying, mounted on carriages drawn by huge camels, ourselves, the mounted sailors in single file, the loaded camels, the sherif and the sheikh, with their tufted spears and followers, presented a glorious sight. It looked like a triumphal march.

We therefore pitched our tents upon a gently sloping esplanade; and our Bedowin friends were over-against us. It was a picturesque spot; on the left of our tents, which faced the south, were the trucks with the two boats, forming a kind of entrenchment; behind these, were about thirty camels, and all our horses. From the boats, and in front of our white tents, the American flag was flying; and, just beyond, an officer and two sailors, with carbines, had mounted guard, with the loaded blunderbuss between them. The tent of our allies was a blue one; and the horses tethered near, and tufted spears in front, together with their striking costume, varied and enlivened the scene.—*Pp.* 146-148.

The obstacles encountered in the way were very great. The

boats had to be drawn up rocks, down slopes, and over crags; but through the exercise of great care and perseverance, they reached their destination unharmed, were launched in the Lake of Tiberias, and moored off the modern representative of the town of that name. During a brief stay there, a third boat was purchased to assist in transporting the heavy baggage; and, in remembrance of the "auld countrie," was honoured with the euphonious appellation of *Uncle Sam*. When quite prepared, the Expedition divided into two parties, one to go down the Jordan by water, the other by land; and on Monday, April 10, 1848, launching the boats and mounting their horses, they fairly entered upon their important labours.

The energy, skill, and perseverance, with which those labours were performed to the very end, deserve the highest praise. They have added much to our knowledge of the interesting localities where they were carried on, and have put the questions, relating to them, in a clearer light than they ever were before. The difficulties in the way of the Expedition were not few. Theirs was no "party of pleasure," as it had been termed, but one of severe toil. Sometimes they had to bear painful privations, and were always exposed to a most trying climate; in consequence of which, the whole party, in turn, suffered from severe sickness. In spite, however, of every discouragement, the work was completed in the space of two months, when the party returned to Beyrút, and re-embarked for America. But they did not escape the fatality, which seems attached to the Lake. Mr. Costigan, who first launched a boat on the Dead Sea, died from fever brought on by exposure; Lieut. Molyneux, who followed him, perished in like manner; and the fever, which carried them off, proved fatal to Lieut. Dale. We regret this the more, because this amiable young officer appears to have been the most accomplished, if not the most energetic, labourer in the whole party. His share of duty was a most important one; and from his pencil the narrative has derived some of its beautiful sketches. Mr. Dale was attacked by disease at Beyrút, just when about to re-embark for home. The touching story of his sickness, and of its sad termination, we must give in Lieut. Lynch's words:—

On Monday, the 10th, Mr. Dale, in the hope of being more speedily invigorated by the mountain air, rode to Bhamdün, a village about twelve miles distant up the mountain. It was the dreadful Damascus road, which we had travelled eleven days before. He arrived thoroughly exhausted; but was the next day much recruited. On the second day, however, a sirocco set in, which lasted three days, and completely prostrated him. On the 17th, I received intelligence that he was very ill, and immediately

hastened up, and found him partially delirious. He laboured under a low, nervous fever, the same which, had carried off Costigan and Molyneaux. He was in the house of the Rev. Mr. Smith, of the American Presbyterian Mission, and received from all its members there the kindest and most assiduous nursing. Dr. De Forest was in constant attendance day and night, and his wife was as a ministering angel to the invalid. Dr. Vandyke came some distance to see him; and his case received every alleviation that the warmest sympathy could afford.

My poor friend lingered until the evening of the 24th; when he expired so gently, that it was difficult to tell the moment of dissolution. Determined to take his remains home, if possible, I started immediately with them for Beirût. It was a slow dreary ride down the rugged mountain by torchlight. As I followed the body of my late companion, accompanied only by swarthy Arabs, and thought of his young and helpless children, I could scarce repress the wish that I had been taken, and he been spared.

About sunset, as the Turkish batteries were saluting the first night of the Ramadan, we escorted the body to the Frank cemetery, and laid it beneath a Pride of India tree. A few most appropriate chapters in the Bible were read, and some affecting remarks made by the Rev. Mr. Thompson; after which, the sailors advanced, and fired three volleys over the grave; and thus, amid unbidden tears and stifled sobs, closed the obsequies of our lamented companion and friend.—*Pp.* 506-508.

The narrative of the Expedition is from the pen of the commander; but it is much less satisfactory, than the labours which it describes. It is written in the style of a diary or log-book, and gives no generalized view of the important results to which those labours point. It seems also very imperfect. While that share of duty, which the author himself performed, is very minutely detailed—important points, on which reports must have been made by other members of the party, are omitted altogether, or so briefly noticed as to be of little worth. Many of the scientific details, also, have been reserved for some invisible "official report"—to be lost to the world, we presume, altogether. Such a general view of the results of the survey, as the narrative ought to have contained, we propose to lay before our readers, derived not only from the work before us, but from other approved sources of information. But, before doing so, it may be well to consider briefly the general character and relations of the particular spot, which the Expedition had come to examine.

To understand correctly the Physical Geography of Palestine, the eye must range not only over the country itself, but over the districts lying at its northern and southern extremities. These districts are closely connected with it, both physically, and in its history. Palestine is a country abounding in mountains and hills, valleys and plains. But these are not independent of all others. The mountains spring from a great system in the north, and find their natural termination in

another on the south: while the valleys and plains result from the ramifications and off-shoots of these systems, by which the country is crossed and studded in every direction. All are connected with one great chain, which runs longitudinally, like a giant spine, from the river Orontes into Arabia. This chain begins at Mount Casius, but immediately divides into two parallel ranges, with proudly-towering summits, which form the celebrated mountains of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, and enclose, in the vast hollow between them, the valley of Coele Syria, now called Buka'a. The western range of Lebanon gradually trends off to the Mediterranean, into whose waters it pushes the grand promontory of the White Cape, or Tyrian Ladder. Anti-Lebanon continues to run southward, and, though lower in general than its sister range, throws up, higher than all, the splendid peak of Mount Hermon, with its broad stripes of snow. At the foot of Mount Hermon, begins the country of the Jews—Dan, their northern boundary, lying immediately under its southern face. Just above this, Anti-Lebanon divides into two great chains, which run southward for three hundred and thirty-five miles, keeping parallel to each other at a mean distance of eight or nine miles, and enclosing between them, as within giant walls, the valley of the Jordan, the river, and its lakes. The eastern chain, after passing the Lake Asphaltites, ends in the Red Sea, in an abrupt promontory, near the ancient trading settlement of Leukekome. The western range, having thrown out the mountains of Galilee, Samaria and Judah, runs into the peninsula of Sinai, and terminates in its southern-most promontory, the Ras Muhammad. From these two chains, on both sides, spring numerous ramifications and branches. In the district where the southern shoots of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon meet together, we have the rugged mountains of north-western Galilee, enclosing some beautiful plains. From the eastern chain of Anti-Lebanon, spring the mountains of the Hauran and Gilead. Farther south, the same range is seen in the mountains of Moab, the wild sea of the mountains of Edom, and the great Mount Hor. From the western range, shoot out the hills of Galilee which embosom Nazareth; the little Hermon; the mountains of Gilboa; the promontory of Carmel; the mountains of Samaria; and the terraced hills of Judah, once clad with vines. Mount Tabor, Ebal and Gerizim, and the Mount of Olives, are numbered amongst its isolated peaks. The only level plain, of considerable length in the whole country, is the long and narrow valley between these parallel chains, down which the Jordan flows, and wherein lie the wonderful lakes, in which

its waters gather. This valley divides the country longitudinally into distinct halves.

The land, through which run these massive and lengthened chains, presents a variety of aspects. The alternations of mountain and valley, hollow and plain, not only invest it with great beauty, but proved lastingly useful in ancient days to its favoured inhabitants. Corn and wine and oil—rich pastures, shady forests, and abundant fruits, were amongst its chief products. The land of Israel can, we think, be shewn to be a very complete country; enabling its people to find the comforts, as well as necessaries, of life among themselves; and, as God had evidently designed, not needing that they should resort for them to other and idolatrous nations.

Brief though our sketch be, we cannot wholly omit a notice of the general geological features of this important and interesting country, as these are particularly illustrated by that district, which the Expedition examined. It is a matter of surprize that no proper geological survey of it has been made to this day. Travellers have usually contented themselves with a few observations on the general character of the rocks around them; and thus the structure of a few localities has become known: but we have no full and connected view of the whole. We may add, that the traveller, who has given the best notice of the geological formation of Palestine, is Dr. Wilson of Bombay. Excepting the peninsula of Sinai and part of the mountains of Edom, all the rock of Syria seems to be of the secondary formation; the former localities alone exhibiting the granite and porphyry rocks. The basis of the system, as seen in Mount Hor, is the variegated or New Red Sandstone, on which lies the Jura limestone with the cretaceous system above it. These are the chief elements of the whole country. The sand-stone is seen only along the Wady Araba, especially on its eastern side, and, to the north of it, in the eastern mountains of the Dead Sea. Still farther north, as the country rises, it altogether disappears. In Mount Hor it is 1,500 feet in depth, with dykes of porphyry and red granite bursting through it. In Petra, the limestone exhibits the most beautiful variety of colours—its tints being red, purple, salmon colour, deep blue, pale blue, crimson, scarlet and bright orange; sometimes in horizontal, sometimes in waving lines. In the mountains of Judah, the geology is simple; the rock, throughout the country, consisting of the Upper Oolite of the Jura, with few organic remains. Conglomerate, chalk, and other cretaceous rocks appear along the

Jordan valley—the strata being often bent and broken into the most fantastic forms.

The prevalence of limestone accounts for the numerous and spacious caverns in Palestine, celebrated in ancient times, and existing to this day. In such caves, Dr. Robinson lately saw the peasants of Jattir watching their flocks, and ripening corn; and Mr. Thomson found the sufferers gathered after the great earthquake of 1837. The same formation supplies a reason for the great fertility, which the land once possessed. No formation is capable of higher cultivation than the Oolite; its alternations of calcareous beds with sand and clay offer almost every variety of soil; corn land and pasture are both found upon it, as well as rich woods and orchards for fruit. The green-sand beds of the cretaceous system are also exceedingly rich; while the Upper Chalk furnishes superior downs for the pasture of sheep. The combinations, which their elements form with other soils, viz. marls and loam, are also most valuable. All these we know to exist in some parts of Palestine; and we doubt not that a careful survey would exhibit them in many others. The rich wooded scenery of Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire proves the value of the Oolite system in England; while that of the Jura, with its deep beds of marl, its splendid larch-forests, and beautiful vineyards, reminds us of the very fruit, for which one portion of the Jewish land was so celebrated.

In the same fact, we find a partial explanation of the original formation of the Jordan valley. This valley is an enormous crevasse, or fissure, running longitudinally through the very heart of the mountains of Syria, and is the largest of its class in the world. The mighty chain of parallel mountains, which we have described as the great feature of the country, must at one time have formed a single range. It seems not improbable, that the stupendous power from beneath, which produced the gigantic fissure of the Red Sea, and separated Arabia from Africa, continued its force much farther north, and carried the fissure along the great range of limestone mountains in Syria, until that force was expended or destroyed by the Taurus, which crossed the line of its direction. This fissure must have been broad, and deep; and it appears to us not impossible, considering the fragile character of limestone, that a broad band from the head of one side of the crevice, wedge-like, fell in along its whole length, and filled it up; leaving two chains of parallel mountains and a depressed plain between them. In the southern and broader fissure,

the surface of this plain formed a bottom for the Red Sea; in the northern, it forms the valley of the Jordan and its continuation, Wady Araba. This speculation seems to us confirmed by the character of the rock, which forms the surface of these latter valleys. Opposite the sand-stone of Mount Hor, with its dykes of porphyry, the Araba has a hard surface, upon which huge boulders of primitive rock lie scattered. Opposite to the chalk mountain of Quarantania, the surface of the Ghor is dazzling chalk for more than twenty miles. Similar illustrations may also be found elsewhere: while to confirm these facts, the rocks on the edge of the valley, at various points, seem bent, twisted, and broken, as if a force had endeavoured to draw them downward. In other words, it appears to us, that, along the whole line of the valley, we witness a stupendous geological "fault:" and that, if the Ghor could be raised to a level with the mountains above it, its strata would be found to answer to theirs, leaving only the fissure originally produced. Of the tertiary formations in Palestine, including the oyster-beds and coralline of the Southern Desert, we need not now speak. To the volcanic indications, we shall have occasion to refer hereafter.

The valley of the Jordan may be divided into two distinct parts; the former, comprehending the sources of the river and its northern plain; the latter, including the valley below the Lake of Tiberias, and the Dead Sea. Of the former, want of space forbids us now to speak. The Expedition visited it: but they were out of their proper element, and saw the place under unfavourable circumstances: they have, therefore, told us nothing new. The three chief sources of the Jordan and the numerous fountains connected with them; the great plain of the Huleh, in which they join their waters, with its interesting volcanic phenomena; the basin itself, with its stagnant marshes; the bridge of the daughters of Jacob; the sites in the neighbourhood; and the Lake of Tiberias, with its sweet, sparkling waters, its beautiful western plain, its many ruined mounds, and the thousand associations—connected not only with the life of the Saviour, but with Jewish Government, Jewish learning, and the history of the Crusades—constitute in themselves a subject of enquiry, as productive of profit as of pleasure. For the present, we must pass all these topics by, and proceed to take up the American expedition at Tabariyeh, where we left them.

The first duty devolving upon them was to examine that part of the Jordan valley, which lies between the Lake of Tiberias and the Dead Sea. For this purpose the party was

formed into two divisions ; one to proceed by land, the other by the river. The following extract describes the share of labour assigned to each party :—

In order that, by a division of labour, our work might be well performed, I assigned to each officer and volunteer of this expedition his appropriate duty. With the command of the caravan, Mr. Dale was to take topographical sketches of the country, as he proceeded, and such other notes as circumstances would permit. Dr. Anderson was directed to make geological observations, and collect specimens where he could ; Mr. Bedlow to note the aspect of the country on the land route, and the incidents that occurred on the march ; and Mr. Francis Lynch, who was charged with the herbarium, to collect plants and flowers.

In the water party, I assigned to myself, in the "Fanny Mason," the course, rapidity, colour, and depth of the river and its tributaries,—the nature of its banks, and of the country through which it flowed,—the vegetable productions, and the birds and animals we might see, with a journal of events. To Mr. Aulick, who had charge of the "Fanny Skinner," was assigned the topographical sketch of the river and its shores.—*Pp.* 168-9.

There are few sections of the Holy Land, which have been less visited and are less known, than this portion of the Jordan valley. A few miles of its upper extremity, and a few miles of its southern end in the plain of Jericho, are all that modern travellers have examined. It has been crossed, and the river forded, in two or three places by Seetzen, Burckhardt, Irby and Mangles, and Buckingham : but twenty-seven miles, or nearly half, of its extent have been untrodden by Europeans since the time of the Crusades. The expedition traversed its whole length : and, though we have but meagre accounts from the land-party of what they saw, the information communicated by the river-division, is quite new, and interesting in the highest degree. We shall not follow them in their journeys, but, for the benefit of our readers, condense the information they have supplied.

The VALLEY OF THE JORDAN, between the two Seas, is termed, by the Arabs, *El Ghor*, which name is continued across the Dead Sea to the small tract at its south extremity ; after which it is lost in the more important Wady Araba. It is about sixty miles in length, and varies from six to eleven miles in breadth, with an average of eight or nine. Its general course deviates but little from the meridian, running from N. by E. to S. by W. It shelves so rapidly to the southward, that its surface, near the Dead Sea, is 983.22 feet below its surface on the edge of the Sea of Tiberias. In other words, the heads of the western mountains near the Dead Sea are on a level with the base of the same chain, as it overlooks the water of the Sea of Tiberias ; and the fall of water, within the space of sixty miles, is but a little less, than that which the Ganges has

in its course from Saharunpore to Calcutta, viz. 1,100 feet. These western mountains are sometimes precipitous, and tower above the valley to a height of 1,500 feet; but average, on the whole, scarcely 1,000 feet in height. The eastern chain is higher than the western. Valleys open in both these ranges, some of which yield only mountain streams, flowing in spring; from two, on the eastern side, issue the perennial streams of the Yarmakh and Zurka (Jabbok). The river flows down the great valley in a bed deeply depressed beneath its level. So deep is it, that the traveller, who takes the land-route down the valley, will see but little of the river; while he, who proceeds by the river, will see almost nothing of the land. It has been generally supposed, that the Ghor is a vast plain, an expanse of desert through its whole extent, or nearly so. This however is not strictly correct. The northern part, for about twelve miles, appears to be alluvial deposit, and is of a most fertile character. The soil is, in some parts, covered with a profusion of the most lovely field flowers, or produces thistles and rank grass; in others, it is cultivated by the Arabs, especially for wheat and millet. The surface, for about five miles, is level; but, beyond this, near the bridge of Majamia, the view is wild and peculiar. "The high alluvial terraces on each side of the river are every where shaped by the action of the winter rains into a number of conical hills—some of them pyramidal and cuneiform, presenting the appearance of a giant encampment, so perfectly tent-like were their shapes." This configuration continues for several miles, the conical hills extending back to the base of the mountains. Thence, for more than forty miles, the traveller passes over a wide waste of desert, till he reaches the Dead Sea. At first the chalk of the western hills appears on the face entirely bare of vegetation, but still retaining the undulating form of low hills. To the chalk, succeed rolling sand-hills, stretching far along the base of the mountains, without the shelter of a single tree; then the flat plain, dried into dust, but sometimes producing low bushes, or scanty grass. The sand continues to that part of the Ghor, which is opposite Jericho, where a strong clay soil is found—the same in which Solomon cast the golden vessels of the temple. Nearer the Dead Sea, the sand re-appears, with precipitous hills of marl, much washed by torrents and winter rains; and the Ghor finally presents a muddy flat on the northern shore of the sea. Through its whole extent the Ghor is repeatedly crossed by deep ravines, the beds of mountain torrents, which, in the winter and spring, pour down the wadys of the two chains of mountains, and empty themselves into the Jordan

Fourteen of these were noticed by the Expedition in one day—ten of which were then trickling rivulets.

The two ranges of mountains, bordering the valley, are almost entirely composed of the usual Jura limestone and chalk formations; but trap, tufa, and basalt appear overlying these rocks, particularly near the Yarmakh. The Ghor is composed of like materials. Its most northern part is (as we have said) alluvial earth to a considerable depth, sometimes sixty feet. Near the village of Buka'a, we have sandstone, limestone, and conglomerate; and, west of Um Keis, volcanic indications, appear on both banks of the river. Near Wady Yabes, the stream has cut its way through limestone and conglomerate. South of Seka, about the centre of the Ghor, we find banks of hard clay; five miles farther, hills of siliceous conglomerate and cavernous limestone; thence chalk and clay to the southern sea.

Through this great valley flows the *river* Jordan, not near the surface, but in a bed, which the waters running for ages have cut deep beneath it. So marked is the depression, that it is itself entitled to the name of a valley; and hence the anomaly it presents (similar to one in Wady Araba) of a valley within a valley. The depression does not continue down the centre of the Ghor. It begins its course nearer to the eastern line of hills, keeps so for about twelve miles, then turns closer to these hills, and remains near them for eighteen miles more, when it shoots gradually across to the westward. About twenty miles from the Dead Sea, it again sweeps to the east, and, forming a kind of bow, runs into the sea in a south-west direction, except just at the mouth, where the stream lies due north and south. Such is the course of the inner valley, or river bed. This inner valley varies in breadth from one quarter of a mile to more than two miles. Its banks also vary in height. Near the sea of Tiberias, they are about thirty feet: thence they increase to sixty, and, before reaching a distance of twelve miles (in a direct line), they are 300 feet high. Lieut. Lynch, in a very brief summary, tells us that the terrace of the Ghor "averaged 500 feet above the flat of the Jordan;" but we are inclined to think that some error of the pen or press has crept into the passage. In the northern end of the plain of Jericho the chalk cliffs on each bank are 200 feet high; but the west bank gradually disappears, and gives place to three distinct terraces of moderate elevation, lying within one another, the lowest containing the stream. These terraces have been much washed by rain, and the lowest is usually overflowed when the river is at its height.

The river does not occupy the whole level even of this second

and inner valley, but has cut its bed within it; and, when the waters are low, banks are to be seen in numerous places in this lower valley, as well as the upper. The stream winds exceedingly, running, in some places, towards all points of the compass within a few miles; so that while the Ghor, between the two seas, is about sixty miles in length, and the inner valley, from its gentle bendings, is a few miles more, the stream itself runs a course more than double of theirs. In a letter written at Jericho, before all the calculations had been carefully made, Lieut. Lynch roughly says: "In a space of sixty miles of latitude and 'four or five of longitude, the Jordan traverses at least 200 miles." But, according to the chart contained in the volume, constructed on a scale of one inch to a mile, the Ghor from sea to sea has but 56 miles of latitude, and the stream, with all its twists and turnings, is only 130 miles in length.

A peculiar feature of the stream, almost unknown till the expedition passed down it, is the dangerous *rapids* it contains, particularly in its early course after leaving the Lake of Tiberias. That these were likely to occur had been already inferred from the great slope of the valley; but experience had never shewn it. The Expedition established the fact beyond a doubt. They passed down twenty-seven "threatening" rapids, besides a great many of lesser note; and describe them by the epithets "frightful," "ugly," "appalling," "most fearful," and "fierce." The danger from them was so great, and was surmounted with such commendable perseverance and skill, that we cannot but quote a few passages respecting them, especially as they are quite a new feature in our knowledge of the river. Here is the description of one, which the water-party encountered on the very day in which they entered the river:—

At 4-56, current increasing, swept round a bend of the shore, and heard the hoarse sound of a rapid. At 4-57, came in sight of the partly whole, and partly crumbled, abutments of "Jisr Semakh," the bridge of Semakh. The ruins are extremely picturesque; the abutments standing in various stages of decay, and the fallen fragments obstructing the course of the river, save at one point, towards the left bank, where the pent-up water finds an issue, and runs in a sluice among the scattering masses of stone.

What threatened to be its greatest danger, proved the preservation of the leading boat. We had swept upon a rock in mid-channel, when the Arab crew of the *Uncle Sam* unskilfully brought her within the influence of the current. She was immediately borne down upon us with great velocity; but striking us at a favourable angle, we slid off the ledge of rock, and floated down together. The *Fanny Skinner*, drawing less water, barely touched in passing.—*Pp.* 173-4.

The next was their second day's experience :—

"At 8-10 A. M., started—the boats down the river, the caravan by land. The current at first about $2\frac{1}{2}$ knots, but increasing as we descended, until at 8-20 we came to where the river, for more than three hundred yards, was one foaming rapid; the fishing-weirs, and the ruins of another ancient bridge, obstructing the passage. There were cultivated fields on both sides. Took every thing out of the boats, sent the men overboard to swim alongside and guide them, and shot them successively down the first rapid. The water was fortunately very deep to the first fall, where it precipitated itself over a ledge of rocks. The river becoming more shallow, we opened a channel by removing large stones, and as the current was now excessively rapid, we pulled well out into the stream, bows up, let go a grapnel, and eased each boat down in succession. Below us were yet five successive falls, about eighteen feet in all, with rapids between,—a perfect break-down in the bed of the river. It was very evident that the boats could not descend them.

At 1-20 P. M., started again. At 1-45, descended a cascade at an angle of 30° , at the rate of twelve knots, passing, immediately after, down a shoal rapid, where we struck, and hung, for a few moments, upon a rock. Stopped for the other boats, which were behind.—*Pp.* 177-8.

One of the rapids here mentioned gave its quietus to the third boat of the party, *Uncle Sam*. Built of wood and aged, with all his repairs the old gentleman was ill-fitted to leave the even tenour of his former life's way, in carrying wood across the Lake of Tiberias, in order to undertake a voyage of discovery in unknown regions. His constitution became thoroughly shattered by the thumping of these dreadful rocks and rapids: his back broke; and he calmly sank to rest in the river-bed. On reading of this important event, our mind experienced considerable re-relief from a burden, that had oppressed it since the announcement of *Uncle Sam's* appointment. It was bad enough to have the *Fanny Mason* and *Fanny Skinner* surveying the Dead Sea; but *Uncle Sam*!

The worst rapids of all followed on the third day; as our next extract, the last on this point, will shew :—

At 10-15 A. M., cast off, and shot down the first rapid, and stopped to examine more closely a desperate-looking cascade of eleven feet. In the middle of the channel was a shoot, at an angle of about sixty degrees, with a bold, bluff, threatening rock at its foot, exactly in the passage. It would therefore be necessary to turn almost at a sharp angle in descending, to avoid being dashed to pieces. This rock was on the outer edge of the whirlpool, which a caldron of foam swept round and round in circling eddies. Yet below, were two fierce rapids, each about 150 yards in length, with the points of black rocks peering above the white and agitated surface. Below them again, within a mile, were two other rapids—longer, but more shelving, and less difficult.

Fortunately a large bush was growing upon the left bank, about five feet up, where the wash of the water from above had formed a kind of pro-

montory. By swimming across some distance up the stream, one of the men had carried over the end of a rope, and made it fast around the roots of the bush. The great doubt was, whether the hold of the roots would be sufficient to withstand the strain, but there was no alternative. In order not to risk the men, I employed some of the most vigorous Arabs in the camp to swim by the side of the boats, and guide them, if possible, clear of danger. Landing the men, therefore, and tracking the *Fanny Mason* up stream, we shot her across, and gathering in the slack of the rope, let her drop to the brink of the cascade, where she fairly trembled and bent in the fierce strength of the sweeping current. It was a moment of intense anxiety. The sailors had now clambered along the banks, and stood at intervals below, ready to assist us, if thrown from the boat, and swept towards them. One man, with me in the boat, stood by the line; a number of naked Arabs were upon the rocks, and in the foaming water, gesticulating wildly—their shouts mingling with the noise of the boisterous rapids, and their dusky forms contrasting strangely with the effervescing flood; and four on each side in the water were clinging to the boat, ready to guide her clear of the threatening rock, if possible.

The *Fanny Mason*, in the meanwhile, swayed from side to side of the mad torrent, like a frightened steed, straining the line which held her. Watching the moment when her bows were brought in the right direction, I gave the signal to let go the rope. There was a rush, a plunge, an upward leap, and the rock was cleared, the pool was passed, and, half full of water, with breathless velocity, we were swept safely down the rapid. Such screaming and shouting!—the Arabs seemed to exult more than ourselves. It was in seeming only, they were glad; but we were grateful. Two of the Arabs lost their hold, and were carried far below us; but were rescued with a slight injury to one of them.

It was exactly twelve o'clock when we cleared the cascade. Mr. Aulick soon followed in the *Fanny Skinner*, and, by his skill and coolness, passed down in perfect safety.—*Pp.* 189-190.

The river banks, as may be supposed, are exceedingly lovely. The climate of the Ghor is quite tropical, owing to its great depression below the general sea-level; the thermometer ranging constantly between 70° and 80° in April and May. But, while the dry and arid plains are destitute of vegetation, wherever water is to be found, it flourishes in abundance. Along the ravines, whence pour the mountain streams—up the wadyes, whose waters feed the Jordan—and along the river itself, it is seen in profusion. In some spots it is peculiarly beautiful—the trees shooting their tall branches to the sky, or drooping them gracefully to the water, and dipping them in the stream:—

For hours in their swift descent the boats floated down in silence—the silence of the wilderness. Here and there were spots of solemn beauty. The numerous birds sang with a music strange and manifold; the willow branches were spread upon the stream-like tresses; and creeping mosses and clambering weeds, with a multitude of white and silvery little flowers, looked out from among them; and the cliff swallow wheeled over the falls, or went at his own wild will darting through the arched vistas, shadowed and shaped by the meeting foliage on the banks; and, above all,

yet attuned to all, was the music of the river, gushing with a sound like that of shawms and cymbals.

There was little variety in the scenery of the river to-day. The stream sometimes washed the bases of the sandy hills, and at other times meandered between low banks, generally fringed with trees, and fragrant with blossoms. Some points presented views exceedingly picturesque—the mad rushing of a mountain torrent—the song and sight of birds—the overhanging foliage and glimpses of the mountains far over the plain—and here and there a gurgling rivulet pouring its tribute of crystal water into the now muddy Jordan. The western shore was peculiar, from the high calcareous limestone hills, which form a barrier to the stream, when swollen by the efflux of the sea of Galilee during the winter and early spring; while the left, or eastern, bank was low, and fringed with tamarisk and willow, and occasionally a thicket of lofty cane, and tangled masses of shrubs and creeping plants, giving it the character of a jungle.—*P.* 212.

Numerous birds have their dwellings in these wooded shades; and there of old the lion, the boar, and the leopard found a cool retreat, till the rising waters drove them to the upper plain.

The *breadth*, *depth*, and *rapidity* of the stream furnish another topic of interest to which the Expedition paid much attention. Like all rivers fed from snowy mountains, and flowing through countries which enjoy a particular rainy season, the Jordan varies in depth and size at different periods of the year. The water is highest at the end of March, and lowest in October. At the former period, it fills the lower banks so distinctly marked in the plain of Jericho, and slightly overflows them. Judging from the marks seen by the Expedition in their downward passage, we should suppose the annual rise of the flood to be about sixteen feet. On the 14th of April, they noticed that it was already falling two feet per day, and saw sedge and drift-wood high up on the branches of the trees, even higher than the edge of the inner banks.

The breadth, depth, and rapidity of the stream were found to vary, not only at different periods, but at different parts of the course; and, as might be supposed, the depth and breadth were often in inverse proportion to each other. Where the stream was broad, it was found shallow; and where narrow, the water was deep, and the current strong. High up the valley, ere the river receives its numerous tributaries, the breadth is insignificant; but, after receiving them, it becomes wider and deeper. On leaving the Lake of Tiberias, the expedition found it seventy-five feet wide, and ten deep; the current was two knots; and the water of a light green colour. The average of the first day shewed it eighty-five feet wide, and ten feet deep, with a current of two and a half knots. On the second day, with “numerous and ugly” rapids, the average was 120 feet

wide, and six deep, with a current of three knots. After receiving the Yarmakh (a stream with a moderate current, 120 feet wide, and nearly as deep as the Jordan), the current became eight knots, with seven considerable rapids; and so on. During the last two miles of its course, the Expedition obtained several measurements, which enable us, with some approach to accuracy, to estimate the amount of water, which the Jordan and its tributaries were then daily pouring into the Dead Sea. In one part it was 120 feet wide and 12 deep, with a current of four knots; again, 150 feet wide and 11 deep, with a current of four knots; the last measurement shewed it 240 feet wide and 7 deep, with a three knots' current. At the mouth it was found to be 540 feet wide and three deep, with a current of about three knots. Hence it is evident, that we shall not greatly err, if we take the average of this lowest portion of the stream at *210 feet broad, and eight feet deep*, with a current of *three knots* an hour. We have been particular in our statement of these points, because of the mistakes, which have been made by previous travellers, owing to the absence of correct measurements. Dr. Shaw, Volney, Elliot, and others have reckoned the average of the river throughout at a hundred feet broad by six to nine in depth with a current of two knots; an estimate very much below the actual size.

These facts lead to some very interesting results. Reckoning the nautical mile at 6086.76 feet in length, the Jordan, when measured by Lieut. Lynch on the 18th of April, was pouring into the Dead Sea 30,677,270 cubic feet of water per hour. The stream was of a temperature of 72°, and estimating the cubic foot of water at that temperature to be 62lbs. in weight (a little less than its actual gravity), we find that the volume of water, then pouring into the sea every hour, weighed 849,103 tons; or 20,378,472 tons per day. At the time of these measurements, the river was in the latter stage of its annual flood, and rapidly resuming its ordinary size. It would be important to ascertain what it is at other periods of the year, and especially in October. A calculation by Dr. Shaw, we know not in what month, reckoning the stream at two miles per hour, gave the amount daily poured into the sea at 6,090,000 tons.

Our travellers found one or two things, in the Ghor, and on the river bank, which ought not to be past by without mention. Immediately after entering the river they came to the ruined bridge of Semakh, a pretty sketch of which adorns the volume. The abutments of the bridge alone remain in various stages of decay; the fragments having fallen into the river, and obstruct-

ed its course. Five miles south of the Lake (in a direct line) stands another bridge, the Jisr Majamia, with a ruined Khan near it. The bridge is of Saracenic architecture, and has a double tier of arches—one large and three small arches below, and six smaller ones above. The Khan was in former days a massive structure; but it has been ruined by earthquakes,—its thick walls being broken and scattered in confusion. Immense boulders of tufa and conglomerate are lying near the bridge, and in the bed of the river. The bridge is on the road from Nabulus, through Beisan to Umkeis (the ancient Gadara), and thence to Damascus. A third bridge, quite unknown to modern travellers, was discovered about twenty miles north of Jericho at Mukutta Damieh, where the ford from Nabulus crosses the Jordan. The bridge is of Roman construction; but the bed, over which it was built, is now dry. Close to this they noticed that the mouth of the Zurka (the ancient Jabbok) is wrongly placed on all the maps, this stream being led into the Jordan at least seven miles north of its proper position.

They found also that the Ghor, though (to such an extent) desert, is in a measure inhabited, and appropriated by various Arab tribes, for about 40 miles. Ten of these tribes are enumerated, each occupying a few miles of territory on both sides of the river, and numbering in all 2,500 fighting men. A few villages exist in the most fertile parts, but the Arabs live chiefly in tents. Even in its best days, the great valley seems never to have been considered as on the whole a fertile territory. What it is now, it was in the days of Josephus. He says of it; the Jordan after passing through the Lake of Gennesaret "runs a long way over a desert, and then makes its exit into the Lake Asphaltites. Now the region, which lies between this ridge of mountains, is called the Great Plain; its length is 230 furlongs, and breadth 120. This plain is much burnt up in summer time, and, by reason of the extraordinary heat, contains a very unwholesome air. It is all destitute of water, excepting the river Jordan." We have no reason to conclude it was any better in more ancient days. Its northern part, so rich in a deep alluvial soil, spontaneously producing a rank vegetation, and, like the valley of Sharon, or the plain of Esdraelon, capable of supporting a dense population, contained doubtless numerous villages: it lay within the tribes of Zebulon and Issachar. But the central and southern divisions do not appear to have been thus occupied. It had some villages, among which was Succoth: but the only important towns through its whole extent were Bethshan and Jericho: and even their importance arose from the peculiarity of their posi-

tion. Bethshan lay at the mouth of the beautiful valley of Jezreel, which slopes down towards the Ghor and enters it through a broad opening in the western range of mountains. Along this valley, and across the Ghor, lay the high road from central Palestine over the Jordan to the mountains and district of Gilead. Hence near its mouth we find the town of Bethshan, and at the river the bridge of Mejamia, built doubtless where a ford had been crossed for centuries. Southwards for about forty-five miles, the mountains are so precipitous, and the opening valleys so narrow, that no important road could well pass through them; we accordingly find only inferior tracks and fords over the river. At the southern end of the Ghor, the Dead Sea prevents all passage, and necessitates other roads and fords across the valley; while the great extent of the plain, and the many streams and fountains that fertilized its clayey and sandy soil, would naturally give rise to the towns of Jericho and Gilgal, and the villages in their neighbourhood. We read in Josephus, that Herod endeavoured to establish a third city higher up the valley, which he named Phasaël after his deceased brother; but we know little about it; its site has not yet been clearly identified, though the name seems to be preserved in that of Wady Fusail. The remains of a Roman road, leading to it from Jericho, were found by Mr. Dale and his companions, while passing along the Ghor.

The valley of the Jordan, though not very prominently mentioned in Scripture, has many interesting associations connected with its name. The most important of these are the descent of the Israelites from the mountains of Moab into the valley, and their passage of the river. After forty years of wandering in the great wilderness, fed by manna from heaven and water from the rock, they came to the borders of the Promised Land: and, from the heights on which they stood, looked down upon the out-spread plain of Jericho, with its large, well-peopled towns, its numerous villages, its countless fields of yellow grain, and its meandering river with full and gushing waters. The days of their pilgrimage were ended: and he, who had led them thither from "the house of bondage," took his survey of the country promised to his brethren, and then departed to that "better land," where stands "the city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God." For thirty days the people mourned him dead, and then received the joyful summons to cross the river, and take possession of their inheritance. At no time in the year could their passage have been more difficult. It was the season of the barley harvest, when the Jordan "fills its banks," and runs with a

powerful stream. But this proved no impediment; and, if we remember the rapid slope of the valley from Tiberias, and the immense pressure with which the water opposite Jericho is forced onward, it cannot but appear that the miracle, which stayed its flow till the whole people had passed over, was of the most stupendous kind, and well calculated to make the hearts of the Canaanites melt as water, and their knees smite together for fear. The place of passage has been fixed sometimes at one place, sometimes at another. Most probably, as Dr. Robinson argues, the passage did not occur at any particular spot. At the point where the priests stood with the ark, the wall of waters was formed on the north side. Beyond them southward, the slope towards the Dead Sea would of itself drain off the waters and in a short time leave the whole bed dry for more than two miles. Here then the people passed over "right against Jericho." The name of a ford "Bethabara" (the house of passage) seems to have retained, in after times, the remembrance of the spot, where the priests stood, and the waters began to fail.

Another event of later days occurred about the same place, and of deeper interest to man, when John came preaching in the wilderness, and even the Sadducees and soldiers stood to hear his message. Then it was that He, who had no repentance to offer, no tears to shed, no sins to wash away, the incarnate Saviour, consecrated himself by baptism to His Father's work, and received the title and the token of a Son beloved.

But other events of minor importance have happened in the Jordan valley, which invest its barren wastes with the interest attaching to all the doings of the family of man. Jacob crossed the river with his family, after the reconciliation with his brother; and in the ford of "Seka" seems to be preserved the name of the Succoth, where he pitched his tents. Across the Jordan, too, at Jericho, his sons brought his embalmed body to lay it in the sepulchre of his fathers. Across the valley, Gideon pursued the Midianites, whose princes he slew in the mountains of Ammon. Near Gilgal, Saul gathered his forces to fight the Philistines in the mountains above, and assumed the office of a priest of God. To the wall of Bethshan, the Philistines fastened the body of this unhappy king and of his valiant sons; and thence the grateful men of Jabesh, in a nightly raid, bore them away, to bury them among their own people with honour. Along this valley, David fled from Absalom: in the plain of Jericho were cast the vessels of the temple; there too Zedekiah was stayed in his flight, and made captive: and there the curse of Joshua fell upon Hiel, when he dared

rebuild the ruined city. To Bethshan came the Scythian hordes that overran Asia, while Israel was in captivity; and from their settlement within its empty walls, it derived its name, Scythopolis. In this valley, Herod built one of his royal towns. Through the plain of Jericho, the Saviour of men journeyed towards the scenes of his suffering and death; here Bartimæus received the reward of faith in his restored sight, Zacchæus repented of his extortions, and the good Samaritan acquired an everlasting name. Such are the associations clustering around this desert spot.

Passing from the Ghor, we come to the DEAD SEA, into which the Jordan flows. Till modern times, very little was known of the real character of its mysterious shores, while strange fables were afloat concerning them. The early pilgrims, that visited the Holy Land, beheld it with superstitious dread: but, excepting the Jesuit traveller Nau, they added nothing to the account of the sea written by Josephus, hundreds of years before. Seetzen, the earliest traveller of the modern era, visited a part of its shores not usually seen by Europeans: Irby and Mangles followed him. Dr. Robinson and Mr. Smith saw its whole length, travelled above and along the western shore, and visited both the southern and northern ends. It is strange that much, which these later travellers observed, should have been stated by the Jesuit Nau in 1674, and that, till recently, modern scholars should have remained ignorant of his testimony. Until their time, the sum of all that was generally known about the sea amounted to this: that it was a most mysterious spot; that the shores were gloomy and desolate, covered in many parts with a salt-crust; that heavy vapours hung above its pestiferous and bitter waters, in which no fish could live, over which no birds could fly; and some went so far as to say, that the remains of the old cities were still to be found amidst its waters. The additional light thrown upon it of late years, the discovery of a large peninsula, of a ford, and marshy tract near its southern end, and of the remarkable salt hills of Usdum, only led to further enquiry and fresh efforts to reach the truth. In 1836, Mr. Costigan had a boat conveyed to the sea of Tiberias, and, with a Maltese sailor as assistant, descended the Jordan, and made a complete tour of the Dead Sea. But the intense heat and exposure so affected his health, that he was found nearly dead on the northern shore, and was carried to Jerusalem, where he died. The scanty notes he took during the tour proved useless, and the little intelligence of his proceedings, conveyed to the scientific world, was obtained through the means of his companion, whom

Mr. Stephens saw at Beyrút. Another expedition was very recently undertaken by Lieut. Molyneux, R. N. Like his predecessor, he too died of a fever caught on the shores which he had gone to examine. Messrs. Moore and Beke, in 1837, succeeded somewhat better. They had a boat conveyed from Jaffa to the sea, and began a trigonometrical survey. They discovered several of the facts, which have now been made public, but were compelled by the hostility of the Governor of Jerusalem, to leave their disinterested labour uncompleted. Mr. Moore, it is said, subsequently finished the survey; but nothing beyond a short statement in the journal of the Geographical Society was ever published by these gentlemen. Such was the state of the question, when the American Expedition arrived.

The account which Josephus gives of the Dead Sea has furnished the basis of all subsequent descriptions; and, as it is the testimony of a good authority, and is, in the main, correct, it may be well to insert it, before we proceed to notice the labours of the Expedition and the results which they have attained:—

The nature of the lake Asphaltitis is also worth describing. It is, as I have said already, bitter and unfruitful. It is so light [or thick] that it bears up the heaviest things that are thrown into it; nor is it easy for any one to make things sink therein to the bottom, if he had a mind so to do. Accordingly, when Vespasian went to see it, he commanded that some, who could not swim, should have their hands tied behind them, and be thrown into the deep; when it so happened that they all swam as if a wind had forced them upwards. Moreover, the change of the colour of this lake is wonderful, for it changes its appearance thrice every day; and, as the rays of the sun fall differently upon it, the light is variously reflected. However, it casts up black clods of bitumen in many parts of it; these swim at the top of the water, and resemble both in shape and bigness headless bulls; and when the labourers, that belong to the lake, come to it and catch hold of it as it hangs together, they draw it into their ships; but when the ship is full, it is not easy to cut off the rest, for it is so tenacious, as to make the ship hang upon its clods till they set it loose with the menstrual blood of women, and with urine, to which alone it yields.* This bitumen is not only useful for the caulking of ships, but for the cure of men's bodies: accordingly it is mixed in a great many medicines. The length of this lake is five hundred and eighty furlongs, where it is extended as far as Zoar, in Arabia, and its breadth is a hundred and fifty. The country of Sodom borders upon it. It was of old a most happy land, both for the fruits it bore and the riches of its cities, although it be now all burnt up. It is related how, for the impiety of its inhabitants, it was burnt by lightning; in consequence of which there are still the remainders of that divine fire. The traces [or shadows] of the five cities are still to be seen, as well as the ashes growing in their fruits, which fruits have a colour as if they were fit to be eaten, but if you pluck them with your hands, they dissolve into smoke and ashes. And thus, what is related of this land of Sodom, hath these marks of credibility, which our very sight affords us.

* This estimate is nearly *double* its real dimensions, both in length and breadth.

The American Expedition, having passed down the valley of the Jordan, proceeded to the Dead Sea on the 18th of April. The land division, as before, under the charge of Mr. Dale, crossed the lower part of the Ghor towards Ain el Feshka, at the north-west corner of the sea, where the first encampment was to be fixed. Lieut. Lynch, in command of the boats, continued down the river, and entered the sea at its mouth. The reception, he there met with, was of an unusual kind, and effectually dispelled one fallacy respecting the sea, which some have advocated, viz. that the water never rises into waves, even with the strongest winds. We give the passage describing it:—

A fresh north-west wind was blowing, as we rounded the point. We endeavoured to steer a little to the north of west, to make a true west course, and threw the patent log overboard to measure the distance; but the wind rose so rapidly, that the boats could not keep head to wind, and we were obliged to haul the log in. The sea continued to rise with the increasing wind, which gradually freshened to a gale, and presented an agitated surface of foaming brine; the spray, evaporating as it fell, left incrustations of salt upon our clothes, our hands and faces; and, while it conveyed a prickly sensation wherever it touched the skin, was, above all, exceedingly painful to the eyes. The boats, heavily laden, struggled sluggishly at first; but when the wind freshened in its fierceness, from the density of the water, it seemed as if their bows were encountering the sledge-hammers of the Titans, instead of the opposing waves of an angry sea.

At 3-50, passed a piece of drift-wood, and soon after saw three swallows and a gull. At 4-55, the wind blew so fiercely that the boats could make no headway—not even the *Fanny Skinner*, which was nearer to the weather shore—and we drifted rapidly to leeward: threw over some of the fresh water to lighten the *Fanny Mason*, which laboured very much; and I began to fear that both boats would founder.

At 5-40, finding that we were losing every moment, and that, with the lapse of each succeeding one, the danger increased, kept away for the northern shore, in the hope of being yet able to reach it; our arms, our clothes, and skins coated with a greasy salt; and our eyes, lips, and nostrils, smarting excessively. How different was the scene, before the submerging of the plain, which was “even as the garden of the Lord!” —*Pp.* 268-269.

Having arrived at Ain el Feshka, and rested a day, the party commenced the survey in good earnest. Some were employed in measuring the rocks, and observing their structure; while the boats were despatched in different directions across the sea to sound the depth, and examine the bottom. Thence all proceeded southward along the west coast to Ain Terabeh, and next day to Ain Jidy, where the camp was erected. This last spot is the most important position on the western shore, and, being near the centre, was constituted the dépôt of the Expedition. After examining it, and again taking lines of soundings across the sea, the boats, with all the officers, proceeded to survey the southern end of the sea, carefully exploring the shores, and tak-

ing sketches of the topography as they went on. After returning to Ain Jidy, they set out across the sea on a short visit to Kerak; and thence proceeded up the east side of the sea, round its northern end, and back to Ain Terabeh, thus completing a tour of the whole. The task proved no light one, amid the heat and privations to which they were subject; but steady perseverance and their perfect unanimity succeeded in overcoming all obstacles. As we cannot describe their proceedings in full, we shall endeavour to present to the reader a brief summary of what is now known concerning the sphere of their labours.

The DEAD SEA has been known by several names. In the early books of the Bible it is called "the Sea of the Plain," "the Salt Sea," "the Sea of Sodom." By Josephus it is termed the "Lake Asphaltites:" by the Arabs, "the Sea of Lot." It is now ascertained, by trigonometrical measurement, to be forty miles in length, and to vary in breadth from seven miles to nine and a half. The breadth is, on the whole, pretty uniform: being at Ain el Feshka, seven miles; at Ain Terabeh, farther south, eight and a quarter; at Ain Jidy it is nine; in the southern bay, eight and a quarter. The length increases a little in the winter season, from the rising waters running over the southern swamps: but the breadth is always the same. The sea takes its form, in a great measure, from the position in which it lies; viz., between the parallel ranges of the Jordan valley. Towards the north, the western hills curve somewhat to the eastward; and, in the south, the hills of Usdum bend in the same direction, giving the sea its slightly-rounded ends.

The northern shore, at which the level Ghor comes down to the sea, is an extensive mud-flat, having a sandy plain behind it: trunks of trees and drift-wood, so impregnated with salt that they will not burn, are strewed over its surface. The first station of any importance on the west coast, is Ain el Feshka. Here the dull, yellow cliffs are about a thousand feet high, composed of crumbling limestone and conglomerate. Upon the beach are scattered numerous fragments of flint, and an abundance of bituminous limestone pebbles, from which articles of curiosity are cut and sold to the pilgrims in Jerusalem. The shore is flat both on the north and south: and at the water's edge stand small dead trees, still erect in the stony soil. At the foot of the cliff, a thermal spring bursts from the rock, of a temperature of 84°. The water is clear but brackish, and has a strong smell of sulphur. Its stream is shallow, but in its progress to the sea, forms a small marsh in which a cane-brake luxuriates, containing the only green vegetation to

relieve the perfect desolation of this sombre spot. Moving along the shore, we find a long narrow plain between the cliffs and the water, skirted with cane. The limestone mountain remains a thousand feet high, and comes forward to the water in an abrupt promontory, the Ras Feshka. Beyond this, a large delta has been formed by the debris washed down by the torrents of two Wadys, from one of which the Kedron pours. The mountains then rise two hundred feet; and the next peak, Makulla, presents a peculiarly burnt appearance. So friable is the rock, that the debris, which have fallen from its face, have formed a hill against it, half as high as the mountain itself. Again the gravelly beach curves, leading us to a cliff, named Hathurah, with a wide cave in its face; and then proceeds to two fountains in succession, Ain Ghuweir and Ain Terabeh, each giving rise to a cluster of tamarisks, willows and cane. The water of both is quite pure, though the latter is 75° in temperature, and leaves a sulphureous deposit. Passing other Wadys with deltas in front, over a pebbly beach, much cut by water-courses from the mountains, the traveller reaches the Ras Mersed, a high rugged promontory, which runs into the sea, and effectually bars all passage along the shore. On its southern side begins the wilderness of Engedi; and, fronting the sea in the hill side, is a cave, the mouth of which is fortified.

The mountain at Ain Jidy, the Engedi so celebrated in ancient days, stands about the centre of the west side of the Dead Sea; and is an interesting spot, not only from its associations, but from the physical peculiarities, by which it is marked. It consists of an immense cliff of compact reddish limestone, 1,500 feet high, and isolated from the hills on either side of it by two deep ravines, which break through to the sea shore. Up the face of the cliff climbs the regular road of the district, in a succession of zigzags, forming a pass more terrific than any which Dr. Robinson had seen through the whole range of the Alps. At the foot of the mountain, is a broad sloping delta, formed by the torrents, which burst from the Wadys, and covered with dust and fragments of stone. The upper part is terraced, and exhibits beds of cucumbers and patches of barley. At the lowest part, and on the edge of the sea, is a bank of pebbles six or eight feet high. The fountain stands on a terrace, about one-third of the distance up the mountain, whence it rushes down, concealed by a thicket of trees, which draw life from its precious waters. Its temperature is 84° . Another and finer fountain, (perhaps the real Ain Jidy) stands at the north side of the mountain, in the

mouth of Wady Sudeir. Lieut. Lynch gives the following description of it:—

A short distance up, we were surprised to see evidences of former habitations in the rocks. Roughly hewn caverns and natural excavations we had frequently observed, but none before evincing so much art. Some of the apertures were arched, and cased with sills of limestone, resembling an inferior kind of marble. We were at a loss how to obtain an entrance; for they were cut in the perpendicular face of the rock, and the lowest more than fifty feet from the bed of the ravine. We stopped to plan some mode of gaining an entrance to one of them; but the sound of the running stream, and the cool shadow of the gorge, were too inviting, and, advancing through tamarisk, oleander, and cane, we came upon the very *Egeria* of fountains. Far in among the cane, embowered, imbedded, hidden deep in the shadow of the purple rocks and the soft green gloom of luxuriant vegetation, lapsing with a gentle murmur from basin to basin, over the rocks, under the rocks, by the rocks, and clasping the rocks with its crystal arms, was this little fountain-wonder. The thorny nûbk and the pliant osher were on the bank above; yet lower, the oleander and the tamarisk, while upon its brink the lofty cane, bent by the weight of its fringe-like tassels, formed bowers over the stream, fit for the haunts of Naiads.—*Pp.* 322-323.

South of Ain Jidy, a broad plain runs along the shore, formed of the deltas of the different Wadys, that appear in the western mountains. These mountains are of the usual stratified Jura limestone: and huge fragments of rock, broken from them, have been brought down by the winter torrents, which, pouring from the mouths of these Wadys, have cut deep channels across the plain to the margin of the sea. So much is the plain furrowed by the channels and their streams, that from a distance it seemed to our travellers, "covered with towns, and villages, and marble cities, with columns, temples, domes and palaces;" which objects finally resolved themselves into curiously configured hills. Innumerable dead locusts are scattered over the beach; where also occasionally are found lumps of bitumen. Towards the southern end of this plain, which at length becomes two miles broad, stands the great cliff of Masada, now called Sebbeh, whereon Herod built his celebrated castle. Many of the officers of the Expedition visited the ruins, to which we shall again refer. Beyond Sebbeh, lies Wady Mubughghik, at the mouth of which are the foundations of a building, and traces of an aqueduct—doubtless the ruins, which have led some to imagine that the remains of Sodom exist to this day.

Continuing still southward along the beach, the traveller reaches a remarkable range of hills standing in front of the limestone mountains, and curving towards the south-east. These are the hills of Usdum. They are perfectly isolated on all sides, and are composed of rock-salt, coated with carbonate

of lime. This remarkable range is four miles long, one mile in width, and from a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet high. Its name is doubtless the representative of the ancient Sodom. Opposite Usdum, the lower end of the sea slopes gently upwards, and terminates in a stagnant marsh. Its bottom, as Mr. Dale unfortunately proved, consists of slimy mud, then salt, then mud again; and the beach is intensely hot. It is over this flat, that the sea spreads, southward, and increases its length, when the waters rise. The plain beyond the sea is bounded, on the south, by a line of hills from a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet in height, which run across from the eastern to the western mountains in a curve, and form the southern boundary of the Ghor. Beyond them the broad valley, between the parallel chains of mountains, takes the name of Wady Araba.

Rounding the south end of the sea, and advancing along its eastern side, the traveller finds, at the south-east corner, a long, dry, and narrow marsh, separating the sea from the eastern mountains, which are 2,000 feet high, and of which the cliff of En Nuweirah is the most prominent. It consists of horizontal strata of brown limestone, lying on a beautiful rose-coloured sandstone. North of Nuweirah is the ravine of Wady Humeir, in which lie boulders of sandstone. The next Wady on the north, leading to Kerak, contains some singularly formed boulders. "Several of these blocks, and many places in the mountain-side were hollowed, sufficiently in some places to shelter many persons. These old limestone-rocks are worn into caverns, arches, and the resemblances of houses; one isolated block was exactly like a thatched, moss-grown cottage."

At this part of the eastern shore, is found one of the peculiarities of the Dead Sea—mentioned by the Jesuit pilgrim Nau—but first revealed to modern geographers by Captains Irby and Mangles. We refer to the Peninsula, which juts out from the base of the mountains far into the sea. Its shape is that of an expanded wing, with the pinion pointed toward the north-east. The width of the isthmus, which joins it to the shore, is five miles. Its eastern side slopes gradually to the north-west: the western runs from south-west to north-east, and is seven miles long. From the north point the land curves inward, leaving a small bay between itself and the eastern mountains, the shape of a man's thumb, and about four miles long by two broad. The peninsula is from forty to sixty feet high: along its centre runs a narrow ridge, twenty feet higher, with rugged and irregular summits. Its face is perpendicular; and a margin of sand runs round its base, incrustated with salt and bitumen. On this sandy

beach Mr. Lynch found myriads of dead locusts. The peninsula is of tertiary formation, consisting of loose, calcareous marl, with incrustations of salt, gypsum, &c.: the north end exhibits crumbling chalk with flints. It seems of the same geological structure as the low range of hills, which form the southern boundary of the Ghor, and which, like the isthmus which joins it to the shore, stretch out into the great valley from east to west.

Continuing their survey northward, beyond the peninsula, into a part of the sea never yet described by Europeans, the Expedition tell us that the perpendicular eastern cliffs immediately come down to the water, and leave no passage for travelers. This is an important fact, not clearly known till now. Dr. Kitto, for instance, in his *Pictorial History of Palestine*, describes the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, as a broad plain from one to four miles wide; and wonders why the Israelites did not march by it into Palestine, along the base of the mountains of Moab, instead of ascending to the high plain behind them. The reason simply is, that no such plain exists. The cliffs are of red sandstone capped with limestone. In one of the ravines, which burst through them, there is an arch spanning the chasm, like that over Wady Sik at Petra.

The next object reached was Wady Mojob, down which flows the river Arnon. A beautiful sketch of the mouth of this noble valley adorns the "narrative." The chasm is only ninety-seven feet high, while the perpendicular cliffs on each side rise many hundred feet, exhibiting in the most picturesque manner the red, brown, and yellow sandstone, washed by rain—the red being of a particularly brilliant hue. This valley winds, as it runs into the mountains, but remains of the same width. The stream, which was strong, was found to be eighty-two feet wide, and four deep: it has formed a large delta of debris at the chasm's mouth. Beyond the Arnon, the Expedition passed several small rivulets trickling into the sea; in one spot was a fine group of palms; in another, a cataract. North of these, they found on the shore huge black boulders of the lava so common in the Haurán, composed of trap and tufa; while the whole mountain near them was a mass of scorix and lava, the layers being very distinct. Just beyond these volcanic indications, they entered the river Zurka Main, the ancient Callirrhoe. The walls of the chasm, down which the waters run, consist of red and yellow sandstone, and are precipitous like those of the Wady Mojob; the chasm is 122 feet wide, and at first eighty

feet in height, afterwards 150. The water was twelve feet wide, and ten inches deep at the mouth, running in a strong stream, with a current of six knots: in one part of the ravine it falls in a cascade four feet high. The stream is derived from the springs described by Josephus, and visited by Irby and Mangles; its temperature is 94° . A large delta has been formed at the mouth, as at the mouth of the Arnon and of all the Wadys on the western shore. Continuing along the coast, the same rugged mountains appear, pushing into the sea three promontories at equal distances, from the Zurka to the mouth of the Jordan. The rock is of the usual kind: but lava is strewn about it in one spot, as on the south side of the Callirrhoe.

It is evident from these notices of the coast of the Dead Sea, that the valley, in which it lies, has here a most desolate and gloomy appearance. The shores are enclosed between precipitous, frowning, and barren rocks: at the feet of which, in certain spots, spread out dry and stony plains, covered with the debris brought down by winter torrents from the high mountains above. There is little vegetation any where, and in most places none. What there is, grows only around the fountains, or along their slender streams in the mountain shadows. The cane-brake is the most abundant, with the thorny nubk, the osher, the pistacia, oleander, tamarisk and willow. Ain Jidy seems to possess more vegetation than other parts: the peninsula is wholly destitute of it. Of the species growing near the sea, two or three deserve particular notice. Among them the osher, or *Asclepias gigantea*, is the most interesting. Some travellers, and among them Dr. Robinson, consider its fruit to be that described by Josephus, as still retaining the curse which fell on the cities of the plain. Some very fine specimens of the fruit were found by Lieut. Lynch, in the mouth of Wady Beni Hamed, to the north of Kerak:—

We gathered some of the size of the largest October peach, but green, soft, and pulpy; emitting, like the branches, a viscous milky fluid, when cut, which the Arabs told us would be extremely injurious to the eyes if it touched them. There was some of the dried fruit too, as brittle as glass, and flying to pieces on the slightest pressure. Within the last was a very small quantity of a thin, silky fibre, which is used by the Arabs for gun matches. The rind is thinner, but very much in colour like a dried lemon; and the dried fruit has the appearance of having spontaneously burst.—P. 341.

Hasselquist, the pupil of Linnæus, (and Dr. Wilson agrees with him), thought that the fruit of Josephus is found in the *Solanum Melongena* so common about Jericho. This fruit is

no other than the common *bagun*, or *brinjal*, of Bengal ; which seems any thing but the unsubstantial production of which Josephus speaks. Another interesting plant near the sea is the nubk or lotus-tree, called by Hasselquist the *Spina Christi*, from the notion that it was this plant which furnished the pliant crown of thorns, placed on the Saviour's head.

The *waters* of the sea have ever been considered as its distinguishing peculiarity. In appearance they are so dark, still, and ponderous, as to have been compared to molten lead. Of this, Lieut. Lynch, when at Ain Jidy, says:—

At one time, to-day, the sea assumed an aspect peculiarly sombre. Unstirred by the wind, it lay smooth and unruffled as an inland lake. The great evaporation enveloped it in a thin, transparent vapour,—its purple tinge contrasting strangely with the extraordinary colour of the sea beneath, and, where they blended in the distance, giving it the appearance of smoke from burning sulphur. It seemed a vast cauldron of metal, fused but motionless.—*P.* 324.

The water is to the *taste* excessively nauseous and bitter. It has been compared to Glauber salts, Epsom salts, and other medicinal abominations ; and, with good reason, when we consider the various elements of which it is composed. Dr. Robinson tells us of seven analyses, which have been made of it, and gives the particulars of four. From them it appears that it possesses about twenty-six per cent. of its weight in salts, the remainder being pure water. The differences observed between the analyses have arisen probably from the position, whence the specimens were taken ; those from the neighbourhood of fresh-water streams having a less proportion of salt than others. Differences have also been observed, as to the relative proportion of the various salts ; though, in all the analyses, the muriates of lime, magnesia, and soda predominate. Lieut. Lynch compared it with the water of the Atlantic, and estimated their relative density thus : distilled water being as 1. “The water of the Atlantic was 1.02, and of this sea 1.13. The last dissolved one-eleventh, the water of the Atlantic one-sixth, and distilled water five-seventeenths, of its weight of salt ; the salt used was a little damp.”* This great saltiness doubtless arises, or is at least maintained, from the streams which run into the sea from the salt mountains of Usdum. It contains probably the accumulations of ages brought in from this source. Dense as the water is, it is not the most so of all sea-waters in the world. In the Lake of Eltonsk, on the steppe east of the Volga, and north of the Caspian sea, which has an area of 130

* Braude gives : distilled water, 1.000 ; sea water, 1.020 ; Dead Sea water, 1.248.

square miles, and furnishes two-thirds of the salt of Russia, the water contains 29·10 per cent. of saline matter, or three per cent. more than that of the Dead Sea.

From this excessive saltiness, the water derives its peculiar *weight*, which prevents its being raised, by storms and squalls, into waves, so speedily as that of fresh-water rivers. Some have thought that it never is so raised. But the Expedition often proved the contrary. They several times encountered upon it high winds, and a stormy sea—the latter dashing with great force against the boats, and almost forbidding their progress; at other times, they saw its ponderous waves rolling in upon the pebbly shore. But the same cause, which makes the water so heavy, and its waves so powerful, will explain the readiness with which the waves subside, so soon as the high winds cease, and also why the ordinary appearance of the sea is so calm and still.

To the same fact we must attribute its great *buoyancy*. Various travellers have made experiments to test the assertion of Josephus respecting Vespasian's criminals. The Rev. C. B. Elliot and Mr. Stephens strongly confirm it; and Dr. Robinson, who could never swim before, in these waters could "sit, stand, lie, or swim, without difficulty." Our Expedition did not forget this important point. A horse and an ass were, for the purposes of science, led into deep water, and were found to swim, only slightly losing their balance. "A muscular man floated nearly breast-high, without the least exertion;" and (happy thought) two fresh eggs, which in ordinary sea-water would have sunk, here floated up one-third of their whole length. The boats, also, which were very light, drew one inch less water than they did in the Jordan, although heavily laden. We should consider this matter settled beyond all controversy, had we not read in the recent work of the Hon'ble Mr. Curzon on the Monasteries of the Levant, that, trusting to the statements of former travellers, he dashed into the waters of the Dead Sea, and nearly got drowned for his pains; his head would *not* come up. We suspect his was a peculiar case. To the saltiness of the water we must ascribe, too, the thick incrustation of salt on various parts of the shore, on the foliage of the trees, and on the drift-wood lying on the beach.

The sea has from early times been considered *pestiferous*. No fish, it was said, could live within its waters; no men upon its shores; while birds, that flew over it, were stupified and drowned. This is quite true respecting the fish; at least none have ever been found in the sea, except a few brought

down by the fresh-water rivers. But both men and birds are found continually in the neighbourhood. The pestiferousness of the air has been wholly denied by modern travellers, and especially by Dr. Robinson; but the American Expedition, after an experience of many days, to a certain extent confirm it. They say, that while they perceived no smell from the sea, they found the marshes near some of the springs exceedingly noisome. At Ain el Feshka, their first encampment, they found near the brackish spring "a strong smell of sulphur." They found the same at Ain Jidy several times, and declare that it was "very sickening," but that "it came from the north-west:" also at Birket el Khulil, south of Ain Jidy. They mention it only in these localities. Lieut. Lynch says of it:—

The same sulphureous smell, but less unpleasant than when the wind blew fresh. Molyneux detected the same odour, the night he spent upon the sea, whence he thought it proceeded. We have been twice upon the sea, when the spray was driven in our faces; but, although the water was greasy, acrid, and disagreeable, it was perfectly inodorous. I am therefore inclined to attribute the noxious smell to the fetid springs and marshes along the shores of the sea, increased, perhaps, by exhalations from stagnant pools in the flat plain, which bounds it to the north.—*P.* 296.

A fact, mentioned in another part of the narrative, seems to us to shew the extent of this evil. After they had been some time on the survey, the whole party began to assume a puffed and dropsical appearance, and to have numerous pustules on the skin, with agitated sleep. These are characteristic symptoms of poisoning; and, it appears to us, arose from the sulphureous vapours, which they had imbibed. Though they suffered thus, the Expedition found many specimens of animal life around the sea. Frogs croaked in the marshes, birds chirped in the canebrakes, and wild ducks floated on the water. They saw on the western shore partridges, a hare, a snipe, a hawk, and doves. In Wady Humeir there were storks, partridges, and a humming-bird. They found numerous birds near the Callirrhoe, and a vulture in the ravine of the Arnon. They noticed, however, one peculiarity about these living creatures, viz. that they were almost all of a stone colour, as if they had received their colour from the region in which they live.

The *climate* of the sea has perhaps given rise to some of the stories respecting the deadly character of its shores. The great depression of its surface makes this quite tropical; hence the unhealthiness, which travellers report, and the thin frames, which the Arabs living near it, exhibit. The range of the thermometer was carefully noted by the officers of the Expedi-

tion during their stay, and from their statements we have drawn up the following little table :—

Date.	Place.	THERMOMETER.		WIND.	
		Morning	Even.	Morning	Even.
Apl. 20	Ain El Feshka ...	82°	80° 5 P.M.	.....	N. fresh.
" 21	Ain Terābeh .....	.....	70°	.....	Variable.
" 22	Ditto and Ain Jidy	706 A. M.	71°	S. E.	N. W. strong.
" 23	Ain Jidy	{ 70° 84° at 7	Sultry	S.	N.
" 24	Ditto	78°	92°	N. light	N. & E. fresh.
" 25	Do. & near Sebbeh	89°	86°	calm	N. W. strong.
" 26	Near Sebbeh & } Eu Nuweirah }	79°	106°	S. S. E.	{ S. E. hur- ricane.
" 27	East and W. coast	94	84°	W. light	N. W.
" 28	Ain Jidy	87	.....	N. E.	W.
" 30	Do. & Wady Kerak	84°	82—70°	W. light	N. W.
May 3	Wady Mojeb .....	.....	78°	.....	N. W.
" 4	W. Zurka Main ...	.....	77	S.	N. fresh.
" 6	Ain Terābeh	100	.....	.....	.....
" 7	Ditto	106°	.....	calm	N. W. sirocco.
" 8	Ditto	110° noon	.....	S. E.	.....

From this it will be evident that the climate, at the end of April and beginning of May, must be intensely hot, especially when the sirocco blows from the southern deserts. It is a fact quite new, we believe, to science, that the wind at the Dead Sea undergoes a periodic change; blowing all the morning from the south, and in the evening till midnight from the north-west. What the sirocco is in this deep valley, we must shew the reader from the experience of our travellers. They met it at the south-east corner of the sea :—

The light wind had subsided, and it was oppressively hot; air 97°; water twelve inches below the surface 90°. A thin purple haze over the mountains, increasing every moment, and presenting a most singular and awful appearance; the haze so thin, that it was transparent, and rather a blush, than a distinct colour. I apprehended a thunder-gust, or an earthquake, and took in the sail. At 3-50, a hot, blistering hurricane struck us from the south-east, and, for some moments, we feared being driven out to sea. The thermometer rose immediately to 102°. The men, closing their eyes to shield them from the fiery blast, were obliged to pull with all their might to stem the rising waves; and at 4-36, physically exhausted, but with grateful hearts, we gained the shore. My own eye-lids were blistered by the hot wind, being unable to protect them, from the necessity of steering the boat.

We landed on the south side of the peninsula, near Wady Humeir, the most desolate spot, upon which we had yet encamped. Some went up the ravine to escape from the stifling wind; others, driven back by the glare,

returned to the boats, and crouched under the awnings. One mounted spectacles to protect his eyes; but the metal became so heated, that he was obliged to remove them. Our arms, and the buttons on our coats, became almost burning to the touch; and the inner folds of our garments were cooler than those exposed to the immediate contact of the wind. We bivouacked without tents, on a dry marsh—a few dead bushes around us, and some of the thorny nūbk, and a tree bearing a red berry a short distance inland, with low canes on the margin of the sea.

Coming out from the ravine, the sight was a singular one. The wind had increased to a tempest; the two extremities, and the western shore, of the sea were curtained by a mist, on this side of a purple hue, on the other, of a yellow tinge; and the red and rayless sun, in the bronzed clouds, had the appearance it presents, when looked upon through smoked glass.—*Pp.* 311-313.

A further illustration of the high temperature is found in the strong tendency to sleep, experienced by the surveying party. The circumstances, so graphically described by Lieut. Lynch, in the following passage, occurred on a very hot day, when they were crossing the sea from Ain Jidy, on their way to Kerak, in search of health:—

While busied with such thoughts, my companions had yielded to the oppressive drowsiness, and now lay before me in every attitude of a sleep, that had more of stupor in it than of repose. In the awful aspect, which this sea presented, when we first beheld it, I seemed to read the inscription over the gates of Dante's *Inferno*:—"Ye who enter here, leave hope behind." Since then, habituated to mysterious appearances in a journey so replete with them, and accustomed to scenes of deep and thrilling interest at every step of our progress, those feelings of awe had been insensibly lessened, or hushed by deep interest in the investigations, we had pursued. But *now*, as I sat alone in my wakefulness, the feeling of awe returned; and, as I looked upon the sleepers, I felt "the hair of my flesh stand up," as Job's did, when "a spirit passed before his face;" for, to my disturbed imagination, there was something fearful in the expression of their inflamed and swollen visages. The fierce angel of disease seemed hovering over them; and I read the forerunner of his presence in their flushed and feverish sleep. Some, with their bodies bent and arms dangling over the abandoned oars, their hands excoriated with the acrid water, slept profoundly; others, with heads thrown back, and lips cracked and sore, with a scarlet flush on either cheek, seemed overpowered by heat and weariness even in sleep; while some, upon whose faces shone the reflected light from the water, looked ghastly, and dozed with a nervous twitching of the limbs, and now and then starting from their sleep, drank deeply from a beaker, and sank back again to lethargy. The solitude, the scene, my own thoughts, were too much; I felt, as I sat thus, steering the drowsily-moving boat, as if I were a Charon, ferrying, not the souls, but the bodies, of the departed and the damned, over some infernal lake, and could endure it no longer; but, breaking from my listlessness, ordered the sails to be furled, and the oars resumed—action seemed better than such unnatural stupor.—*Pp.* 337-338.

The intense heat, concentrated in this deep valley, produces the dense mists, which gave rise to the old fable of smoke issuing from the Lake. These mists were first pointed out by Irby

and Mangles to be the natural *evaporation* of the sea; and subsequent observation has confirmed their view. The expedition saw the mists almost daily. Sometimes, they appeared thin and of a light blue colour; at other times, they were very dense, shrouding both ends of the sea. It would be an interesting subject of scientific enquiry, to examine what the rate of evaporation is in this extraordinary spot. Numerous experiments have been made at the ordinary levels of the earth, and at the ordinary temperature, to determine the rate at which evaporation generally proceeds. But too many elements require to be taken into the calculation to enable us to judge, by a comparison with those experiments, what may be the evaporation in the Dead Sea—the circumstances of the case varying so greatly. Experiments on the spot would alone suffice to determine it accurately. But we may judge in a measure from the amount of water, with which the sea is supplied. The Dead Sea is a vast reservoir, into which the drainage of an immense extent of country is annually poured. In the rainy season, the great Wadys on the east and west bring down immense torrents of water from the slopes into which they run: as is proved by the large deltas formed at their mouths, and the masses of broken rock strewed upon their surface. The chief of these is the great Wady el Jeib, which comes into the south end of the Dead Sea. This Wady drains the Araba, which is itself the drain of the high mountains of Seir, of half the western desert, and of the south-east mountains of Judah. It is in some parts a mile wide, and, from its head in Wady Jerafeh to its mouth, it is ninety-two miles long. The extent of country, drained into the Dead Sea by means of these Wadys and the Jordan, is not less than 8,000 square miles. In the rainy season, therefore, when the torrent beds are full, and the streams flow with great rapidity, the waters of this vast reservoir must be considerably increased. The marks of its rise are visible in many places. At Ain Jidy for instance, a bank of pebbles has been cast up by the floods, seven or eight feet high. Other sources of supply are constant. The fountains at Ain Feshka, Ain Ghuweir, Ain Terabeh, Ain Jidy, Wady Mubughgik, Wady Muhariwat at the north end of Usdum—the fountains, which feed the southern marshes, and the rivulets which flow from Beni Hamed, and other eastern Wadys, must all contribute something to its waters. The river Jordan, as we have seen, was on the 18th of April, pouring down 30,677,270 cubic feet of water per hour, equal to 20,378,472 tons per day. In the rains, the quantity will be larger; in the later months of the year, much less. The Zurka, the Arnon, and the rivulets in Wady Beni

Hamed and Wady Keraky, are also perennial streams. The Arnon, when the Expedition measured it, was eighty-two feet broad, and four deep: its rapidity is not definitely recorded, but, reckoning it at two and a half knots per hour, it would be bringing down 3,396,412 tons of water per day. The Zurka was 12 feet broad, and ten inches deep, with a current of six knots; bringing down 240,000 tons per day. The stream in Wady Beni Hamed was considerable; but its measurements are not given. Each of these streams is subject to the same variations of increase and decrease, as the Jordan. But estimating the four perennial streams, at the time when they were observed by the Expedition, it would appear, that they were bringing down into the Dead Sea no less than 25,000,000 of tons per day.* Now the waters of the sea were *not rising* at that time, but were diminishing daily: and Lieut. Lynch noticed that it had already fallen seven feet that season; so that the evaporation was carrying off more than was supplied. A careful calculation shews the extent of water-surface in the sea to be 300 square miles; and an evaporation of 25,000,000 tons on this surface is equivalent to the vast amount of 83,300 tons per day, for every square mile. Yet the quantity of water at present in the sea appears the same as it was eighteen hundred years ago. It could not have been greater, else would the shores have been closed against the great military expeditions, which passed along them. It could not have been less, else would a large portion of its bed (as we shall see) have been left dry.

Having looked at the form and structure of the rocks between which the sea lies, and at the character of its shores and of its strange waters, we must pass to another subject of interest, hitherto almost unknown, *the nature of the sea-bed* and the *depth* of the waters. Some few hints respecting it have reached modern geographers, by which one or two of its general features were indicated. The Jesuit Nau was informed by the "Abbot" of St. Saba, that the southern part of the sea was a kind of second lake; that it was shallow and could be forded, the water being no deeper than the middle of a man's leg. Mr. Costigan crossed and recrossed the sea several times, and found that the depth was in some parts more than a thousand feet. Messrs. Moore and Beke also observed the deep soundings; but it was reserved for the American Expedition to give a complete view of the whole sea-bed. They have taken the soundings of various parts in connected and continuous lines, and marked them on their

* This may be over-estimated; as the velocity at the bank may be much less than the velocity at the centre of the stream.

chart of the sea—though the writer of the narrative has failed to give a clear statement of what those soundings shew. The little he has said, and the theory he has deduced, seem to us quite contradicted by the soundings themselves; and therefore we do not quote them. We shall rather state the result of our own examination of the chart, especially as this is one of the vitally important points connected with the sea.

The sea, as we have said, is forty miles long, and, on an average, eight miles broad. While to the eye appearing uniform in its character, the bed of the waters is really divided into two distinct portions; one, shallow; the other, exceedingly deep. These divisions are separated from one another by the peninsula, which we have described. The northern division is a vast hollow, more than twenty-five miles long, occupying the whole breadth of the sea. The sides of this hollow slope off towards the centre, so that it assumes the form of a long deep trough with slanting sides: the bottom of which is a plain running longitudinally down the sea for about thirteen miles. The southern portion, beyond the peninsula, bears quite a different character. Instead of being a hollow, it exhibits an extensive plain, submerged under a few feet of water. This will be seen from the following notice of the soundings taken.

At the mouth of the Jordan the sea is six feet deep: thence southwards, the soundings, within the space of a mile, are 90 feet, 210, 348, 428, and 486; shewing that the north bank of the hollow trough, we have mentioned, shelves very rapidly. At a distance of five miles from the mouth of the river, the depth reaches 1,008 feet, and extends for a space four miles broad from east to west. This depth is reached at the distance of a mile from the eastern cliffs, but at not less than three miles from the western shore. The western bank, as sounded both at Ain Feshka and Ain Terabeh, slopes thus: 72 feet, 150; then, before another half mile is passed, 700, 936, 1,030. At Ain Jidy, the depth is 900 feet at two miles distance from the beach, and 1,000 in the centre of the sea. On the east coast, at the mouth of the Callirrhoe, we find at once 138 feet; the next cast of the lead is 672; the next 1,050, all within a mile of the cliffs. At the mouth of the Arnon on the same coast, but ten miles farther south, the lead exhibits similar results. The large delta of the Arnon projects a full half-mile into the sea; but, immediately beyond it, the depth is 204 feet, 846, and 1026, a mile and a half from the rugged shore. The bottom of this trough (as we have termed it), consisting of that length of the sea-bed which exceeds a thousand feet in depth, is about thirteen miles long, extending from opposite the Ras el Feshka to a mile south of the Arnon. Its eastern edge lies

almost due north and south, about a mile from the precipitous cliffs. Its western bank forms a curve, the apex of which is opposite to Ain Terabeh. The northern end is nearly three miles broad; in the centre the breadth is five miles; at the south end, three: both the ends are rounded. The north part of the bed is in general from 1,000 to 1,100 feet in depth; the average of the southern portion is from 1,100 to 1,200: the greatest depth attained in any part was 1,308 feet. The bed and sides of this immense hollow seem in every part to be covered with mud of various degrees of blackness, containing numberless crystals of salt. In one spot, the bottom was hard, and the lead brought up nothing: at the mouth of the Jordan, the bed is sandy; at that of the Arnon, it is yellow mud. In this portion of the sea, soundings were taken with a thermometer to ascertain the temperature of the sea. The result showed that while the water at the surface had a temperature of 71° ; at sixty feet deep, it was 59° ; at 1,040 feet, 62° .

Following this hollow southwards, we find that, after proceeding twenty miles from the Jordan, or half the length of the sea, the bottom of the sea right across begins slowly to shelve upwards. Three miles beyond, we meet the north point of the peninsula,—the sea throwing an arm on each side of it, and the bottom rising from a depth of 600 feet to the sandy shore on the east side, and to a depth of 12 feet on the west. This is the end of the northern division of the sea, which terminates at the south-west point of the peninsula. The southern division differs wholly in its character from the northern. The deep water belongs exclusively to the latter: beyond the peninsula, it is all shallow. This part of the sea has a somewhat rounded figure: it is ten miles in its greatest length, and, like the rest of the sea, eight miles in breadth. It is a vast plain, 65 square miles in extent, and covered with water to the depth of a few feet: the greatest depth found was fifteen feet; in most parts it was twelve; round the edges, six and three. The bottom is very soft mud. Of the important conclusions, that may be deduced from this double division of the sea, we shall speak hereafter.

The Dead Sea presents an additional feature of interest to the physical geographer in the great depression of its surface below the sea level of the Mediterranean. This was first roughly pointed out by barometrical measurements; but was at length definitely determined by the trigonometrical survey of Lieut., now Major, Symonds. This skilful engineer examined the levels of both the Lake of Tiberias and the Dead Sea, in relation to the Mediterranean; and found that the former was 328·98 feet, and the latter 1312·2 feet, *below* the surface

of that sea.* Lieut. Lynch also carried a level from the Dead Sea to Jaffa. The work was executed with great care by Lieut. Dale; but the result is thus most carelessly described by his Commander:—

We had carried a line of levels, with the spirit-level, from the chasm of the Dead Sea, through the Desert of Judea, over precipices and mountain-ridges, and down and across yawning ravines, and for much of the time beneath a scorching sun. It had been considered by many as impracticable. It has, however, been accomplished; and with as much accuracy as, I believe, it can be done. The instrument was a capital one of Troughton's, imported by Blunt. It was of the most recent construction, with staves to be read off by the observer. The adjustments of the instruments were frequently examined, and we were careful to make the observations as nearly mid-way as possible. The whole credit of this is due to Lieutenant Dale, to whom, in full confidence of his zeal and capacity, I assigned the task of levelling. The result is confirmatory of the skill and extraordinary accuracy of the triangulation of Lieutenant Symonds, R. N.

We found the difference of level, in other words, the depression of the surface of the Dead Sea below that of the Mediterranean, to be a little over 1300 feet. The height of Jerusalem above the former sea is very nearly three times that of this difference of level, while, at the same time, it is almost the exact multiple of the depth of that sea, of the height of its banks, and of the depression of its surface.—*Pp.* 439-440.

This last statement, however good for an aid to the memory, must be somewhat qualified. By Major Symonds, Jerusalem was found to be 2,400 feet higher than the Mediterranean; and hence it is just 3,712 feet above the Dead Sea. It is important to notice that this deep depression is not a sudden sinking of the Dead Sea alone. It is the final stage of an immense slope, which includes the whole Ghor of the Jordan, from its sources to the Asphaltic sea. The valley begins to fall, before it reaches the Lake Huleh; and, on reaching the Lake of Tiberias, is already 329 feet below the Mediterranean. After leaving that lake, it continues to fall steadily—its depth below the sea-level increasing every mile—until on the north shore of the Dead Sea it reaches 1,312 feet. The traveller may scarcely notice this southward slope of the valley, since the fall is only fifteen feet per mile; but two circumstances, independent of each other, strongly confirm it, viz. the rapids of the river, which, beginning at Lake Huleh, continue with intervals almost as far as Jericho; and secondly, the increasing heat of the climate, which, in the short space of sixty miles, passes from that of the

* This is the statement published by the Royal Geographical Society of London. The Rev. Eli Smith, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, says; that the measurements communicated to him by Lieut. Symonds himself were the following:—depression of the Dead Sea, 1,337 feet; that of the Lake of Tiberias, 84 feet. We cannot account for the discrepancy between the two statements, nor say which is the correct one.

temperate zone into the intensest tropical heat. The same slope is seen in Wady Araba, south of the Dead Sea. From Akaba, on the Arabian gulf, the valley rises very slightly till it reaches the watershed of the Araba, a ridge of sandhills, which crosses the valley opposite Wady Ghurundel. This ridge is probably 1,400 feet above the Dead Sea. From its northern side, the Araba begins to slope very steadily northward for fifty-five miles, but the fall (as Dr. Robinson mentions) is scarcely perceptible, being only twenty-five feet per mile. This deep depression is the greatest known in the physical world; that of the Caspian Sea, determined also by a trigonometrical survey, being set down as only 83·6 feet below the Mediterranean.

Here we wish to point out the important fact, that this great depression has involved the parallel ranges of mountains on either hand, as well as the valley wherein the sea lies. On examining the upper part of the course of the Jordan, we find that the mountains, on the west side of the valley, are about 1,000 feet above the plain they border; those, on the east side, are somewhat higher. In the same line of valley, far to the southward, near mount Hor, their relative height above the valley is much the same. The same is true of the Ghor, and of the mountains around the Dead Sea. If then the valley from both its ends slopes downwards to the sea, the heads of its mountains must slope also, since they preserve the same height relatively to the plain at their feet. But these ranges run far into the country on both sides, particularly the western. A vast extent of country, then, for many miles to the east and west of the Jordan through its whole length, must have been involved in those stupendous movements, which made the land of Israel what it now is; and mighty in the highest degree must have been the giant power, which, when it sank the valley, bent with it the vast chains of hills on either side for nearly two hundred miles, twisting, crushing, {crumpling up their strata, raising some portions, depressing others, and, at the lowest point, sinking the long deep trough which should, in after ages, receive the united waters of the region round. This view is confirmed by the appearance of the great deltas at the mouths of the valleys, especially those of the Arnon and at Ain Jidy. Their great size seems to prove uncontestedly, that they have been deposited during a series of years running farther back than the creation of man. The convulsions, that have given the land its present form, must have been felt so widely, and been so powerful, that no people in Canaan could have survived their shock. While therefore we trace out

the uses of the present formation to the men, who have dwelt upon and around it—for the occasions, which gave rise to it, and the secondary causes, by which it was produced, we must look far back among those wondrous operations, which, with a view to man's benefit, the wise and beneficent Creator of all carried on in the pre-adamite earth.

Two minor points remain, before we advert to some of the important localities in the neighbourhood of the sea. Most travellers have visited the Dead Sea at its northern end: and, at the mouth of the Jordan, looking westward across a small bay, several have declared that they saw an *island*. Others have looked to the same spot, and declared that they did *not* see it. Dr. Robinson is of the latter class; and, so strong was the attack he made on the island, that it fairly vanished from the maps. Dr. Wilson, who followed, restored it again. What could the unfortunate map-makers do after this? The controversy seemed prepared to run high; and there was every appearance of two great parties being formed among biblical geographers, of Islanders and No-islanders, fully as important as the Little-enders and Big-enders of Lilliput. Fortunately Lieut. Lynch has settled the matter. He has shewn that the dispute was like that of the two knights, who fought about the gold and silver shield; or the more celebrated one of the travellers, who had seen the chameleon. He has shewn by actual examination, doubtless to the full satisfaction of both parties, that every body was right; that there *is* an island, under certain circumstances; that there is *not* an island, under others. In other words, he describes the place as "a gravelly point with many large stones ' upon it—a peninsula connected with the main by a narrow ' isthmus. When the latter is overflowed, the peninsula must ' present the appearance of an island." Of other islands (except a small one of mud near the Jordan,) no trace is to be found in any part of the sea. Dark shades are sometimes seen on the surface having that appearance; such as were seen by Irby and Mangles and by Dr. Robinson, and deceived M. Seetzen; but they last only for a short time, and soon declare their real character.

Another point is that of the *ford*, first mentioned by Captains Irby and Mangles as existing between the western coast of the peninsula and that of the Dead Sea, across the narrow strait that joins the southern and northern divisions of the sea. This ford has since been inserted in all the maps, yet really seems to have no authority in its favour, being unknown to the Arabs. Nearly all, whom Dr. Robinson examined, knew nothing of it. In Lieut. Lynch's camp there were seven Arabs belonging to three tribes: they also all insisted, that the only ford was at the

southern extremity of the sea. We suspect that, as in the case of the island, the circumstances of the case vary. The Expedition found the depth of water, in the place marked down for a ford, as varying from twelve to fifteen feet. The sea had already fallen seven feet, that season, by evaporation and other causes; and it is not unlikely that the depth would lessen several feet more, before the rains could return again. One sure test would be to sound the depth in October. Again, if but little rain fall in any particular spring, the sea would be still more reduced by the close of that year; the evaporation of a second year not being preceded by the usual spring supplies. In that case, we should not wonder that the depth in all the southern part of the sea might be reduced to as low as three or four feet. This was not improbably the case in the year 1818, when Captains Irby and Mangles saw a small caravan ford the narrow strait; and in the year when the Sheikh of the Jehalin himself forded the southern bay. But it is not likely to occur often; and might pass unnoticed, if it did.

The Expedition have added nothing to our knowledge concerning the *bitumen* of the Dead Sea, of which Josephus gives such an exaggerated account. There are two theories respecting its origin; the one, that it is formed at the bottom of the lake, and thrown up, as some think, by subterraneous fire—as others opine, by the action of high winds; the other theory, of which Burckhardt and Seetzen were informed at Kerak, is, that it oozes from the clefts of a rock on the east side of the Sea, collects on the rocks below, is detached by the sun, and floated over to the west side of the lake. Its production is however very slow. Respecting this last theory, we may notice that it was only a *report*, both among the natives of Kerak and the Arabs; and that our Expedition passed close to the cliffs mentioned without noticing any formation of the kind. We think that Dr. Robinson's view of the matter is best borne out by the facts. Judging from the testimony of the Arabs, he considers that bitumen in large quantities never appears except after earthquakes. They related, that after the earthquake of 1834, a large quantity was cast up on the southwest shore, of which the Jehalin carried more than 600-lbs. to market. After the earthquake also of 1837, a large mass of bitumen, compared by some Arabs to an island, by others to a house, came ashore near the north end of Usdum, and was immediately seized, cut up, carried off, and sold by any who could get a share. We may notice that both these masses were found in the south bay of the sea. "Except in those two years, the Sheikh of the 'Jehalin, a man fifty years old, had never known of bitumen

‘ appearing in the sea, nor heard of it from his fathers.’ This testimony seems to settle the matter finally. The bitumen found by travellers is only in small lumps. The Expedition picked up a large piece at Ain Jidy, which, having been exposed to the sun, was exceedingly hot to the touch.

Sulphur is likewise met with, and nitre; Dr. Robinson found some lumps of the former, on the north shore, as big as a walnut. Mr. Dale picked up “some small pieces” at the south-west extremity of the peninsula, as did also Captains Irby and Mangles. The Arabs use what they find for making gun-powder.

A few localities, on the borders of the Dead Sea, deserve a special notice. Of *Ain Jidy*, the Engedi of the Bible, so celebrated in ancient days, we have already spoken. The peculiarity of its situation in the centre of the west coast of the sea, its romantic but frightful pass, and its lovely fountains, must ever have made it an object of interest. Its name and site were utterly unknown in modern times, till recorded in Seetzen’s map, and visited by Dr. Robinson.

Another spot, quite lost to the world from the days of Titus till Dr. Robinson saw, though he did not actually visit it, is the castle of *Masada*, now called Sebbeh. From Ain Jidy, several officers of the American expedition made an excursion thither, and found the spot to answer in every way to the description given by Josephus of this celebrated fortress of Herod. They have given the reader a striking engraving of it; but their description is very bare and meagre. The party proceeded from Ain Jidy along the sea-beach. Near Wady Sebbeh, they came upon a distinct road, fifteen feet wide, and marked by two parallel rows of stones, which continued with interruptions for the space of a quarter of a mile. On arriving at the foot of the cliff, they dismounted, as their horses could not proceed farther. They found the hill, as Josephus describes it, rising perpendicularly from the sea-beach, which is here nearly two miles wide and quite isolated from the range of mountains, of which it forms a part. The cliff is a mass of scorched and calcined rock, from 1,200 to 1,500 feet high, regularly laminated towards its summit. Two deep Wadys cut it off on the north and south sides, and a ravine runs behind it on the west: thus admirably adapting it for the site of a fortress. The top of this perpendicular circle of cliffs is reached by only two paths: one on the west, the easier of the two; the other on the east, more dangerous. It was by the latter our travellers ascended:—

They were inclined to believe, that the path by which they ascended is the one, which Josephus calls the “serpent, as resembling that animal in

its narrowness and perpetual windings; for it is broken off at the prominent precipices of the rock, and returns frequently into itself, and, lengthening again by little and little, hath much to do to proceed forward: and he that would walk along it, must first go on one leg, and then on the other; there is also nothing but destruction, in case your feet slip; for on each side there is a vastly deep chasm and precipice."

Having reached the summit, they found it "about three quarters of a mile in length from north to south, and a quarter of a mile from east to west;" the whole was surrounded by the ruins of a wall, built on the brink of the precipice. Within the fortress, Herod built for himself a palace, and, for the supply of water, excavated numerous tanks and cisterns. The greater part of the area was reserved for agriculture, with a view to make the garrison self-supporting. Our travellers tell us nothing about the palace ruins, but mention a few excavations, probably cisterns, much choked up with rubbish.* On an inaccessible ledge below the upper area, they saw the remains of a round tower; on another ledge, the walls of a square enclosure. On the summit were the fragments of walls, with circular recesses of tessellated brick-work, and arched door-ways. In the centre of the quadrangle is a singular ruin. The square blocks of stone, cemented together with great regularity, were cellular on both sides, and so abraded by the weather, as to present the appearance of a honeycomb. "They thought it had been a store-house, or 'barrack.'" Interesting as this castle and rock are in their position and character, they are much more so in their history. The rock was originally fortified by Jonathan Maccabæus. Herod, seeing its value, improved the fortifications, and laid up an immense store of provisions and arms for their defence. Towards the end of the Jewish war, the Sicarii got possession of it by stratagem, and resolved to hold out to the last against the Romans. A horrible tragedy ensued. Flavius Silva surrounded the rock with a wall of circumvallation, and starved them out. But rather than surrender, the garrison determined to kill each other. Nine hundred and sixty persons, including women and children, thus perished: only two women and five boys escaped.

Another of Herod's fortresses, also celebrated for its opposition to the Romans after the destruction of Jerusalem, appears to be situated also on the Dead Sea. This is the fortress of *Macherus*, whose site seems to have been on the Zurka Main, near the hot springs of Callirrhoe. Dr. Wilson has so placed it in his map, though we believe it has never been visited by any modern traveller. Captains Irby and Mangles say that, on

* There is an excellent description of the ruins of Masada and a visit to that place, by the Rev. Mr. Wolcot, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, *New Series*, Vol. I. Mr. Wolcot preceded the Expedition, and his account is far superior to theirs.

looking down from a height in the neighbourhood of Mayn, which commands a fine view of the Dead Sea, and is very nearly on a parallel with its northern extremity, they saw below them a square ruin, which they could not get to: from its position they thought it might probably be Herodium.* Josephus tells us, that the castle of Machærus was built by Herod, and "was ' so contrived by nature, that it could not be easily ascended; ' for it is, as it were, ditched about with valleys on all sides; that ' valley, which cuts it off on the west, extends to sixty furlongs, ' and does not end till it comes to the Lake Asphaltites." He also describes hot springs in the neighbourhood, and speaks of their medicinal uses. He thus assigns two conditions to the locality. It was on a valley leading to the Asphaltic Lake; and it had warm springs in its neighbourhood. These conditions are quite fulfilled by the ruin, which Irby and Mangles saw near the Zurka; and we trust the site may yet be identified in other respects. This castle was the last to surrender to the Roman Procurator, after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. Lucius Bassus long laid siege to it, but was baffled by the garrison; and it was only, when he had captured their leader and threatened to crucify him, that the soldiers gave up the castle. The chief object of interest, connected with Machærus, is that there John the Baptist met his untimely death. Herod Antipas was then Tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, and, in order to keep Herodias, had divorced his own wife, the daughter of Aretas king of Arabia Petræa. John faithfully reprovèd the Tetrarch for his crime, and was in consequence shut up in the castle as a prisoner. Aretas, the father of the injured wife, threatened war against Herod, unless she was reinstated; and Herod, on his way to the war with his troops, came to the castle of Machærus on the borders of the hostile territories, where his prisoner was confined. There it was, at the feast held on his arrival, that Salome, the young daughter of the adulteress, by her dancing, obtained unasked the promise of aught she should request, and was incited by her wicked mother to ask the Baptist's head. The oath had passed the Tetrarch's lips; but, with regret he ordered the execution. The adulteress obtained her revenge; the holy man died an ignominious death; but Herod's army was utterly defeated; and, as the Jews universally believed, was defeated because of the murder he had perpetrated.

A third castle, above the plain of Zoar, is thus hinted at by Lieut. Lynch. It may turn out to be a place of some importance:—

Crossing the stream, which flows down the Wady Beni Hamed, and a

* This is a mistake. The Herodion was W. of the Jordan.

number of patches of dhoura (millet), artificially irrigated, we passed close under a ruin on an elevated cliff, which overlooks the plain of Zoar. It seemed to be the remains of a fortalice, not more ancient than the times of the Crusades. We would have given much to explore the plain, and visit the ruin above, but circumstances forbade it. It was essential to inhale the mountain air as soon as possible, and equally important that we should keep together to guard against treachery. We resolved to make an exploration on our return, if satisfied that we could do so with safety.

Apart from the events we have described, the historical incidents, connected with the Dead Sea, are few in number, and, with one or two exceptions, of no great importance. It was in the vale of Siddim, with its pits of bitumen, that Chedorlaomer and his associate kings met the five chiefs of the towns on the plain of Jordan, defeated them, plundered the towns, and carried off their goods and subjects. In the caves of Engedi, David hid himself and his band; and spared the life of him, who sought his own, because he was "the Lord's anointed." At its southern end, in "the Valley of Salt," he fought and conquered the Edomites. Up the pass of Engedi, came the marauding bands of the Moabites, Ammonites, and Idumeans, to plunder the realm of Jehoshaphat; and, above the pass, in the wilderness of Judah, the pious king and his people beheld the interposition of their protector king, who fought their battle, and left them only to gather the spoil. In Engedi, Solomon had his vineyards; and there, in the days of Josephus, palms and balsam grew luxuriantly. The Crusaders passed along the southern shore of the sea; and, in the castle of Kerak, Reginald of Chatillon perpetrated those oppressions, which roused the whole Saracen force under Saladin and led to the disastrous battle of Hattin.

All other events, however, yield in importance to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboim, and the plain whereon they were situated. The question has arisen, how much did this destruction involve, and what was the state of the locality prior to its occurrence? Colonel Leake, in his preface to Burckhardt's travels, suggested that the whole valley of the Jordan was affected by it; that the Dead Sea was then formed for the first time; and that, before the catastrophe, the river flowed uninterruptedly on to the Gulf of Akaba. The appearance of the valley may, at first sight, suggest such a theory; but farther consideration must, we think, totally set it aside. Hence Dr. Robinson and Dr. Wilson both concur in rejecting the explanation it offers; and it may be useful to mention some reasons for doing so. One argument we find in the fact that, while the sources of the Jordan are three hundred miles distant from Akaba, it can be proved, that they are scarcely

raised above the usual sea-level. How then could a stream so small flow that distance with little or no fall in its bed? A second and stronger reason is derived from the depression of the sea already mentioned. If the Jordan ever flowed to the Gulf of Akaba, its bed must, of course, have been above the usual sea-level throughout its whole length; in which case, it must, in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea, have been more than 1,300 feet higher than the surface of the sea now is. *But such a bed would have been 300 feet above the heads of most of the western mountains, as they now stand;* and, either must have ceased to be a bed at all, or else these mountains must have been higher, and, at the time of the catastrophe, *have sunk with the bed of the sea.* But, in the latter case, the whole of the hill country of Judah must have been most violently convulsed; and it would have been impossible for Abraham to look at the catastrophe unharmed, or for any of the Canaanites around him to have survived the day of destruction. We conclude, therefore, that no such convulsion took place. A third reason we find in the general physical configuration of the country; in the fact that the southern desert sends its waters northward, that its valleys are shaped with a view to this end, and that numerous tertiary formations have taken place in and across the valley of the Araba and the Ghor: all of which imply powerful movements over an extensive space, and occupying long periods of time. To this we have already referred.

But it may be said, if this depression in the valley existed previous to the destruction of Sodom, it follows, that, from the time when the country assumed its present form, there must also have been a deep lake, into which the river poured, as well as all the streams from the neighbouring mountains and the torrents from the southern desert. Yet the Bible speaks of a plain as existing there, upon which the guilty cities stood. Our reply is, that the soundings of the American expedition have proved (what was once surmised), that, beneath the waters of the Dead Sea, *both these conditions are fulfilled.* Such a lake, as was absolutely needed to receive the vast annual floods of the country, is found in the northern part of the present sea, capacious enough to receive them all in addition to its usual waters. And such a *plain*, as the inspired word of God describes, is found in that portion of the sea, which lies south of the peninsula. The very fact, that this part of the sea is a level plain, submerged but a few feet, will of itself suggest the thought, that its surface was once dry and habitable. But it fulfils other required conditions. It occupies the south portion of the sea, in which the tradition of ages has fixed the site of Zoar, and therefore of Sodom and

its neighbouring towns. It is large, being about sixty-five square miles in extent, with marshy tracts around it, equal to thirty square miles more. It is still well-watered. Several great Wadys, and among them Wady Jeib, pour into it their annual floods; two or three yield perennial streams; while numerous small streams from brackish fountains flow in round its southern border. Irby and Mangles noticed these streams long since; and Dr. Robinson says: "Even to the present day, more living streams flow into the Ghor at the south end of the sea, from Wadys of the eastern mountains, than are to be found so near together in all Palestine: and the tract, although now mostly desert, is still better watered than any other district throughout the whole country." Such is it in its desolation, covered with briny waters; what must it have been, when the hand of man directed its waters, ere its fertility had been blasted and destroyed? In reference to these divisions of the present sea-bed, which we have already described at some length, the soundings of the expedition prove valuable in the highest degree. They shew, what physical science absolutely requires, the existence of a deep sea-trough, large enough to receive, without extensive overflow, the annual drainage of half the country. They show also, what the Bible imperatively demands, the existence of a wide, well-watered plain, now buried beneath the waters, but once a flourishing, well-peopled soil.

These facts, now resting for the first time on a basis removed from all controversy, will aid us better to understand the Bible story of the destruction of the cities of the plain. Considerable difficulties however still remain. The position of the plain has now been ascertained, and the causes of its fertility illustrated: but all the circumstances connected with its previous condition have not been revealed to us. We know not, for instance, whether the water of the original sea was salt or fresh; and whether the hills of Usdum previously existed or not—important elements in a full consideration of the case. These hills claim from us special notice. We have already observed that they form a long ridge in front of the mountains at the south-west corner of the sea, four miles long, one in breadth, and from a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet high. The body of the ridge is rock-salt, coated with carbonate of lime; it is quite isolated from the mountains behind it. The ridge occurs in the same geological connection, as similar formations elsewhere, that is in the neighbourhood of the new red sandstone, marl, and gypsum. Near Oswestry, in England, saliferous beds occur immediately beneath the Lower Oolite. All these elements are found close to the hills of Usdum.

While the American Expedition were surveying the ridge

they saw a pillar upon it, an account of which we must give in Lieut. Lynch's own words:—

At 9, the water shoaling, hauled more off shore. Soon after, to our astonishment, we saw on the eastern side of Usdum, one-third the distance from its north extreme, a lofty, round pillar, standing apparently detached from the general mass, at the head of a deep, narrow, and abrupt chasm. We immediately pulled in for the shore, and Dr. Anderson and I went up and examined it. The beach was a soft, slimy mud, encrusted with salt, and, a short distance from the water, covered with saline fragments and flakes of bitumen. We found the pillar to be of solid salt, capped with carbonate of lime, cylindrical in front, and pyramidal behind. The upper or rounded part is about forty feet high, resting on a kind of oval pedestal, from forty to sixty feet above the level of the sea. It slightly decreases in size upwards, crumbles at the top, and is one entire mass of crystallization. A prop, or buttress, connects it with the mountain behind; and the whole is covered with debris of a light stone colour. Its peculiar shape is doubtless attributable to the action of the winter rains. The Arabs had told us in vague terms that there was to be found a pillar somewhere upon the shores of the sea; but their statements in all other respects had proved so unsatisfactory, that we could place no reliance upon them.—P. 307.

It is possible this may be the pillar spoken of by Josephus: whether it is the pillar into which Lot's wife was transformed, is another matter. It can be proved that Zoar lay on the east side of the plain beneath the mountains; Sodom was not far distant; and the family of Lot only passed from one to the other. It is utterly unlikely, therefore, that Lot's wife could have reached Usdum, at least six miles distant, whereon the present pillar is situated.

Rock-salt is one of the products of *volcanic agency*; and such agency was not improbably employed in the catastrophe, which has so changed this strange locality. Such agency is at work in Syria to this day, and the traces of its operations in past ages are scattered widely over the country: they occur, however, mostly along, or near, the valley of the Jordan. Among them, we find three or four craters of extinct volcanoes. There is one in the Birket er Ram, the old lake of Phiala; a second at Gish, to the north-west of Safet; a third in the Leja of the Hauran; and, apparently, a fourth near the mouth of the Zurka, on the Dead Sea itself. Minor indications of volcanic agency are much more numerous. The asphaltum pits near Hasbeya; the basaltic gorge, through which the Hasbani flows; the ridge under Hunin, and the lava to the east of Bania—*all* occur about the sources of the Jordan. The Tell al Kadhi, the site of the ancient Dan, and of one of the river sources, is a hill of basaltic tufa. The "bridge of the daughters of Jacob," which carries the Damascus road over the Jordan, the khan at its east end, and the plains of Jaulan above, exhibit the basalt in abundance. The lake of Tiberias is surrounded with proofs of volcanic action, including basaltic stones in Tabariyeh and the

neighbouring villages, and the warm springs both to the north and south of it. The hill, west of Tabariyeh, is composed of tufa; and, in the plain of El Buttauf, near Cana of Galilee, the ground is formed of the polygonal heads of basaltic columns. The hot springs of Umkeis, and the Roman bath, built of lava-stones; the basaltic columns on the edge of the Ghor, the huge blocks of trap near the bridge of Majamia, with the fissure "exposing perpendicular layers of basalt," all shew the same thing. Far to the east of the Jordan, in the Hauran, these tufa rocks are more numerous than any where else; and the centre of volcanic action can be most distinctly traced. The signs of such agency around the Dead Sea have already been referred to. They may be seen in the bitumen pits of former days; the fragments of nitre and sulphur still found on its shores; in the brackish fountains; the salt ridge of Usdum; the hot springs of Callirrhoe; the basaltic mountain in their neighbourhood; and the bituminous limestone pebbles at Ain el Feshka. The warm springs in Wady el Ahssa, and the brackish fountain of Ain Gudhyan, are south of the Sea.

These numerous evidences of volcanic agency will explain why the country has been so subject to earthquakes. In the reign of Herod the Great, the whole land of Judea was shaken by an earthquake, and many thousands of men and cattle were buried in the fall of houses. In 1084, the earth opened in many parts of Syria, and thousands of people were swallowed up. In 1170, another earthquake, most powerful in its character and extensive in its spread, overthrew the largest and best-peopled cities in Syria and Phœnicia, and caused immense devastation. In 1202, from a similar cause, many places entirely disappeared, and multitudes perished: most of the town of the Hauran were swallowed up. In 1759, 20,000 persons were destroyed in the valley of Baalbee alone, and the shocks lasted three months. One-third of Damascus was overthrown and untold thousands perished in the ruins. Safet was totally destroyed. In 1822, Aleppo, the third city of the Turkish Empire, and full of the finest buildings of stone, was in an instant overthrown to its foundations. In 1837, an appalling earthquake, the centre of which was near the lake of Tiberias, created the most frightful ravages in Upper Galilee. The village of Gish had not one house uninjured; of two hundred and fifty inhabitants, only fifteen escaped. Safet, with its twenty tiers of streets, rising one above another, was entirely thrown down, and five thousand people killed or buried. Tiberias also was almost wholly ruined. These facts will shew one agency that may have been exerted in the destruction of the cities of the plain, the materials of which were near at

hand. It is an interesting illustration of one part of the catastrophe, that, after the earthquake of 1887, "there was scarcely a cave on the way from Safet to Tiberias, in which people were not to be found."

We return then to the question; how much was involved in the ruin of the cities, and by what agency was it effected? It would be presumptuous to offer any decided opinion upon the matter, where so much has been left in uncertainty; and the suggestions, we offer, are laid before the reader, that he may take them for what they are worth. Supposing that the water of the lake, north of the Peninsula, was always salt, it could not have been so salt as it is now—the accumulations of ages having been added from the salt range of Usdum, since the catastrophe: and its shores may perhaps have not been more barren and desolate, than those of ordinary seas in the present day. Allowing too that the salt ridge existed previous to that catastrophe, it would not greatly affect the fertility of the neighbouring plain. The great torrent bed of Wady Jeib must have passed close at its feet, continuing northward till it carried its superfluous waters into the lake, and have separated it from the plain. The extent of the plain, in its whole length and breadth, must have been about ninety square miles: it was crossed from east to west by several torrent beds, while that of Wady Jeib would naturally form its western boundary. Watered by numerous fountains (some of which may perhaps now be buried under the waters) and by perennial streams, it would exhibit, especially in the spring time, broad rich pastures, whereon thousands of cattle were fed and tended; or perhaps fields of yellow corn, which waved in the evening breeze, the sign of plenty, quietude, and wealth. The dark mountains on either hand gave strength and dignity to the lovely spot; while the waving fields, luxuriant herbage, and rich pastures, clothed it with exceeding beauty. In the midst of it, at various distances from each other, stood the five towns, Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim and Bela: probably well peopled, thriving, and prosperous. In various parts were the bitumen pits, which proved doubtless of great utility. But these gifts of a bountiful providence were only made occasions of evil: and pride and abominable licentiousness were the ungrateful return. We need not remind the reader of Lot's selfish choice (so natural to a Bedawin, where rich pastures were concerned), to dare contamination with the wicked in order to share his gains—of the angels' visit of mercy—or of Abraham's intercession. The iniquity of the people was full: the cry of their wickedness rose up to heaven; and the God, whom they had offended, determined to visit it with a signal punishment, which might hold up a warning against evil, even to the end of time. Of

what took place in that act of justice, we are only generally informed. It may be, as some suppose, that the bitumen of the plain and in the pits took fire: but we know that torrents of fire-rain fell from the skies; dense clouds of smoke enveloped the whole plain: the cattle were destroyed: the people became terror-stricken, stupified, and overwhelmed; the towns were burned up: the plain was overthrown: probably its surface was depressed; the waters of the sea rushed in over the whole; and henceforth, that, which had been in loveliness 'like the garden of the Lord,' became 'ashes, salt and brimstone,' stamped with the curse of God, an ensample to the ungodly, and a type of hell. All this was the punishment of crime; a punishment inflicted signally, instantaneously; a punishment, whose marks are patent to every eye, that future generations may fear to do the same.

What may be the future history of this wondrous spot we cannot tell. It is possible that the language of the prophet Ezekiel respecting it may have a literal application; that, in 'the last days,' the curse may be removed, the waters healed, and the pristine beauty of the whole restored. It may be, however, that the language applies to higher themes, and takes a wider application; telling us of days, when the pure waters of the Gospel shall flow into the Dead Sea of guilty nations, that they may be revived and healed. Be this as it may, the lesson now conveyed to those, who see and read of this mysterious sea, is one, which is written in striking characters upon its frowning rocks and barren shores: "Be not deceived; God is not mocked; whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap." "Remember Lot's wife."

NOTE ON ART. 6, NO. XXIII., "THE SECOND PUNJAB WAR."

We have received a letter from Major A. Wheatley, requesting us, in justice to the 5th Light Cavalry, to publish, in the present number of this *Review*, his unqualified denial of the truth of both the following statements, given in the 23d number of this publication; which, as they refer to matters of *fact*, we have much pleasure in doing.

Page 285.—"The 3rd Dragoons and 5th Light Cavalry made a charge against the enemy, who had advanced too far; but the 5th Cavalry held back, and, in spite of the exertions of the officers, refused the encounter."

Page 286.—"The 5th Cavalry lost the colour, they won on the field of Maharajpore."

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

I.—*Annual Reports of the Hindu College, Patshalah, and Branch School, the Sanskrit College, Madrissa, and Russapaglah School, for 1848-49. Calcutta. Military Orphan Press.*

So much has been written about these reports, that we must not let them pass altogether without notice. They invite us to a full discussion of the Government Education system: but that opens questions too large for consideration at present, and too important for a light and cursory notice, such as is suitable for the concluding critical articles of this periodical.

The first thing that struck us, on opening the work before us, was the list of the Managing Committee of the Hindu College. The only Europeans, who are now members of it, are Mr. Bethune, Mr. Beadon, and Dr. Mouat; of these, certainly, the two last have sufficiently numerous and onerous duties, independently of those which attach to their positions on this Committee. That a decided European influence should predominate in the management of all great Educational Institutions in this country, none can doubt, who have ever personally experienced the advantages of European education. Native gentlemen, like some of those whose names appear in the list of this Managing Committee, would, we feel confident, be among the first to appreciate the zeal, and the practical assistance of men, who have lately come from home with the fresh recollection of College studies and College companions, who have tasted the benefits of the new modes of education, and who share the new spirit, that has sprung up in our old English academic halls.

On turning to the list of the "Establishment," we find, at page 2, the following notice; "there has been no change in the instructive Establishment in the past session; but, during the vacation, after the close of the session, Captain D. L. Richardson having resigned the post of Principal, Mr. Lodge has been appointed Principal in succession to him. Mr. Montague, the Assistant Professor of Literature, has been removed from the college, and Mr. D. Foggo appointed in his place." We own that we looked with some anxiety for this passage.

Our readers, who are resident in Bengal, know well enough that Captain Richardson has ceased to be Principal:—for no event, that we remember, except the election of the Secretary of the Agricultural Society in 1842, when two editors of rival newspapers were rival candidates, ever attracted more attention from the Calcutta press. From the day, when Captain Richardson's retirement was announced, the public were favoured with large variety of information, grave

and gay, about the Council of Education. That Mr. Bethune was a tyrant, and an oppressor; that he danced; that a person of light character had included him in the number of persons, to whom she had the impudence to send impudent letters; that his edition of Goldsmith's Essays (of the demerits of which the public had previously been left in blissful ignorance) was an egregious failure; that Captain Richardson himself was a man of high character, great professional ability, and remarkably popular;—this, and much more than this, was reiterated in prose and verse, with astonishing zeal and diligence, for a period of about three months; and even now the dying echoes of these valuable truths sound occasionally in our ears. In vain did the public wonder, why such an excellent Principal should ever have had to retire, and why such a President as Mr. Bethune was allowed to remain in the Council of Education. Not one word of explanation was ever vouchsafed to the marvelling readers of the Calcutta journals: and when at last Mr. Bethune, in a speech at the Town Hall, entered into something about the facts of the matter, the terrible threat of a prosecution for libel was employed by the gallant Principal to prevent the publication of the offensive parts of the oration; and the newspapers, with an unanimity, and a respect for the law, which were most edifying, consented to publish the speech—with abundant omissions. When the newspapers at other places took the liberty of expressing their curiosity, and declared (naturally enough) that such silence was unsatisfactory, and, that, while the real cause was concealed, they were tempted to dream of all sorts of false ones—they were met by the provoking explanation, that there was a lady in the case; that Captain Richardson's offence was simply, that "he was suspected of being suspicious;" and, that all should be made known, by and by, in an action against Mr. Bethune for his false accusations at the Town Hall. But here we are now in the hot weather, and we hear nothing of this action. We learn only that Captain Richardson is employing his great abilities in some joint-stock native school, called, we believe, the Metropolitan Academy; and that Mr. Bethune still remains President of the Council of Education. We do not even hear that the Hindu College is falling off.

There certainly is something highly mysterious in the suspense which we endure. Blue Books in profusion are published, in which even the off-hand minutes of the Governor General are exposed to public view; but in vain do we wait for the explanation of those unrevealed occurrences, which have formed the subject of so many articles, letters, epigrams, dialogues, and songs in the pages of our contemporaries. Not the Black Act itself has given more employment to the printers. For a considerable time the literary warfare against all, who were supposed to have been instrumental in depriving the Hindu College of the late Principal's services, was only suspended at these intervals, when all the little Pedlington gossip of this our Vanity fair was arrested by the arrival of the Overland

Mails. But, immediately after we had satisfied ourselves with a glance at the affairs of Europe, and speculated for a moment on Free Trade, Foreign Politics, and Californian gold, colonies in discontent, Ireland's problems, and the disputed death of half a century—our attention was again recalled, by the stern determination of the rulers of our Calcutta press, to the inexhaustible theme of Captain Richardson's retirement, and the newly discovered errors and omissions in the edition of Goldsmith's *Essays*—to the *Novum Organum*, the Historical papers at a recent examination, and the manifested defects of those, who presume now to carry on the system of Government Education without his valuable aid.

We hope that now, when the first ebullition of indignation is past and gone, and the subject of Captain Richardson's retirement no longer fills up the columns of our contemporaries, we may be allowed calmly to advert to the course which has been pursued, and the aspect in which his retirement appears to us. We wish to speak in a friendly spirit of the newspaper press. We know some of the gentlemen, who are connected with it; and their intelligence, ability, and public spirit, it is impossible not to recognize.

We are far from being of the number of those, who, because they disapprove of the course of a newspaper on a particular subject, think that they ought pettishly to show their disapprobation by ceasing to subscribe to it. Amidst the various claims on their attention, editors have an arduous task to perform. They cannot always rely on their information; they are not infallible guides of public opinion; they cannot always resist the influence of private friendships, and prejudices, or the temptation to say something-witty in the place of something wise. But their labours are ceaseless, and their duties are most important. In a large number of cases they do the state good service; and, in nearly every call of private or public distress, they are foremost as the advocates of catholic benevolence. If, in the course of recent events in Calcutta, they lent their powerful aid to create and foster misunderstanding, to advocate a cause that was indefensible, and to assail men who had done no wrong,* we attribute the error only to the influence of misapprehensions in their own minds, combined with warm sympathy for a well-known and long-

* Let us illustrate this by a case in point. It happens to be known to us, that not very long ago, a misunderstanding, regarding certain matters of a private character, took place between Mr. Kerr, the Principal of the Hùghly College, and his predecessor; and they parted, mutually dissatisfied.

FIVE YEARS before this time, Mr. Kerr had edited a translation of Bacon's *Novum Organum*, with much credit to himself, and very general acceptance. Suddenly the public were amazed by a long, and a very bitter criticism on this work in the editorial columns of the *Hurkaru*. We have too much respect for the editor of that journal to believe, that, consciously, he is capable of lending its columns to be the instruments of a private animosity: but, unless this elaborate criticism literally dropped from the clouds, where it had been suspended for the last five years, the sequence of these two phenomena is abundantly suspicious, and not a little damaging to the character of our local press, which Mr. Dickens lauds so highly.

known companion. We can speak of them without malice, and we wish to speak without exaggeration.

In like manner we wish to speak freely, and we are able to speak disinterestedly, of Mr. Bethune. We have never received, or sought a favor at his hands. We are not, and never were reckoned in his list of friends. We regret exceedingly the colour, which his indiscretion, and an unbecoming levity have afforded to the petty slanders of his assailants. We believe that he himself is his own worst enemy. If (as is reported) he so far forgot his position, and his personal dignity as to sing an improper song on a public occasion, we have not one word of palliation or excuse for an act so unworthy. But while we condemn what is reprehensible; surely it is as fair, and far more noble, to do justice to what is good. Mr. Bethune is undoubtedly a man of zeal, philanthropy, and great liberality. His object in coming to India was to do good, not to save money. His qualities as a legislative member of council are very high. He has had the advantage of associating in England for many years with some of the most distinguished characters of the age. He has considerable enlargement of mind, and not less moral courage; and he has taken part in effecting several very important legislative reforms in the English constitution. We must be permitted to say therefore, that we think he has been unjustly assailed here in India. We do not refer to the Black Acts, and the attacks on him as their supposed author; but to such long continued and unwarrantable attacks, as the poems filled with double entendres, to which the papers gave insertion, connecting his name with the name of a person of light-fame, on no other ground than her own presumption in having sent to him, in common with many others, familiar letters. We need scarcely say, that it is very well known that the whole of the elaborate slanders, the jests, and satires, of which his name was day after day the object, had no other foundation whatever. In this way it is evident that any one might be robbed of his character, and made a butt for the feeble wit of the poetasters, who employed their time so laboriously in defaming Mr. Bethune.

But it is not only thus that we regard him as unfairly treated. He occupied an important position as President of the Council of Education, and confessedly was exerting himself very energetically to stimulate education throughout the country. No former President, we believe, ever did so much real work in his office. During the whole time of his incumbency, up to the hour when Captain Richardson's retirement was announced, no fault (that we remember) was found with his proceedings in any of the public journals. From that hour, nothing was said in his favor. Now, in all seriousness we ask, what were the facts? There were certain rumours abroad about Captain Richardson's mode of life, and the irregularities of his attendance. They had followed him from Húghly, where he was Principal, to Calcutta, when he assumed charge

of the Hindu College. They were of such a nature, that many persons were surprised that they had not long ago become matters of official enquiry. Mr. Bethune, following public opinion rather than exciting it, wrote to Captain Richardson, asking for explanation on the two subjects, which the rumours embraced. Explanation was declined; and a tender was made of resignation. The explanation, we believe, was again asked for: and the answer was a resignation, which was accepted by the Council. There followed, in nearly all the papers, a series of articles, in prose and verse, against Mr. Bethune, and almost every one associated with him in the Council of Education, and in the instructive establishments. But all the time the simple facts, that Captain Richardson had not been capriciously and unfairly dismissed, and that he had *retired, rather than give explanation*, on points, on which it was the unquestionable duty of Mr. Bethune to demand explanation, were studiously concealed. This we must be allowed to say was not fair. In vain have we endeavoured to ascertain how blame can justly be imputed to the Council of Education in the matter. The mode of life of the Principal of a great national College cannot be a matter of indifference: and, even if it were, irregularities in the attendance of a well-paid Principal are not a trifling fault. For aught we know, there may not be a syllable of truth in the reports, to which Mr. Bethune, in his correspondence with Captain Richardson, adverted. But, be that as it may, the reports were not invented by Mr. Bethune; they were heard before he arrived in India, and heard by all the members of the Council of Education, and by many others. How, then, they could be disregarded, or why explanation should be refused, and a resignation tendered in lieu of it, we cannot divine. Of Mr. Montague's removal we need not say anything. We confine ourselves to Captain Richardson's case; and we regret that the press made itself a party to a systematic attack on Mr. Bethune, as if he were personally and solely (or at least in conjunction only with Dr. Mouat) the cause of Captain Richardson's resignation;—as if he, and not the Council generally, had accepted that resignation; as if a pure simple act of tyranny and caprice had been committed, of which a perfectly innocent man, against whom there was no charge, had been the victim.

Considering the sacred trust committed to them, we think that the Council of Education might have been excused, if it had been more than ordinarily jealous of the character of its Instructors, so as to secure that they should be, not only above reproach, but also above suspicion. As members of the Calcutta press, we regret exceedingly the course, which it has (too generally) pursued in this matter. No possible quantity of dust thrown up can blind the eyes of impartial men to the fact, that Captain Richardson held in his own hand his own reputation, and that of the party, whose name is unhappily associated with his; and that he voluntarily retired, without one word of denial, or explanation. Under these

circumstances, the attempt is worse than absurd to elevate him into a hero, or a martyr. We believe also that the local press has suffered much in public opinion from its long continued, unmanly, and, not seldom, disgusting attacks on Mr. Bethune. He is a man, not without faults; he has written neither pretty poems, nor elegant essays, at least that we have ever heard of; but he has taken more pains, shown more enthusiasm, and done more practical good, in the cause of Native Education, than perhaps any man, in like circumstances, and in the same period of time, who ever came to India.

The experiment of the last four months has been dangerous in every way to the reputation of the Calcutta Press. The public may laugh; but, after it laughs, it reflects; and it is always sufficiently clear sighted in the end, to know when its leaders prove untrue to their high and noble vocation.

We are aware, indeed, that the proceedings of the press in this matter excited so much dissatisfaction, that serious thoughts were entertained (which may yet result in positive action) of establishing a new and independent journal. Those, who are acquainted with the Calcutta Press, must know that there is room here for a paper, of which the supporters are men of Capital—able to secure early intelligence, to pay highly for literary assistance, and to meet a temporary loss from reduced prices for subscriptions and advertisements. There are persons of property, ability, and influence, who were desirous to establish such a paper: and at no time, during our residence in India, have we heard the matter so seriously discussed, as during the time when nearly the whole Calcutta Press united in assailing the Council of Education for doing its duty, and in setting up Captain Richardson as a martyr. If such a paper is to be established, we believe that its proprietors would do wisely to expend their capital liberally at its commencement, to secure the services, as Editor, of a man of reputation in England, to combine low prices with enterprise and liberality in learning intelligence, to keep the paper free from the petty class prejudices and personal squabbles of colonial journalism, and to avoid that provincial sort of excitement about trifles, of which the three months' series of columns about Captain Richardson afforded so unpleasant a specimen. The success, which has attended the establishment of the *Bombay Times*, the *Delhi Gazette*, and the *Mofussilite*, has led to the establishment of a new paper at Lahore. It is evident that, in a place like this, in which the European community is increasing, there is ample room for a new well conducted influential journal; and we believe that such a paper, started on sound principles, with an able Editor, and sold at the rate of forty rupees a year, might command a circulation, in and out of the Presidency, of fifteen hundred copies at the least. News ought to be given us by every mail through Malta of a much later date than those we now receive. Instead of being dependent on London papers for Austrian news, we ought to receive them by way of Trieste, up to the 10th and 27th

of each month ; and there should be supported by every paper, not one writer (as now), but a corps of writers, each conversant with a subject of interest, and able to handle it in a masterly manner. It is very doubtful, if capitalists, embarking property in such an undertaking, would lose by it ; certainly a great public benefit would be conferred on society. On the other hand, there is so much difficulty in organizing any public combinations in Calcutta ; there is so much mutual forbearance, and so much general friendship to those, who already are connected with the press, that the effort to establish a new journal would be made with great reluctance.

That the attention of increasing numbers of individuals will be called to the subject, as the number of British residents increases, and the interest of public questions deepens, on the approach of the New Charter, we cannot doubt ; and whatever may be Captain Richardson's influence with his friends, there will be a large class beyond his circle, who will be disposed to encourage the attempt to establish new journals, if the old ones are to be made subservient to his purposes, and to print and to conceal all that he desires about his personal grievances, month after month, as they have done of late *usque ad nauseam*.

II.—*The Kayastha Koustabha*, 3 vols. By *Rajnarayan Mittra, Barma*.

THE Hindu Shastras have interposed a wide gap between the first three, and the last, of their four original castes. The Brahmin, the Kshetriya, and the Vaishya, whatever their relative difference in point of rank and standing, are all *gentlemen* ; the Sudra is a *serf*. The first three are honoured with the title of *twice-born*, or *regenerate* ; they have access to the treasures of learning locked up in the Vedas ; they are invested with the sacred thread, which is the badge of Hindu regeneration ; they are subject to a comparatively mild penal code. But the Sudra is a *once-born* race ; he is incapable of regeneration. He occupies no higher position in the republic of Hinduism, than the Negro does in the United States. He has no privileges, but what the twice-born classes choose to concede. He has no security, but such as the compassion of his superiors may give him. His services may be compelled, his goods may be plundered, his person may be injured, with almost perfect impunity. He is excluded from the study of the Shastras ; he is not at liberty even to hear the Vedas read. He must be satisfied with such instruction, as the Brahmin may dole out to him. He must receive respectfully, and obey implicitly, whatever the priest teaches.

The political humiliation of the Brahminical system has, however, proved a source of great relief to the Sudras. The Brahmin could not assert his right to oppress the servile class, when Menu was no

longer allowed to rule the consciences of princes. The successive conquests of India by the Muhammadans and the British have caused the complete emancipation of the Sudra. In some places the tables may be considered as turned. The Brahmin, no longer venerated in the state merely for his sacerdotal character, is gradually sinking into insignificance. He is now obliged to toil for his livelihood, and to adopt trades and occupations, ill befitting the sanctity of his order. The *once-born* Sudra, from having at one time been his slave, is now in turn become his patron.

The pure Sudra order is now supposed to be extinct. Its place is supplied by a multitude of classes, all reckoned as *once-born*, and labouring under the same disabilities with the Sudra in the estimation of the Hindus. Of these classes, the Kayastha is the most distinguished in Bengal.

The author of the pamphlets before us is a gentleman of this caste. He has written three works to wipe off from his order the disgrace long attached to it as a servile race. In his opinion, his order has been unjustly kept down, as a "once-born" class. He thinks the Kayastha is not a sub-division of the Sudra caste. The object of his pamphlets is to make good this theory by an examination of different texts of the Vedas and Puranas.

Our author's theory is, that the Kayastha is either identical with, or at least equal to, the second or military race. His ideas seem to be a little confused in this respect. The Kayastha, he maintains, is a descendant of Chitrugupta—the Indian Radamanthus—who sprang from the *body* (*Kāya*) of Brahmā. He is therefore a separate order and equal to the Kshetriya in honour and dignity. Many texts are cited in support of this theory. Some of them do speak of Chitrugupta, as sprung from the body of Brahmā, and give the definition of the word *Kayastha*, so as to uphold the author's views. Still we do not know that it necessarily follows, that the Kayasthas of Bengal, and the Kayats of the North West, are lineal descendants of Chitrugupta. There is no genealogy to appeal to: nor is there any other evidence than conjecture from the word *Kayastha* itself.

The author has not however confined himself entirely to theory. He has boldly acted up to his views, and thereby set an example not unworthy of consideration by the educated Hindus. A party of Kayasthas has already been formed, who call themselves Kshetriyas—who repudiate the idea of servile submission to Brahmins—and who affix the word "Barma" to their signatures, as the Brahmins affix "Sarma." They have done more. They have invested themselves with the sacred thread, which is forbidden to the Sudras; and they repeat the mystical Gayatri, which the *once-born* dares not even hear.

The Neo-Kshetriyas of Lower Bengal withhold intercourse from such members of their class, as are unconscious of their natural dignity as the sons of Chitrugupta, and continue to live in servile dependance on the Brahmins. The Rajah of Andúl has placed

himself at the head of this sect, which will probably become a new and separate caste in a few years.

The Brahmins, naturally jealous of innovations, are no great friends to the new Kshetriyas. A few pandits have, however, subscribed their names to a paper, favouring the opinions of our author. The great body of the Kayasthas, who have not joined the Rajah of Andúl in asserting their claims to the honour of a twice-born race, is also strongly opposed to the movement.

But the author of the *Kayastha Koustabha* continues to proclaim his views with indefatigable perseverance. He has projected a periodical, published once a fortnight, under the title of the *Koustabha Kirana*, in which he unfolds and illustrates his novel theory of the origin and claims of the Kayasthas, and uses both general and special pleadings in its support. It is conducted with considerable ability, and bears evident proofs of industry and research. The *Koustabha Kirana* does not however bring any new proofs in support of the author's position. It presents under various colours the same argument, that is contained in the *Kayastha Koustabha*.

III.—*An Act for extending the principle of Section 9, Regulation VII., of 1832, of the Bengal Code, throughout the territories subject to the Government of the East India Company. Calcutta, 1849.*

WE have already expressed our favourable opinion of this just, necessary, and urgently required act. The Native Christians are a large and increasing body. As a class, they are better-instructed, and have a far higher standard of morality, than their countrymen; and, as subjects, they are almost the only portion of the people of this land, on whose entire fidelity the Government can unhesitatingly rely. To brand the conscientious reception of its own faith as a crime, and to punish only those, who are honest, sincere, and earnest, while perfect impunity is allowed to the chattering Babús, who scoff at their own Shastras, and break all the laws of caste notoriously, would seem to be an absurdity too gross for the governments (if such there be) of Dahomey, or Timbuctú. The moment that such an anomaly falls under the eye of an enlightened legislature, it must be blotted out.

Those of our readers, who wish to know more on this subject, will find it admirably handled in the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, for March, 1850. Our main object at present is to introduce to them the following remarkably able Memorial, presented to the Governor-General by the Native Christian community, and drawn up by one of themselves. It disposes, in masterly style, of the objections urged in the so-called Hindu Memorial; and is a proof of the intelligence and energy of that body, whom some of the jealous and less worthy of their own countrymen affect to decry.

To the Most Noble the Marquis of Dalhousie, Governor-General of India in Council,

The Memorial of the undersigned Native Christian inhabitants of Calcutta and its vicinity.

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH,

That your Memorialists have noticed with great gratification, in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 31st October 1849, the Draft of a proposed Act, read in Council for the first time on the 26th October last, entitled "An Act for extending the principle of Section 9, Regulation VII. of 1832, of the Bengal Code, throughout the territories subject to the Government of the East India Company." They cannot help expressing their thanks for this proposal to extend the principles of toleration and of liberty of conscience throughout the Presidencies of this vast Empire.

The principle of Section 9, Regulation VII. of 1832, is so obviously one of justice and equity, that it would be entirely a work of supererogation, and therefore an unnecessary trespass on your Lordship's time, if your Memorialists expatiated upon it. The maxim of the British Government is toleration to all creeds, and equal protection to all sects, of whatever religion, who are peaceable and loyal subjects. It is only consistent with that maxim, that the persecuting rigor of an antiquated law, compiled in an unenlightened age, should be softened by the dictates of equity and toleration.

But your Memorialists have been equally surprised and distressed to learn, that a certain number of their countrymen, describing themselves as "Hindu inhabitants of Bengal, Behar and Orissa," have presented a Memorial against the above-mentioned Draft Act, "as an encroachment on the integrity of those laws, under which the Hindus have hitherto lived, —at any rate from the period, under which they have been subject to the rule of the Crown of Great Britain."

It is a contradiction in terms, my Lord, to say that any individuals or bodies can have any *rights* or *privileges*, which are oppressive to their neighbours, and are subversive of liberty of conscience; —or that they can have a *right* to do what is *wrong*. Nor can it be a hardship to one portion of a nation to be deprived of the power of trespassing on the freedom of another portion, or of inflicting penalties on it, on the plea of difference of opinion.

But your Memorialists beg to submit, that "the laws, under which the Hindus have hitherto lived," are inseparable from the Hindu religion, the precepts of both being founded on the same authorities. There is no authorized code of laws distinct from the institutes of religion. To preserve "the integrity of the laws under which the Hindus have hitherto lived," would be to preserve in their integrity the institutes of Menu, and all the sayings of all the sages, who are held sacred by the Hindu population.

True it is, that the *Dáyabhága* and the *Mitákshará* are acknowledged, the one in Bengal, the other in the Upper Provinces, as legal authorities distinct from religious institutes. But the author of the *Dáyabhága* is no greater authority in law, than Raghunandan, the author of the *Astábinsati Tuttwa*, is in religion. Both are mere compilers: and their only title to the veneration of the Hindus is their conformity to the *Shastras*—the statute law of Hinduism. The legal validity of the *Dáyabhága* proceeds from the sanction it has received from British judges, administering the Hindu law. But since that law was entirely set aside by the Muhammadan rulers of India; and since there are no authentic reports of any judicial

proceedings previous to the Muhammadan conquest; there is no evidence on record of the *Dáyabhága* having ever been acknowledged as a code by any Government in India before the establishment of the British supremacy.

The "integrity" of the Hindu law, therefore, which the Hindu memorialists of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa appear so anxious to preserve, can mean nothing less than the integrity of the institutes of Menu, and of the other *Shastras* held sacred by the Hindus. Those institutes were however composed in a rude and unenlightened age, when the principles of jurisprudence were little understood; and they contain enactments, civil as well as criminal, which are inconsistent with sound policy, justice, and equity, and which the Hindu memorialists themselves would perhaps be unwilling to see enforced without modification. Menu's code was intended to perpetuate the social degradation of the Sudra or servile caste, and to establish the supremacy of the Brahminical order. Many of the Rajahs and Zemindars in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, are Sudras by caste. They can scarcely be supposed to entertain so suicidal a desire as that of enforcing *all* the laws of Menu. The undue elevation of the priestly class, and the unjust depression of the Sudra, would be the natural consequences of that law.

"A king," says Menu, "even though dying with want, must not receive any tax from a Brahmin learned in the Vedas." Chap. vii. 133.

Clauses, such as this, can never receive countenance from an enlightened Government; nor can the Supreme Council sanction such invidious and barbarous enactments as the following:

"Never shall the king slay a Brahmin, though convicted of all possible crimes; let him banish the offender from his realm, but with all his property secure, and his body unhurt. No greater crime is known on earth than slaying a Brahmin; and the king therefore must not even form in his mind an idea of killing a priest." Chap. viii. 380, 381.

"But a man of the servile class, whether bought or unbought, he (the Brahmin) may compel to perform servile duty; because such a man was created by the Self-existent for the purpose of serving Brahmins.

"A Sudra, though emancipated by his master, is not released from a state of servitude; for of a state, which is natural to him, by whom can he be divested?"

"A Brahmin may seize without hesitation, if he be distressed for a subsistence, the goods of his Sudra slave; for, as that slave can have no property, his master may take his goods." Chap. viii. 413, 414, 417.

"A once-born man (i. e. a Sudra), who insults the twice-born with gross invectives, ought to have his tongue slit, for he sprang from the lowest part of Brahma.

"If he (the Sudra) mention their (the Brahmins') names and classes with contumely, as if he say, 'Oh Devadatta, thou refuse of Brahmins,' an iron stile, ten fingers long, shall be thrust red hot into his mouth.

"Should he through pride give instruction to priests concerning their duty, let the king order some hot oil to be dropped into his mouth and his ear.

"If he seize the Brahmin by the locks, or by the feet, or by the beard, or by the throat * * * * *

let the king without hesitation cause incisions to be made in his hands." Chap. viii. 270, 272, 283.

It would be alike disrespectful to your Lordship's Council, and, to our Hindu countrymen themselves, to suppose for a moment that the former can advise, or the latter can desire, the prevalence of such barbarous ordinances as the preceding.

The personal security of the Hindu memorialists themselves, the vast

majority of whom probably—many of whom certainly—are Sudras, requires that the Hindu law must be deprived of its intolerance and extravagance. During the suspension of Brahminical supremacy for some centuries, many of the servile classes have risen to so much opulence and respectability, that, if your Lordship were now to restore the Hindu law in its integrity, it would be felt as a curse from the Himalaya to the sea. The security of the vast majority of Her Majesty's native subjects requires that the British Government should continue, as it has hitherto done, to mitigate the rigour of the Hindu law by abrogating its unjust and barbarous clauses.

Since then the Hindu law must be altered—since its intolerant provisions must be rectified—since encroachments must be made on the integrity of the Brahminical statutes, it is to us a subject of no ordinary grief, that any of our countrymen should have called upon your Lordship to be guided, in your correction of the Hindu code, by other principles of conduct, than perfect justice, equity, and toleration ;—that they should wish their law to be modified only for their own benefit, but retained in its original ferocity for the purpose of persecuting those, who differ from them in sentiment.

It would not be equal justice to all Her Majesty's subjects, if, while relief was granted to the Sudra, by the abrogation of those clauses which endangered his person and property, no relief (such as was contemplated in Section 9 Regulation VII. of 1832, of the Bengal Code) were given to him, who dared to avow, that he dissented from the authors of those rude enactments, and that he could not believe they were inspired of God, nor persuade himself to continue in the ranks of their followers. It is the more necessary to extend the principle of Section 9, Regulation VII. of 1832, now that the rapid progress of education in the different presidencies of India is annually swelling the number of those, whose properties would need the protection of that section.

Nor can your Lordship consistently perpetuate the Hindu law of inheritance in its integrity, without mixing your Government with the Hindu religion itself. A great intellectual movement, induced in a great measure by the progress of education, has for the last quarter of a century been steadily advancing in Bengal. A growing aversion, as well to other popular superstitions and ceremonies of the country, as also to that rite, on the performance of which inheritance depends, agreeably to the Hindu law, has been the consequence of that movement. Two of the most respectable Hindu gentlemen of Calcutta, the Rajah Rammohun Roy and Babu Dwarkanath Tagore, have braved the perils of the sea, and, by visiting England, and there publicly eating and drinking with Europeans, have exhibited their contempt of the popular tenets of Hinduism. Their families are much respected in Calcutta, and they own large property in different parts of Bengal. It might become a nice question in Hindu theology, and therefore in Hindu law, whether the families of those two distinguished individuals have not lost their titles to their ancestral property. Thousands have also manifested their disbelief in the popular religion by word and deed. Their acts have incapacitated them for the performance of "those rites, by which," to quote the words of the Hindu memorialists, "the salvation of their fathers and other ancestors is secured." If then the Hindu law of inheritance were to continue valid in its integrity, it would be necessary to create a tribunal of religious commissioners to define the covert acts, which involve loss of caste, and therefore of title to ancestral property. "Him who lives apparently," says Menu, "by the rules of his caste, but really departs from those rules, let the King severely punish by fine, as a wretch who violates his duty." ix. 173. The rules of caste, laid down in the Hindu Shastras, are so severe, that scarcely a single Brahmin

or Sudra would be safe with his property, if they were rigorously enforced. Under these circumstances, if the Hindu law is to be continued, nothing less than a religious inquisition, to guard generally against improper inheritance of property, would be just to those, who openly disavow what they do not believe, or cannot practise. Otherwise, if every one, who "apparently lived by the rules of his caste," though he might "really depart from them," were allowed to enjoy his patrimony, at the same time that the sincere and honest offender was excluded, the verdict would neither be consistent with Menu, nor with equity. It would amount to a premium to insincerity, and become grossly unjust to the open apostate from Hinduism—be he a Christian, Muhammadan, or Deist, since he alone would suffer, and that only because of his honesty and candour.

The extension of the principle of Section 9, Regulation VII. of 1832, to all India, would, as far as this Presidency is concerned, be no alteration of any law ;—and, as far as the other Presidencies are concerned, it would only amount to a slight modification of a law, which had already been altered in practice since the days of Menu. The law, which the first Governor-General of India gave to the Hindus, was not the Hindu code in its integrity, but a mere portion of it, clipped of all its penal statutes, and understood to be greatly modified in its civil enactments also. The first Governor-General of India established it only to give relief to Hindu subjects ; and Lord William Bentinck corrected it in Bengal, that what was intended as a relief to some, might not operate as a persecution to others.

Your Memorialists accordingly submit, that since it is only a mutilated Hindu law that now prevails in any part of British India—since the vast majority of the Hindus themselves must consider the Hindu law in its integrity as a grievance—since all parties must have recourse to the dictates of equity in the correction of the Hindu law, the voice of that equity is equally strong in favor of toleration. The extension of Section 9, Regulation VII. of 1832 may therefore be demanded in justice by the friends of mental freedom ; nor can there be a consistent popular voice against it.

The orthodox Hindu cannot protest against inheritance of property by his heterodox neighbour, any more than the Brahmin can complain of *his* privation, in not being allowed to compel the Sudras to do him service, or to help himself to their substance.

Notwithstanding the large number of respectable Hindus, who have memorialised against the Draft Act mentioned before, we believe the vast majority of our countrymen are not opposed to it. They know too well that the enforcement of the whole Hindu code is neither desirable nor practicable. They do not expect that their British rulers are capable of entertaining a proposal to disinherit converts to their own religion. Whatever special pleading a few of our Calcutta countrymen, educated in English, and confident of the tolerant character of the British Government, may bring forward in support of an antiquated system, scarcely venerated by themselves ; and with whatever success they may procure subscriptions to such a Memorial,—the quiet agricultural population of Bengal would not spontaneously raise their voice against an Act, which they could not but expect under an enlightened and a Christian Government ; nor would they change "their active spirit of fervent loyalty into sullen submission" to the will of their rulers, in case that Act is passed into law. They are far too glad at their own deliverance from the humiliation contemplated in the institutes of Menu, to think of injuring others, who believe that Menu was wrong.

In submitting the foregoing statements for your Lordship's consideration, your Memorialists trust solely to the justice and equity of the British

Government. For ourselves, we confess, we are a small community, in comparison with the followers and professors of Brahminism. But though the voice of twelve thousand converts in Bengal—all loyal and respectful subjects of Her Majesty—may in itself be feeble, the voice of justice and equity is mightier far than that of any human community, however large. To that voice we appeal.

But we cannot help representing that the number of those, who would suffer in their substance, but for Section 9, Regulation VII. of 1832, is annually on the increase. Whether as converts to Christianity, as followers of the late Rajah Rammohun Roy's and the late Babu Dwarknauth Tagore's examples, or as mere free thinkers, large numbers are being annually incapacitated for the performance of the *Shrad*, on which inheritance depends, agreeably to Hindu law.

For ourselves we have far too great respect for the faith we have adopted, to apprehend for a moment, that even the persecuting clauses of the Hindu law can retard its progress, or destroy its intrinsic force. Our religion does not however call upon us silently to submit to injustice and usurpation. We must therefore solicit your Lordship, in justice to us and to our faith, to pass the Draft Act before alluded to, that we, who are under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, may have the benefit of the principle of Section 9, Regulation VII. of 1832, and that the same benefit may be reaped by all, similarly circumstanced with ourselves, in the Sister Presidencies of Madras and Bombay.

Your Memorialists neither solicit nor expect any special favor to their community. We only desire that your Lordship's principle of non-interference with the religion of Her Majesty's native subjects may be fully carried out in practice. We only desire that in no department of your Government—in no court of justice—in no department of the public service—in no institution supported or controlled by the State—should the Christian, the Hindu, or the Muhammadan, have reason to complain, or exult, that he is hardly or favourably treated, merely because of his religion;—and that equal justice may be done to all, who are peaceable and loyal.

And your Memorialists will ever pray, &c.

We subjoin, for the sake of connection, another Memorial, also presented to the Governor-General, by a large body of European Christians in Calcutta.

To The Most Noble the Marquis of Dalhousie, K. T., the Governor-General of India in Council, &c. &c. &c.

MY LORD,—We the undersigned Christian Inhabitants of Calcutta beg leave to address your Lordship to express the cordial satisfaction with which we have noticed, in the *Government Gazette* the Draft of a proposed Law entitled, "An Act for extending the principle of Section IX. Regulation VII. 1832, of the Bengal Code, throughout the territories subject to the Government of the East India Company," by which our native fellow-subjects embracing the Christian Religion, will be delivered from severe and ruinous disabilities.

We all, my Lord, feel a deep interest in the welfare of the people of this land. The Christian faith, which we profess, constrains us to seek their good. We wish not to see any class among them stigmatized or wronged. But we ardently desire that peace, justice, and all the advantages of civil and religious liberty may be secured to the whole population.

We deprecate any attempt to multiply conversions by favour or by force.

The measure, contemplated by the Government over which your Lordship so ably presides, commends itself therefore to our warmest approbation. It offers no premium and inflicts no penalty. It enables the convert who seeks admission to the Christian Church, to obey the dictates of his conscience free from the dread of forfeitures, while, at the same time, it leaves his relatives in possession of precisely the same property which they had before.

My Lord, we hail the promulgation of this measure with joy, such as must ever be felt by all lovers of freedom and of truth, when they witness the progress of sound principles, and see legislation applied to righteous and benevolent purposes. We remember with thankfulness the abolition of Suttee, and the suppression of Infanticide and Thuggee, and have long regarded those humane measures, as pledges that the Government of India will not allow the perpetuation of injustice and crime, under the sanction of any religion.

Whatever opposition your Lordship's Government may now have to encounter in carrying out this salutary principle, we doubt not that in future and not distant years, the wisdom and the righteousness of your policy will be acknowledged by all men. And we earnestly hope that, undeterred by the sophistry which represents the Hindu or Mahomedan as injured, when no longer allowed to oppress his Christian relative, your Lordship in Council will pass into a Law the Act respecting which we have thus ventured to express our sentiments.

We have the honor to be,

Your Lordship's

Humble Servants,

IV.—Report of the Calcutta Public Library, from February to December, 1849. Calcutta, 1850.

Some two years ago we noticed the report of this useful institution, and now have little more to do than to express our satisfaction at its continued prosperity. The report informs us that "the number of books added during the last year by purchase, besides periodicals, is

<i>Sets.</i>	<i>Vols.</i>	<i>Pamphlets.</i>
342 comprised in	574 besides	17

"The circulation of books during the last eleven months of 1849, was as follows:—

	<i>Sets.</i>	<i>Vols.</i>
General Literature.....	6,040	10,485
Prose Works of Imagination	11,416	26,801
Periodicals	4,105	6,701
Total.....	21,561	43,987"

This, it must be admitted, is a large amount of reading for so small a community as that of Calcutta; and, although we should like to see the department of "Prose Works of Imagination" bear a

somewhat lower proportion to the other departments, we regard the above statement as indicating no small degree of intellectuality as appertaining to our fellow-citizens.

The Government has very liberally consented to bear the charge (to the amount of about 2,800 Rupees) of re-binding such of the books belonging to the former library of Fort William College as are in bad condition.

"The average number of Subscribers and amount of Subscription during the last eleven months, is as follows :—

Subscribers 265, Subscriptions, Rs. 900-14-1 per month."

The Establishment costs a little more than Rs. 300 per month, and there are other charges which may probably amount on an average to 100 Rupees more, so that from 4 to 500 Rupees a month are available for the purchase of books. The Curators seem to be in earnest in their desire to expend this sum to the best advantage; and we doubt not that in time the Public Library will contain a large and valuable collection. As it is, it is of great use to us and to all persons engaged in literary avocations; while, to the mere lover of light reading, the issue of "Prose Works of Imagination" indicates that it must be invaluable.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

- I.—1. *Arabya Upanyás. Pratham Khanda. Nilmani Basák Karttrik Anubádita. Calcutta. D'Rozario and Co. 1850. (The Arabian Nights translated from the English into Bengali.)*
2. *Arabya Upanyás. Encyclopædia Press. (The Arabian Nights.)*

It is rather a singular fact in the history of Bengali Literature, that two distinct translations of the Arabian Nights from English into Bengali have issued from the Press within a month of each other. The first has issued from a Press managed by heathens, the translator of which has chosen a simple style of writing; the second, from a Press, conducted altogether by Native Christians, and written in such a high Sanskritized style, that we question whether five students of the Hindu College could read it without the aid of a Dictionary. While we concede that the inevitable tendency of the Bengali language is to model itself more and more after its great Sanskrit original, and that, as in the case of the *Tatwabodhini Patriká*, where you have to express abstract and philosophical ideas, you must resort to the grand store-house of the Sanskrit; still we think that, in the case of books designed for popular reading, such as Robinson Crusoe, the Arabian Nights, the very simplest style should be chosen, as the object is to interest the masses. A Bengali style can be *simple*, and yet *pure*, as may be seen in that exquisite gem of elegant composition, *Raja Krishna Chandra Ráya Charitra*, published at D'Rozario's for eight annas. The false taste, with which the educated Hindus some years ago disregarded the cultivation of their own mother-tongue, is passing away: and it is therefore important that they should not select, as their models for style, those authors, whose aim seems to be to exhibit their own attainments and learning, rather than to diffuse knowledge and information in a language level to the capacity of the commonalty.

The East has been the land, where the excellent practice of inculcating truth through the pleasing guise of fiction first took its rise. The Redeemer of the world did not disdain to resort to this medium, when he selected parables as his mode of conveying instruction. The fables of Pilpay are of Indian growth; and the Hindu mind, while it is exceedingly attached to metaphysical and abstract truth, is yet at the same time passionately fond of fictitious narrative. We are glad therefore to see advantage taken of this characteristic of the Hindus by the publication of such works as the Arabian Nights in Bengali. Fourteen years ago, a translation was made of *Rasselas* by Raja Kali Krishna, a reprint of which at a low price would perhaps, prove useful. In Banerjya's Encyclopedia, the *Rájdút* and *Saratatár Purushkar* have

been published; and a new translation of the *Betāl Panchavingsati* in very excellent Bengali has been recently issued under the patronage of Fort William College.

The late Dr. Adam Clark, one of the first Biblical commentators of the age, states in his Autobiography, that whatever, he has done in illustrating scripture criticism, has owed its foundation to the taste he first acquired for Oriental research, by the perusal of the Arabian Nights in his youthful days. It is true, caution is required in placing works of fiction in the hands of the young, as we see in the mischief done in the present day by the swarms of demoralizing novels, which are furnished by the London and Parisian Press. But we regard the Arabian Nights in a different point of view. Like the *Vikrama Charitra*, they illustrate national manners and customs; while many a lesson may be learned from the various curious and new scenes, into which they introduce the reader.

The price of this work is one rupee, which is rather too high. We would recommend our native friends, when publishing Bengali books, to take an old motto as theirs also;—"small profits and quick returns."

II.—*The London Pharmacopœia, translated into Bengali by Modusudun Guptu, Superintendent and Lecturer of the Military Class of the Medical College, Calcutta. Bishop's College Press. 1849.*

WE hail this book as an instalment of better things: as preparing the machinery for a secondary class in the Bengali language in connection with the Medical College. Thirty years ago, Felix Carey published a work on Anatomy in Bengali, designed as a text-book for students; and subsequently Dr. Breton laboured indefatigably in issuing, under the authority of Government, a series of lithographed pamphlets in the Vernacular languages on the common diseases of the country. There is now lying before us a treatise of his in Bengali on the cholera morbus.

These books are valuable, but they require a teacher to explain various parts: and we suppose it is the design of the authorities of the Medical College, in issuing this Bengali Pharmacopœia, to form a Vernacular Department there. The distinguished and most unexpected success of the secondary class in the College, which is taught altogether through the medium of the Urdu language, fully warrants Government in establishing one on a similar plan to be taught in Bengali. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the advantages that would result from diffusing a knowledge of European medical treatment throughout the extent of this country. Dr. Wise's Commentary on Hindu medicine shews how little the village-doctors know of ordinary diseases; and yet the lives of twenty-five millions of people, who speak

the Bengali language only, are at their mercy. The students, taught in the Medical College through the English medium are too few to act on the masses; the state of the country calls for a class of men who, after receiving instruction for a year or two through their own language in the Medical College, would settle down near the different Thannah Stations, and be content with the receipt of an income of twenty or thirty rupees a month. A ryot with his wife and two children seldom earns more than five rupees a month, out of which he has to defray every expence.

The entire expenses, connected with the instruction of this class in the Medical College, need not exceed the sum now allowed as the salary of the Principal of one of the Government Colleges. We make this suggestion, hoping that the benefits conferred by the College on the upper class of natives may be extended to the middle and lower classes, who, in every country, suffer the most from the want of proper medical aid. We have ourselves witnessed many harrowing cases of natives killed outright, solely through the barbarous treatment of the *Kobiraj*, or village-doctor, who knows far less about curing diseases than an English farrier does; and yet this Eastern type of Dr. Sangrado requires a fee of one rupee in many cases from poor fellows, who earn only four rupees a month! There are already, in Bengali, treatises on Chemistry and Anatomy: and this Pharmacopœia is the precursor of works which will, we hope, be shortly added to the list. Dr. Bachelor of Orissa, is preparing a Medical Guide Book in Bengali:—these are materials for commencing. Several years ago, the subject was brought by some of the Professors of the Medical College before the authorities: but hitherto *nothing* has been done. The statement, on the title page of this Bengali Pharmacopœia, “printed by order of *Government*,” is, we trust, an indication, that as text-books in the Bengali language are being provided by the Government, so teachers to explain and comment on these books may be speedily appointed.

This Pharmacopœia contains 244 pages octavo, and is well got up. It will be sold at the cost price, for about one rupee four annas, as the design of Government is to give it an extensive circulation. The translation is well executed: but we have a few remarks to make on a subject, which is of great philological importance at the present moment. While the translator has, we think, acted very properly in borrowing certain names of drugs, &c., from the Latin or English, where there were no terms in use for them in the native languages; still we think, in various cases, he might have formed many words through the *copia verborum*, which the Sanskrit supplies him. Four-fifths of the languages of India derive all their technical, as well as theological, terms from the Sanskrit; and even in the Tamul and Canarese, which are languages not of Sanskrit origin, all the philosophical terms are from the Sanskrit. Thus technical, as well as religious, terms may become common throughout India to 150 millions of people; taken from the Sanskrit, they are more euphonious and

better understood, than those borrowed from a European tongue. Michaelis has shewn the immense advantage that popular education in Germany has derived from the scientific nomenclature being formed by compounding German words—as the name thus expresses the nature of the thing, even to the mind of a peasant; whereas, by borrowing words from a foreign language, the terms are significant in themselves only to the learned. What the English have done, ought to be no rule to Oriental translators; for the English language, as Carlyle's writings shew, is badly adapted for employing compound terms; whereas the Bengali and Hindi languages, like the German, admit of compounds to any extent. We fully admit that when an idea is altogether new, it is sometimes better to transfer the word, in such cases as *oxygen*, *hydrogen*; but this we believe is carried much farther than is necessary, and sometimes by natives through a love of *sesquipedalia verba*, or an affectation of appearing wiser than their neighbours by the use of foreign terms: thus for instance while some would use *rail-road*, which is unintelligible to a villager—others wisely employ the term *Loha rasta*, the iron road, which conveys a meaning intelligible to every man and boy; so with *steamer*, as contrasted with *baspā jāhāj*, (the vapour ship). We trust that this book is a token that efficient measures will be ere long taken in the Medical College to *diffuse* a knowledge of medicine among the populous villages in Bengal by a class of practitioners, men of simple habits and content with small fees.

III.—*Wanderings in the Islands of Interview (Andaman), Little and Great Coco.* By J. H. Quigley. Maulmain. 1850.

THE man of genius and observation will make a better book out of a morning's walk, than the common-place traveller after the tour of Europe. Half an hour's run into an unexplored country may furnish more of novelty and interest, than a six months' march along a beaten and crowded road. A pamphlet of forty pages may contain more of truth, usefulness, and entertainment, than a work in three volumes folio. This thin brochure by Mr. Quigley, describing his wanderings in these small savage islands of the Bay, *might* then be a book without which, as the literary puffs have it, no library can be complete. We say it *might* be this; but we are sorry we must not say that it *is* this. It contains, indeed, no small amount of information touching a group of islands, whose position and circumstances lend them a peculiar interest, especially for the Anglo-Indian public—*islands lying almost at our doors, inviting the attentions of enterprize and capital, yet fortified against us by mortal disease, and garrisoned by treacherous savages and reputed cannibals.* But this information is too general in character, and is too sparingly

interspersed among the reflections and exhortations, which form the bulk of the work. There is a look of dry formality about it, too, that gives one the idea of its having been, in some cases, cut out of other books, and stuck in to serve the purpose of original observations. We do not say that Mr. Quigley has been guilty of plagiarism, or piracy; but certainly some parts of his pamphlet—the geological and zoological descriptions for instance—impress us with the notion of their having been borrowed. Indeed we fancy we can distinguish at least two distinct styles of composition; but we do not mean to say that they are not both Mr. Quigley's.

One of these styles may be described as “fine”—or “superfine” if you will. It is such very poetical prose, that the reader finds it impossible to attach any material, matter-of-fact, idea to the words employed. Take a specimen:—

The surface of the island heaves up into irregular ranges of hill scenery. Like a young Hercules playing with serpents, they catch up little molehills of sand, and go leaping and brawling till they form themselves into a ravine. Then gathering size and strength through every curve of their way, they turn eastward. As if on purpose to dodge the eye of the traveller, they bend in a triangular shape, and come down in a froth southward, like a stripling, who signalises his majority by a terrible outbreak from parental restraint. Then with a graceful sweep, that seems the result of society upon the young forester's impetuosity, they turn their full length into a picturesque valley, and bending slightly westward, they gently, and imperceptibly, form on a level with the rest of the land. Awhile they loiter, and then catching to their strong embrace a forming hill, they, with new dignity, that soon swells into majesty, take their course southward to lose themselves among the rocks lining that side of the island, and running into the sea.

Is not the description of Chaos by Mr. John Milton quite as intelligible, as Mr. J. H. Quigley's sketch of Interview Island in the Andaman group?

The Andaman Islands, as Mr. Quigley says in his preface, “have never been explored, and consequently never properly described.” The late Dr. Helfer has given the fullest account of them yet published; and Mr. Quigley, appreciating the labours of his precursor, has contributed further information collected during his circumscribed “wanderings” near the shores of one of the group. Here is a general description of the Andaman range, as viewed from the sea, and through the medium of memory and imagination:—

Leaving Cliff Island, we sailed onwards with a pleasant breeze, which brought the whole Andaman range before us. Such a scene of enchantment, “too bright and fair almost for remembrance,” burst upon our view. GREAT, MIDDLE and LITTLE ANDAMANS comprise a great extent of country;—they extend from the 10th to the 14th degree north latitude, and from 93° 30' to 94° 31' east longitude; and, according to the late Dr. Helfer, they teem with the precious metals, are covered with dense forests, expanded lakes, broad rivers, and mighty mountains, and all in a state of primeval simplicity, undefaced by the axe of civilized man, and tenanted by roving hordes of savages and numerous wild animals. Whichever side you turn, you have every where a profusion of interest in the natural scenery; it is a wilderness, that retains somewhat of that fresh beauty, which fancy attributes to the world before the Flood. How

will that mortal feel, and what will be his sensations, who is permitted, in the mercy and goodness of Providence, to be the first to explore its mountains and streams—to behold its scenery—to investigate its geological character—and, finally, by his survey, to develop its natural advantages, all still unknown to the civilized world, but yet certain to become, at no distant date, of vast importance to a new people? The Islands lie bounded by the sea, with all their features new and untouched, as they fell from the hand of the Creator! Certainly an island more favourable for colonization, I think, cannot be found in the Indian Archipelago.

We have already given our author's general and poetical description of Interview Island; and we now make room for a longer, more particular, and more matter-of-fact account of its soil, climate and productions:—

The natural productions of the island are the Lancewood tree (*Apocynaceæ*), wood oil tree (*Dipterocarpus*), a species of Ebony (*Diospyrus*), Mountain Jack trees (*Artocarpus Echinata*), the Cocconut, Mango, Pumpkins (*Columba pepo*), and a variety of other trees. There are several species of timber trees capable of being used in ship-building, while there are others exceedingly well adapted for posts, beams, &c. There is enough of wood for all purposes of utility, and adorning the country,—just as much as even a painter could wish.

The soil towards the N. W. is apparently a mixture of decomposed slate and clay; the slate gradually disappearing, on approaching the hill running in the centre.* Vegetation is abundant over all the slate formation. From the regularity of the direction of the strata, the valleys are numerous, and much alluvial soil is washed down, which, blending with fallen leaves, and other putrescent substances, produces a good superficial soil, in which trees grow to a large size, and the shrubs and smaller plants become particularly luxuriant and productive. The trees, the chief of which are the ever-green beech (*Fagus betuloides*) are generally rotten at the heart, a circumstance which may be attributed to the coldness of the schistose subsoil, upon which the trees are rooted, as well as to the perpetual moisture of the climate.

The extreme western portion of the island is composed of a succession of stratified rocks,—a difference at once distinguishable by the form and nature of the ranges, and the direction of the shores; the hills are irregularly heaped together; the sounds are intricate and tortuous in their course; and the shores are formed by deep sinuosities, and prominently projecting headlands. The channels also are studded with innumerable islands and rocks, extremely dangerous to navigation. In this position the rock is for the most part granite and greenstone: and it is a remarkable fact, that, where the greenstone formation terminates, there the islands cease to appear. The decomposition of granite and the other primitive rocks, which are found there, forms but a poor unproductive soil: so that, although the land is thickly covered with shrubs, they are all small and stunted. The torrents of water also, that pour down the sides of the hill, as appears from the hollowed forms by the water courses, wash away the partial accumulations of soil, that are occasionally deposited; consequently few trees are to be found, excepting in clefts and recesses of the rocks, where decomposed vegetable matter collects and nourishes their growth. The hollows are surrounded by a line of "yarra" gum trees, or white bark eucalyptus, which seemed at a distance to contain lakes; but instead of water, I found only blocks of vesicular trap, consisting apparently of granular felspar; and horn-blend rock also appeared in the banks enclosing them.

The soil south of the island is, generally speaking, a rich loamy one, with

* Here I came across Chloritic slate, or a soft rock, slate clay containing magnesia—a specimen of which the apprentice, who followed me, left on the wrecked timbers of the *Emily*; but it was washed away by the night's tide. I had no opportunity to obtain another supply.

fine vegetable-mould in some places. It is very productive,—a fact evidenced by the luxuriant growth of the forest trees in this quarter, and the perfect success, which attended my cultivation of the date, pumpkin, and orange trees.

In proceeding to the southern point of the island from the lake, by a pathway leading all along its bank, I branched off to the west leading through thick underwood. Here and there I observed, the soil was faced with trees of a harsh character, growing so thick and close as to form large tufts, over which I walked as on hard ground. I struggled through several thickets of stunted beech trees, with a thick jungle of berberis underneath, whose strong and sharp thorns penetrated my skin at every step.

The temperature of the island I should consider low, but the climate mild. As illustrative of this latter, I may mention the comparative warmth of the sea near its surface, when the sea was covered with a cloud of steam. And, besides, the parrots and the humming birds, generally the inhabitants of warm regions, are very numerous on the western side—the former feeding upon the seeds of a species of bark, and the latter chirping and sipping the sweets of flowers in the coldest mornings.

The mammalia of the island, as far as I could ascertain it, comprise the Tiger, Leopard, a species of white monkey, wild cat, wild dogs, a species of black pig with short legs, and several kinds of squirrels—one, a large black squirrel with yellow breast and belly; another, a small striped squirrel.

There are a great diversity of birds. The bulbul, parrots of a large kind, parroquets, a small parrot with a red-rump, a black minah with a yellow headband, minahs also of a large kind, the red-headed woodpeckers, honey-suckers, a large brown hawk, wild fowl, ground doves, large green pigeons, teals, plovers and curlews, king crow, tailor bird, cranes, white heron, a white-headed fish-hawk, crow pheasants, red breast, black birds, and thrushes.

I have seen several species of snake very common in all countries, and two sorts of lizards, and guana of a small kind. Sea tortoise, shell'd and common-turtle visit the sandy beach every night to deposit their eggs.

The sea affords a variety of fish; and the shores supply shell-fish, prawns, crabs, oysters, cockles, muscles, &c.

The native men are described as of middle height, muscular, very dark, with features and hair closely allied to the African. The women, Mr. Quigley ungallantly characterizes as “the most ill-favoured creatures” he ever saw, and declares that he should certainly prefer never seeing them again, lest his ideas of female beauty should undergo a change unfavourable to the “tranquillity of his future life.” The garb of both sexes is that of perfect innocence—that which our first parents wore before their fall.

The intercourse of these people with the crew of the schooner *Sea Serpent*, which took Mr. Quigley to their shores, “was of the most friendly character, and was latterly approaching to familiarity.” The visitors had hopes of being able to “establish a permanent friendly footing with them;” but their plans were unhappily frustrated;—how, or why, we do not discover in the narrative. Mr. Quigley evidently regards the natives of these islands in a more favourable view than that, in which general report has represented them; and his experience justifies his doing so. The charge of cannibalism, so commonly brought against them, he, on insufficient evidence, we think, positively declares utterly groundless.

Mr. Quigley presses upon the British Government the propriety of occupying the Andamans, or one of the larger islands, as a naval and military station. The advantage of establishing a settlement

of civilized people on islands so situated as these are, and of turning to account their stores and resources, is so obvious, that we may assume that it has only been foregone for what were deemed good and sufficient reasons. Our Government once had a settlement on the Great Andaman, first at Port Chatham, and afterwards at Port Cornwallis: but it was eventually withdrawn because of the extreme insalubrity of the island. At one time also, much was said of the intention of the Danes to take possession of these islands; but they appear to have abandoned the idea, if it was ever entertained. The French too, as fond of colonising as they are unfit to be colonists, might have been expected to cast a longing eye on the Andamans, occupying so commanding a position for a naval and military station, had they not seen some obstacle to their occupation, stronger than the fact of their having no right of possession.

But Mr. Quigley thinks that, if the islands were cleared, they would cease to be so insalubrious; and on this point he is probably right. The difficulty, in the inevitable cost of life and money in effecting this clearance, is, however, a serious impediment. The employment of convicts in the work, as recommended by Mr. Quigley, would entail an additional punishment on these unfortunates, which we doubt the legal right of the Government, or the moral right of the Courts, to inflict.

The Cocos Islands, Great and Little, as described by our "wanderer," seem rather more inviting to settlers than the Andamans. The smaller isle, situated about nine leagues N. N. W. of the Great Andaman, and being about two and a half miles long by three quarters of a mile broad, is thus sketched by Mr. Quigley, in a more simple and intelligible style than that adopted by him with the Andamans:—

The aspect of the island exhibits a gracefully waving surface, swelling and sinking with an easy slope and a full rounded outline, equally avoiding the unmeaning horizontal surface, and the interruption of abrupt or angular elevations. It is that surface which might be expressed as *rolling*, resembling the heavy swell of the ocean around it, when its waves are subsiding to rest after the agitation of a storm. It is elevated in the centre, so that in advancing into it from either side, you see before you only the plain, with its curved outline marked upon the sky, and forming the horizon, but on reaching the highest point you look around upon the whole of the scene.

Much of the island consists chiefly of alluvial soil, exceedingly rich, in some parts of the island: the nature of the soil is not favourable to plants which take a deep root, and therefore shrubs and grasses are found; the former are thinly scattered over the brows of the hill side, but the grasses are abundant, and although of a harsh and dry appearance, most nourishing, for they form the chosen food of numerous and large guanias.

Of the Great Coco he says:—

"The surface of the country present inequalities quite inconsiderable, for they appear like beautifully connected hills. It may be said to be hill and plain:—all around the sea shore it presents a hilly appearance, while within it presents a plain. The soil in the plains is generally a rich black mould, and that of the hills consists of decomposed lava, of a deep chocolate color; both descriptions of soil being exceedingly fertile, and suited to the

growth of all descriptions of European and tropical grain and fruits. On the N. E. side, forming the boundary of a tank of good water, 200 feet long by 50 wide, the grass around is so rich, that a single acre of ground, in its natural state, is capable of maintaining a pair of cattle, without artificial food of any kind, all the year round. A species of long grass also grows on the southern bank of this tank, affording shelter to a large flock of teals. Various portions of the island are also covered with this long grass."

This island is six miles in length, and two in breadth. The natural productions, animal and vegetable, of this group are not very dissimilar to those of the Andamans. The islands are uninhabited except at a certain season of the year, when they are visited by the Burmese to collect the products of the cocoanut tree, &c. Mr. Quigley, when discoursing on the resources of the islands which he visited, reminds us of the Glasgow man, who wound up his glowing description of a valley in Switzerland, with the emphatic declaration, that "it was clearly intended by Providence for the site of bleaching and Turkey red dye works!" Being a Maulmain man, he naturally has an eye to the *timber*: and, among other allusions to this article, he says, in describing the Great Coco, "a species of timber for spars, to enable a ship to proceed on her voyage, is indigenous to the island, and may be cut conveniently."

Our author earnestly exhorts the members of the East Indian community in general, and the "East Indian Agricultural Association" of Madras in particular, to avail themselves of the advantages, which these islands offer for "the establishment of their nationality as a class of people." He supports his exhortation by references to the case of the Israelites, who became a nation in spite of the oppressions of Egypt; of the United Kingdom, which can spare its millions of people for colonizing all the ends of the earth; and of the continent of America peopled by European immigrants. It is very evident to us, however, that the time has not yet come for the establishment of East Indian nationality, in the way suggested by Mr. Quigley. We do not expect a child to run, before it can stand alone; nor do we believe that the members of the East Indian community, who, with few exceptions, are brought up to rely on the Government offices for support, are in a fit condition to brave the hardships and the toils of emigration to uncleared, uninhabited islands, where their maintenance must be won by manual labour from the bosom of the soil. Were it otherwise, however, the result of a recent attempt at a settlement on the Great Coco, which cost the lives of seven out of eleven settlers—three of whom were Europeans—would be a caution to the East Indians against trying to "establish their nationality" on a couple of pestilent islands, with a total area of about a dozen square miles.

IV.—*An Investigation of the Rate of Mortality amongst certain Assured lives in India; with new tables of Annuities, Assurances, &c. for single lives. By C. Scotton Francis. Calcutta. W. Thacker and Co. 1850.*

By some, the remark may be deemed deficient in originality—but no fear of the suspicion of plagiarism shall deter us from making it—that British India is a very strange country, and its inhabitants a somewhat singular people. Why, here in Calcutta we have five daily English newspapers, besides publications, filled with advertisements, and circulated gratuitously, equal in amount to three or four more; and all this in a town whose English-reading inhabitants would not make the population of a third-rate market town in England. Another peculiarity, as we believe, of our Anglo-Indian Society, is the extent to which Life Assurance is carried amongst us. We wish we could persuade ourselves that this is due to the prevalence of prudence and provident habits amongst us; but we fear it is in some degree quite the contrary. On this subject, we shall have to say a few words, ere we have done with the present notice.

The work before us is one that we regard with special favour. It is designed to substitute certainty for uncertainty, as the basis of a series of most important transactions, and to make the assurance of lives in India rest upon the result of experience, instead of hap-hazard. It is surprising to what an extent this hap-hazard system of assurance has been carried by some of our Home offices, in undertaking risks on lives exposed to the trial of an Indian climate. We have been told that the practice in some of the English offices is, when granting policies on Indian lives, coolly to add to the premium three per cent. on the amount of the policy, and this without respect to the age of the person effecting the assurance. For example, supposing a man of 30 years of age would pay in Europe £1-15 for an assurance of £100 on his life, the same man on coming to India will be charged £4-15; or, supposing that a man of 50 pays £3 at home, he will have to pay £6 here. The English offices that have branches in India, and the offices that have been established in India itself, have of course Indian rates; but we have always been of opinion that, considering all things, the rates are considerably too high. In fact we have an idea, that the higher rate of interest obtainable here, might almost make amends for the higher rate of mortality; and we are, to a certain extent, confirmed in this idea, by the very large bonuses that the offices distribute amongst those who assure on the mutual principle, or with participation of profits.

Some years ago, we noticed a pamphlet by Mr. W. J. B. Woolhouse, on the rate of mortality among the officers of the Indian Army, and expressed our belief that the mortality was estimated too high, and consequently the expectancy or average duration of life too low. This we imputed to the fact, that Mr. Woolhouse takes cognizance of officers only so long as their names remain in the Army List; con-